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OR

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FOR

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7. *Remarks on the Opposition to the Poor Law Amendment Bill.* By a Guardian. 8vo. London: 1841.

THE great experiment of Poor Law amendment, which has now for seven years been in progress among our southern neighbours, appears to us to have been insufficiently attended to, and therefore to have been imperfectly understood in this part of the island. We do not believe that many of our Scottish readers are fully aware of the origin of the English Poor Laws, of the changes which they underwent, of the abuses which they created, of the remedy which has been applied; or of the obstacles which have diminished the success of that great measure, and now threaten its efficiency. And yet these are subjects of the deepest interest, even to those who study legislation merely as a

science. A series of laws are exhibited, persevered in for centuries, by a nation always eminent for practical wisdom, of which the result has almost invariably been failure, or worse than failure; which in scarcely a single instance have attained their objects, and in most cases have produced effects precisely opposite to the intentions of their framers;—have aggravated whatever they were intended to diminish, and produced whatever they were intended to prevent. From us, as Scotchmen, they merit peculiar attention, not only from the resemblance of our poor laws to the earlier English statutes; but from the probability that, as the connexion between the two countries becomes more intimate, we shall at no distant period follow the example, whatever it may be, of the larger country to which we are united; and participate in the evils and the advantages of the system which she may finally adopt. This fate already threatens Ireland. It is scarcely probable that Scotland can avoid it.

Each of the subjects to which we have alluded, would require a volume for its complete development; but we are constrained to give to them such consideration as is admissible within the limits of an article of moderate length.

The Committee of the House of Commons which considered the Poor Laws in 1817, commence their able Report by stating, that 'the principle of a compulsory provision for the impotent, 'and for setting to work the able-bodied, originated, without 'doubt, in motives of the purest humanity.' From this statement, plausible as it is, we utterly dissent. We believe that the English poor laws originated in selfishness, ignorance, and pride. Better motives, without doubt, though misdirected by almost equal ignorance, dictated the changes which were made in those laws during the 18th century—the fourth which elapsed from their commencement; but we are convinced that their origin was an attempt substantially to restore the expiring system of slavery. The evils of slavery are now understood; it is admitted that it destroys all the nobler virtues, both moral and intellectual; that it leaves the slave without energy, without truth, without honesty, without industry, without providence; in short, without any of the qualities which fit men to be respected or even esteemed. But mischievous as slavery is, it has many plausible advantages, and freedom many apparent dangers. The subsistence of a slave is safe; he cannot suffer from insufficient wages, or from want of employment; he has not to save for sickness or old age; he has not to provide for his family; he cannot waste in drunkenness the wages by which they were to be supported; his idleness or dishonesty cannot reduce them to misery; they suffer neither from his faults nor his follies. We believe that there are few of

our Highland parishes in which there is not more suffering from poverty than would be found in an equal Russian population. Again, the master thinks that he gains by being able to proportion the slave's subsistence to his wants. In a state of freedom, average wages are always enough to support, with more or less comfort, but still to support, an average family. The unmarried slave receives merely his own maintenance. A freeman makes a bargain; he asks whatever his master can afford to pay. The competition among employers forces them to submit to these terms; and the highly paid workman often wastes his extra wages in idleness and debauchery. And when employment is abundant; that is, when his services are most wanted, he often tries to better himself by quitting his master. All this is disagreeable to masters who have been accustomed to the apparent economy of servile labour, and to its lethargic obedience.

The great motive of the framers of the earlier English poor laws was to remedy the latter class of inconveniences; those which affect, or appear to affect the master. The motive of the framers of the later acts again, beginning with George I., was to remedy the first class of evils;—those which affect the free labourer and his family.

The first set of laws were barbarous and unskilful, and their failure is evident from their constant re-enactment or amendment, with different provisions and severer penalties. The second set had a different fate—they ultimately succeeded, in many districts, in giving to the labourer and to his family the security of servitude. They succeeded in relieving him and those who, in a state of real freedom, would have been dependent on him, from many of the penalties imposed by nature on idleness, improvidence, and misconduct. And by doing this, they in a great measure effected, though certainly against the intentions of the legislature, the object which had been vainly attempted by the earlier laws. They confined the labourer to his parish; they dictated to him who should be his master; and they proportioned his wages, not to his services, but to his wants. Before the poor law amendment act, nothing but the power of arbitrary punishment was wanting in the pauperized parishes to a complete system of prædial slavery.

Our limits will not allow us to do more than to state very briefly the material parts of the numerous statutes, beginning by the statute of labourers, 23d Ed. III., (1349,) and ending by the 39th Eliz. cap. 4, (1597,) which were passed for the supposed benefit of masters.

The 23d Ed. III. requires all servants to accept the wages which were usually given five or six years before, and to serve

by the year, not by the day; it fixes a positive rate of wages in many employments; forbids persons to quit the places in which they had dwelt in the winter, and search employment elsewhere in summer; or to remove, in order to evade the act, from one county to another. A few years after, in 1360, the 34th Ed. III. confirmed the previous statute, and added to the penalties, which it imposed on labourers or artificers absenting themselves from their services, that they should be branded on the forehead with the letter F. It imposed also a fine of L.10 on the mayor and bailiffs of a town which did not deliver up a labourer or artificer who had left his service.

Twenty-eight years after, in 1388, was passed the 12th Rich. II., which has generally been considered as the origin of the English poor laws. By that act the acts of Ed. III. are confirmed—labourers are prohibited, on pain of imprisonment, from quitting their residences in search of work, unless provided with testimonials stating the cause of their absence, and the time of their returning, to be issued by Justices of the Peace at their discretion. And, 'because labourers will not, nor, for a long season, would 'not, serve without outrageous and excessive hire,' prices are fixed for their labour; and punishments awarded against the labourer who receives more, and the master who gives more. Persons who have been employed in husbandry until twelve years of age, are prohibited from becoming artisans. Able-bodied beggars are to be treated as labourers wandering without passports. Impotent beggars are to remain where they are at the time of the proclamation of the act; or, if those places are unwilling or unable to support them, they are, within forty days, to repair to the places where they were born, and there dwell during their lives.

We have said that this act has been treated as the origin of the English poor laws. It has been so considered in consequence of the last clause, which is the first enactment recognising the existence of the impotent poor. But this enactment makes no provision for them; though, by requiring them to be stationary in a given spot for the rest of their lives, it seems to assume that they would be supported there. It gives them, however, no claim, nor is there a clause in the whole act intended to benefit any persons except the employers of labour, and principally of agricultural labour—that is to say, the landowners who made the law. If the provisions of the act could have been enforced, the agricultural labourers, and they formed probably four-fifths of the population of England, though nominally free, would have been as effectually *ascripti glebæ* as any Polish serf. And, to make a nearer approximation to slavery, in the next year, (1389,)

the 13th Rich. II. was passed; which directs the Justices of every county to make proclamation every half year, at their discretion, according to the price of food, what wages every artificer and labourer shall receive by the day. This act, with some intervals, during which the legislature attempted itself to fix the prices of labour, remained substantially in force until the present century. A further attempt to reduce husbandry labourers to a hereditary caste of serfs, was made by the 7th Hen. IV. cap. 17, (1405,) which, after reciting that the provisions of the former acts were evaded by persons apprenticing their children to crafts in towns—so that there is such a scarcity of husbandry labourers that *gentlemen* are impoverished—forbids persons not having 20s. a-year in land to do so, under penalty of a year's imprisonment.

It appears, however, that the labourers did not readily submit to the villanage to which the law strove to reduce them; for from this time the English statute book is deformed by the enactments against able-bodied persons leaving their homes, or refusing to work at the wages offered to them, or loitering, (that is to say, professing to be out of work,) which, to use the words of Dr Burn, 'make this part of English history look like the history 'of the savages in America. Almost all severities have been 'inflicted, except scalping.'* A new class of criminals, designated by the terms 'sturdy rogues' and 'vagabonds,' was created. Among these were included idle and suspect persons, living suspiciously.† Persons having no land or craft whereby they get their living.‡ Idle persons calling themselves serving-men, having no masters. Persons who, after having been sent home, absent themselves from such labour as they shall be appointed to.‖ Able-bodied poor persons who do not apply themselves to some honest labour or other; or serve even for meat and drink, if nothing more is to be obtained.§ Persons able to labour, not having land or master, nor using any lawful employment. Labourers using loitering, and refusing to work for reasonable wages.¶

The first attempt on the part of a person dependent on his labour for his support to assert free agency, by changing his abode, or by making a bargain for his services, or even by refusing to work for 'bare meat and drink,' rendered him liable to be whipped and sent back to his place of birth, or last residence, for three years; or, according to some statutes, for one year, there to be at the disposal of the local authorities. The second attempt subjected him, at one time, to slavery for life,

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* History of the Poor Laws, p. 120.
† 11 Hen. VII. cap. 2. ‡ 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 12.
‖ 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 25. § 1 Ed. VI. cap. 3.
¶ 3 and 4 Ed. VI. cap. 16. 14 Eliz. cap. 5. 39 Eliz. cap. 4.

'to be fed on bread and water and refuse meat, and caused to 'work by beating, chaining, or otherwise;' and for the third he was to suffer death as a felon.

We have seen that the 12th Rich. II. required the impotent poor to remain for life where they were found at the proclamation of the act, or at the places of their birth. The subsequent statutes require them to proceed either to their places of birth, or last places of residence, for three years. The law assumed, as we have already remarked, that they would be supported there by voluntary alms; and as respects the able-bodied, it assumed that an able-bodied slave, for such the labourer given up to the local authorities was, could always be made worth his maintenance;—that maintenance being, of course, the lowest that could keep him in working order. It appears, however, that casual alms were found an insufficient, or an inconvenient provision for the impotent; that the local authorities were not sufficiently severe taskmasters of the able-bodied; and that the keeping them at work required some fund, by way of capital. The 27th Hen. VIII. cap. 25, (1536,) therefore, requires the parishes to which the able-bodied should be sent, 'to keep them to conti-'nual labour in such wise that they may get their own living 'by the continual labour of their own hands;' on pain that every parish making default shall forfeit twenty shillings a-month. It directs the churchwardens, and two others of every parish, to collect alms and broken meat, to be employed in supporting the impotent poor, and 'setting and keeping to work the sturdy 'vagabonds;' and forbids other almsgiving, on pain of forfeiting ten times the amount. This is the first attempt at making charity legal and systematic; and it was obviously a part of the scheme for confining the labouring population to their own parishes. It seems to have been supposed that voluntary alms, systematically distributed, would provide wholly for the impotent, and form a fund which, aided by the fruits of their forced labour, would support the 'sturdy vagabonds;' and, therefore, that no one could have an excuse for changing his residence.

In the early part of Elizabeth's reign was passed a statute, 5th Eliz. cap. 3, (1562,) inflicting the usual penalties, whipping, slavery, and death, on sturdy vagabonds; that is to say, on those who, having no property but their labour, presumed to act as if they had a right to dispose of it; and containing the usual provisions for confining the impotent poor to their parishes. In one respect, however, it was a great step in advance; for it contains for the first time a provision enabling the Justices to tax, at their discretion, those who refused to contribute to the relief of the impotent and the keeping at work the able-bodied. Concurrently with this statute, and indeed as a part of it, for

it is the next chapter on the roll of parliament, was passed the 5th Eliz. cap. 4. This statute requires all persons brought up to certain specified trades, at that time the principal trades of the country, and not possessed of property, or employed in husbandry, or in a gentleman's service, to continue to serve in such trades; and orders that all other persons, between twelve years old and sixty, not being gentlemen, or students in a school or university, or entitled to property, and not engaged in maritime or mining operations, be compelled to serve in husbandry with any person that will require such person to serve, within the same county. Females, in corporate towns, between the ages of twelve and forty, and unmarried, are to be disposed of in service by the corporate authorities, at such wages, and in such sort and manner, as the authorities think meet. The hours of work are fixed by the statute; and the justices are, twice a-year, after 'conferring together respecting the plenty or 'scarcity of the time,' to fix the wages. Persons directly or indirectly paying more, are to be punished by imprisonment and fine; persons receiving more, by imprisonment. No person is to depart from one parish to another, or from one hundred or county to serve in another hundred or county, without a license from the local authorities.

When we recollect that disobedience to these enactments exposed a man or a woman to be included in the proscribed class of vagabonds, punishable by whipping, branding, slavery, and death, it must be admitted that, whatever might be the practice, the *law* gave little freedom to the labouring classes.

The 14th Eliz. cap. 5, (1572,) carried on the same legislation against the able-bodied, merely aggravating the penalty, by subjecting the offenders (that is, all persons who would not work for what the Justices should think reasonable wages) to whipping and burning for the first offence, and to the penalties of felony for the second. It made a further approach to the present system, by directing the fund 'for setting to work the rogues and 'vagabonds,' and relieving the impotent, to be raised by a general assessment.

Twenty-five years afterwards, the two acts of the 39th Eliz. cap. 3 and 4, were passed, which for the first time divided into separate statutes the punishment of the able-bodied, and the relief of the impotent. By the second of these acts, vagabonds (including, we repeat, persons able to labour, having no lord or master, not using any lawful employments, and labourers refusing to work for common wages) are to be whipped, but not branded, and sent back to their parishes: if they appear to be such as will not be reformed, they are to be transported, or adjudged perpetually to the galleys.

The other act, the 39th Eliz. cap. 3, differs so slightly from the 43d Eliz. cap. 2, that it requires no further attention.

The 43d of Eliz. directs, that the churchwardens and two or more householders, to be appointed by the Justices, shall take order, with the consent of the Justices, for setting to work children, and all persons having no means to maintain themselves, and using no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their living by; and to raise a fund by taxation of the inhabitants for such setting to work, and for the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, and blind poor not able to work. And the Justices are directed to send to the House of Correction, or common jail, 'such as 'shall not employ themselves to work, being appointed thereunto 'as aforesaid.'

It appears from this statement, that the 43d of Elizabeth deserves neither the praise nor the blame which have been lavished on it. So far from having been prompted by benevolence, it was a necessary link in one of the heaviest chains in which a people calling itself free has been bound. It was part of a scheme prosecuted for centuries, in defiance of reason, justice, and humanity, to reduce the labouring classes to serfs, to imprison them in their parishes, and to dictate to them their employments and their wages. Of course, persons confined to certain districts by penalties of whipping, mutilation, and death, must be supported; and, if they were capable of labour, it was obvious that they ought to be made to contribute to the expense of their maintenance. Thence arose the provisions for relieving the impotent, and setting to work the able-bodied. But these provisions do not, on the other hand, deserve the censure passed on them by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1817. They were not of a nature to induce the industrious to relax their efforts. They held out no temptations to idleness. The able-bodied, who were the objects of the 43d Elizabeth, were those 'who, having no means to maintain themselves, used no 'ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by;' such persons were, by the previous acts, criminals; the work to which they were to be put was forced work; and if they did not employ themselves in it, 'being thereunto appointed as aforesaid,' the Justices were to commit them to jail. The industrious labourer was not within the spirit or the words of the act. This was, indeed, the complaint of Lord Hale: 'The plaster,' says his Lordship, 'is not so large as the sore. There are many poor 'who are able to work if they had it, and had it at reasonable 'wages, whereby they might support themselves and their fami-'lies. *These are not within the provision of the law.*'*

* See Lord Hale's Paper at length, in *Burn's History of the Poor Laws*, p. 144.

And it was long before the legislature assented to any extension of the 43d Elizabeth. The 8th and 9th Will. III. cap. 30, passed nearly a century afterwards, 'To the intent that the 'money raised *only* for the relief of *such as are impotent as well* '*as poor*, may not be misapplied,' requires all persons receiving relief, and their families, to wear a badge, containing a large Roman P, and the first letter of the name of the parish from which they received relief; the object being not, as has been supposed, to degrade the pauper, but to afford an easy means of detecting the overseer who had relieved an able-bodied person.

The oppressive legislation of the Plantagenets and Tudors was unsuccessful. The provisions on which its efficacy depended, namely, the regulation of wages by the Justices, the punishment of those who refused to work for such wages, or who paid more than such wages, and the punishment of those who left their parishes without license, became gradually obsolete. Legally considered, they remained in force until the present century. Sir Frederic Eden has collected regulations of wages by the Justices, from the 35th of Eliz. (1593) down to 1725. And the last which he gives, that regulating wages for the county of Lancaster in 1725, contains an exposition of the law by the Justices, in the spirit of the times of Henry VIII. or Elizabeth :— 'That the transgressors may be inexcusable when punished, 'we, the said justices, publish these denunciations, penalties, 'punishments, and forfeitures which the statutes impose. No 'servant that hath been in service before, ought to be re-'tained without a testimonial that he or she is legally licensed 'to depart, and at liberty to serve elsewhere, to be registered 'with the minister of the parish whence the servant departs. 'The master retaining a servant without such testimonial forfeits 'five pounds. The person wanting such testimonial shall be 'imprisoned till he procure it. If he do not produce one within 'twenty-one days, to be whipped as a vagabond. The person 'that gives more wages than is appointed by the justices shall 'forfeit five pounds, and be imprisoned ten days: the servant 'that takes more to be imprisoned twenty-one days. Every 'promise or gift whatever to the contrary shall be void. We, 'the said justices, shall make strict enquiries, and see the 'defaults against these ancient and useful statutes severely cor-'rected and punished.'*

But these seem to have been only occasional ebullitions of magisterial activity. It is admitted that the Justices seldom exercised their powers of regulating wages;† and it is scarcely

* Eden, vol. iii. p. cx.

† Ruggle's *History of the Poor*, i. 105. Eden, vol. i. p. 141.

possible that, if they had obeyed the injunctions of 5th Eliz. and 2d James I. cap. 6, and proclaimed every half year the price of labour in every employment for the next six months, and imprisoned for ten days every employer of labour who gave more, contemporary writers would not have frequently alluded to a law by which every class would have been constantly affected. Their silence proves that it became practically obsolete. It was a *lex sine moribus.*

The attempt to confine the labourer to his parish, by punishing him if he quitted without a license, appears to have been equally ineffectual. This may be inferred from the recital in the 13 Car. II., cap. 12, (1662,) which states, that 'by reason of 'some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from 'going from one parish to another; and therefore do endeavour 'to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best 'stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and 'the most woods for them to burn and destroy, and, when they 'have consumed it, then to another parish.'

The defect of the law was its severity, and the remedy applied by the statute was to enable the Justices, on complaint of the overseers that a new comer was likely to be chargeable, to remove and convey such person to the parish where he was last legally settled, unless he gave security to indemnify his new place of residence.

This was the first attempt to prevent the migration of the able-bodied by any means except punishment; and such was its success, that all the subsequent efforts of the legislature have been made in an opposite direction. Thirty-five years afterwards, the act 8th and 9th Will. III. cap. 30, was passed, which recites, that 'poor persons are for the most part con-'fined to live in their own parishes, and not permitted to in-'habit elsewhere, though their labour is wanted in many other 'places.' And enacts, that 'if a person coming to reside in a 'parish, shall at the same time deliver to the overseers a certifi-'cate from the overseers of another parish, acknowledging him 'to be legally settled there, and obliging themselves to provide 'for him and his family if chargeable, such person shall not be 'removed until actually chargeable.'

But as a person who wished to quit his parish could not require the overseers to furnish him with this certificate, the remedy was insufficient; and the legal restraint imposed by the 13th Car. II. continued for more than a century, until it was finally removed by the 35th Geo. III. cap. 101, (1795,) which enacted that no poor person should be removed until actually chargeable.

The fate of the law which authorized relief at the expense of

the parish was very different. There is so much pain in witnessing distress, and so much pleasure in procuring its relief; there is so much sympathy with unmerited misfortune, and with the sufferings to which the wife and children are exposed through the misconduct of the husband and father; misery and destitution are so severe a punishment for idleness or improvidence; the niggardliness of those whose refusal throws the whole burden of charity on the benevolent is so disgusting; and we must add, the assessment and distribution of a poor rate, give so many opportunities of undue profit, and so many means of gratifying the love of power and of popularity, that nothing but the strictest rules, vigilantly superintended and severely enforced, can restrain those whom the law enables to create and to manage a fund for charitable purposes—to decide how much shall be raised, and to whom and on what grounds and in what proportions it shall be awarded.

The rules laid down by the 43d of Elizabeth were strict; but the only sanction for their being observed, was the yearly inspection of the overseers' accounts by two Justices—an inspection which, if it ever was real, soon became nominal. The consequences are stated in the following recital in the 3d William and Mary, cap. 11:—'Whereas many inconveniences do daily 'arise by reason of the unlimited power of the overseers, who do 'frequently, upon frivolous pretences, but chiefly for their own 'private ends, give relief to what persons and number they think 'fit.' The legislature, however, succeeded better in detecting the evil than in curing it. The remedy applied was an enactment, that the names of all persons receiving relief should be registered—the register to be submitted from time to time to the parishioners assembled in vestry; and that no persons should receive collection, except those to whom they should think fit to allow it, '*except 'by authority, under the hand of one justice of peace residing within 'such parish, or, if none be there dwelling, in the parts near or next 'adjoining, or by order of the justices in quarter sessions.*'

This exception was construed as giving to the Justices a power, which no previous statute had intrusted to them, of ordering relief. And the result is shown by the next statute, the 9th Geo. I. cap. 7, 1722, which states that, 'under colour of the 3d and 4th 'William and Mary, many persons have applied to some justices of 'peace, without the knowledge of any officers of the parish; and 'thereby, upon untrue suggestions, and sometimes upon false or 'frivolous pretences, have obtained relief, which hath greatly 'contributed to the increase of the parish rates.'

The remedy again exasperated the disease. It was an enactment, not depriving the Justices of the power which they had assumed and abused, but forbidding them to exert it until oath

were made that the applicant had a reasonable ground for relief, and had been refused; and until the overseers had been summoned to show cause why it should not be given. The commentary on these acts by the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners, deserves to be quoted:—'The 3d and 4th William and Mary, which was 'passed to check the profusion of overseers, to enable the vestry 'to decide whom *they* should think fit and *allow* to receive relief, 'was construed as authorizing the justices to order relief to those 'who applied to them without the knowledge of the parish offi- 'cers; and the act which was passed to remedy this abuse enabled 'the justice, on the pauper's statement of some matter which the 'justice should judge to be a reasonable cause or ground for re- 'lief, to summon the overseers to show cause why relief should 'not be given, and to order such relief as *he* should think fit—an 'order against which there is no appeal.' *

Some acts of Parliament have produced more extensive mischief than the two which we have just quoted; but probably there are none which have been so palpably unsuccessful. The enactments by which the discretionary powers of the overseer to give relief were intended to be controlled, were utterly disregarded; excepting so far as, by a strange perversion, the Justices made them a ground for assuming discretionary powers, not to forbid, but to order relief themselves.

The 9th Geo. I. cap. 7, however, contained one clause, the importance of which cannot easily be exaggerated. This is the clause which authorized the overseers of any parish, with the consent of the inhabitants, to purchase or hire a house, and to keep and maintain therein any poor of the parish desiring relief; and enabled any two or more parishes to unite in purchasing or hiring a house, for the reception of the poor of the united parishes; and enacted, that no poor who refused to be lodged and kept in such houses, should be entitled to ask or *receive* parochial relief. It is true that the beneficial effects of this clause were only temporary; but it pointed out the mode, and, we firmly believe, the only mode, in which a public provision for the poor can be safely administered; and when the cause of its failure had been ascertained, it afforded, more than one hundred and twenty years afterwards, the foundation for the only English poor law which has been really successful.

We have said that the beneficial effects of this statute were only temporary. This will appear from the following statements of the amount of the poor rates before its enactment, and during the period in which it remained in force.

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* Report, p. 120.

We possess the following estimates and returns of the amount of the expenditure on the poor, between the Restoration and the year 1785:—

Estimates.

1673	Computed by a writer.—*Harl. Mis.* 8, 524,	L.840,000
1677	Andrew Yarranton,* . . .	608,333
1677	Richd. Haines,†	700,000
1685	Arthur Moore and Dr Davenant, ‡ .	665,362
1698	R. Dunning, ‖	819,000

Returns.

Annual average during the three years ending 1750,¶	690,000
The year 1776,¶	1,521,000
Annual average during the three years ending 1785,¶	1,912,000

The estimates are probably all excessive—especially the first; but there is sufficient coincidence between them to show, that, during the period between 1673 and 1698, the expenditure on the poor was positively as high as it was in 1750—twenty-eight years after the passing of the 9th Geo. I.; and relatively to the population and the value of money, it must have been much higher. But when we come to the next period, 1776, we find an increase, during twenty-six years, of more than 100 per cent; and during the next nine years, from 1776 to 1785, the increase is about 30 per cent. Some allowance must of course again be made for the increase of population, and the diminished value of money. But the thirty-five years, from 1750 to 1785, did not form a period during which these causes operated with much force; and when we consider that the increase of expenditure during that time was from L.690,000 to L.1,912,000, or nearly 200 per cent, it is clear that they will account for only a small part of it.

Bishop Copleston has traced the diminution of expenditure, which was the immediate consequence of the 9th Geo. I., and the subsequent increase, to its true cause—the institution of a workhouse system *without control*. 'We find,' says that acute writer, 'that the effect of workhouses in the first thirty years of 'the eighteenth century was considerable. A great reduction 'of the annual charge of the poor appears to have been effected 'during the first four or five years. After that, whether the 'administration became more negligent, or the terror which they 'first created, and which greatly reduced the number of paupers, 'had begun to abate, certain it is, that the poor rate again crept

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* Cited Eden, 196. † Cited Ibid. 198. ‡ Cited Ibid. 228.
‖ Cited Ibid. 249. ¶ Parliamentary Return.

'on till it equalled or exceeded its former amount. Nothing, 'indeed, is more natural than such a history of human establish-'ments. They spring out of some strong necessity, or some 'prevailing opinions of the age. They are nursed with care in 'their infancy, and actively superintended by some benevolent 'and patriotic men; and while the zeal lasts, while the authors 'of them are flattered with observing their success, and are 'enabled to point to the fruits of their own exertions, no symp-'toms of decay appear. *But a life so precarious is shorter even 'than the life of man; it is commensurate not with the existence, 'but with the activity only and the perseverance of individuals*, and 'seldom lives in full vigour through half a generation. Before 'the year 1776, the rates had risen in most places to three times 'their amount after the workhouse system was established. 'Theory never perhaps was verified so promptly and unequivo-'cally by practice, as in the early declension of these institu-'tions, and in their utter inefficiency when left to themselves, 'or, which is nearly the same thing, to any body of rules, how-'ever wisely framed.' *

In the mean time, a most dangerous opinion began to prevail. It was supposed that the legislature had the power of providing, by direct interference, a comfortable subsistence for the poor; and it was justly argued, that, if it had the power, it was liable to the duty. This opinion was assisted by an unfortunate double meaning of the word *poor*. In one sense of that word, it means merely the aggregate of the individuals who, from infirmity, or accident, or misconduct, have lost their station as independent members of society, and are really unable to earn their own subsistence. These persons form, in every well-ordered community, a small minority—a minority which it is in the power, and therefore within the duty of society, to relieve; but, if possible, to reduce, and certainly not to encourage. But this is not the sense in which the word poor is generally employed. In its widest acceptation it is opposed to the word rich; and in its most common use it includes all, except the higher and middle classes—in short, all who derive their subsistence solely from manual labour. In this sense Adam Smith states the definition of poverty to be, 'living from hand to mouth.' In this sense all the labouring classes, that is to say, nine-tenths of the inhabitants of England, are poor. The error which this ambiguity created, or at least encouraged, may be stated syllogistically.

It is the duty of the legislature to provide for all the *poor*, (*i. e.* all the destitute.)

* Second Letter to the Right Hon. Sir R. Peel, p. 75.

All the labouring classes are *poor*, (*i. e.* are without property.) *Therefore* it is the duty of the legislature to provide for all the labouring classes.

We now know that to attempt to provide by legislative interference, that, in all the vicissitudes of commerce and of the seasons, all the labouring classes, whatever be the value of their services, shall enjoy a comfortable subsistence, is an attempt which would in time ruin the industry of the most diligent, and the wealth of the most opulent community. But before this could be acknowledged, it seems to have been necessary that the attempt should have been made, and should have been persevered in, until the ruin was palpably at hand.

It has generally been supposed that this attempt originated in the high prices and political apprehensions of the year 1795; and that the first example was the celebrated edict of the Berkshire Magistrates, on the 6th of May 1795, in which they 'settled 'the incomes of the industrious poor' by a scale of relief, rising with the price of bread, and the numbers in a family, from 2s. a-week to 25s.*

But when we recollect that the industrious poor were pointedly excluded from the 43d of Elizabeth, and that the 36th Geo. III. cap. 23, the act which legalized relief to them, was not passed until the 24th of December following, it is impossible to suppose that the magistrates who assembled at Speenham Land would have ventured to enact their law; or that their example would have been immediately imitated throughout the southern counties; unless the practice to which the Speenham Land edict gave expression, had already been prevalent, and had been sanctioned by public opinion. So early as the year 1764, the worst form of abuse, relief in aid of wages, had been proposed by one of the ablest of the early writers on the poor laws, Dr Burn. He recommended the overseers to hire out claimants to those who would give the most wages, though under the usual price, and to make it up so much by the day as would reasonably maintain them.† The preamble of the 36th Geo. III. cap. 23, 'That the 9th Geo. I. 'is oppressive, inasmuch as it holds out conditions of relief injurious to the comfort and domestic situation and happiness of the 'industrious poor,' expressed the fashionable doctrine of the time. In December 1795, while that bill was before the House, Mr Whitbread introduced a bill authorizing the Justices of the Peace to fix a minimum of wages. The speeches from both sides of the House on this occasion show both the existing practice and the existing feeling.

* I. Eden, 577. † *History of the Poor Laws*, p. 219.

Mr Fox supported the measure on the ground that the magistrate ought to be authorized to protect the poor from the injustice of a griping employer; that few derived sufficient subsistence from their labour; and that the great mass of the labouring part of the community received parochial relief.* Mr Lechmere stated that *no* agricultural labourer could support himself and his family with comfort, and that it was the duty of the legislature to relieve the industrious poor.† Mr Pitt opposed the bill, among other grounds, because it would give the man with a small family too much wages, or the man with a large family too little; and in its place proposed to make parochial relief, where there were children, a matter of right and an honour.‡

The bill which Mr Pitt introduced in 1796, went still further: it not only entitled the labourer to an allowance in proportion to the number of his children; but it authorized the parochial officers, if they thought the wages which he received from his employer insufficient, to make up the deficiency from the rates. It even authorized them to purchase and present to him a cow, or other domestic animal.§

Both bills were dropped: probably because the 36th Geo. III., cap. 23, which enabled a single Justice, 'at his just and proper 'discretion, to order relief to any industrious poor person, or 'persons, at his, or her, or their own home,' without limit and without appeal, had been already found a sufficient sanction for any profusion which the short-sighted benevolence of the time could require: but their introduction shows the general state of opinion.

In 1800, Mr Whitbread renewed his bill for establishing a minimum of wages. He complained, that on searching the statute-book, he could find nothing to compel the farmers to do their duty; that is to say, to raise wages with the price of provisions. Mr Pitt again objected to the bill, because it proposed one standard for the price of labour, without considering whether the labourer were an unmarried man, or a man with a numerous family; and he repeated, that he thought the distress would be best met by parochial aid.¶ Such was the state of political knowledge at the beginning of the present century, and such were the opinions of eminent men of both parties.

When the monstrous doctrine had been promulgated, that a tax assessed and distributed at the discretion of the Justices, the

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* *Fox's Speeches*, Vol. vi. p. 104.

† *Hansard*, Vol. xxxii. p. 703, *et post.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ See the Bill, *Eden*, cccxiii.

¶ 34 *Hansard*, p. 1427.

vestries, and the overseers, was to form a regular element in the subsistence of the labouring classes—when more than 15,000 sets of overseers, 15,000 vestries, and 2,000 Justices, acting generally independently, and often in opposition to one another, decided in each parish how much should be raised, and to whom, and in what shares, and on what grounds, and on what conditions it should be given—it is obvious that the forms of management and mismanagement must have been almost infinite.

We will confine our attention to a single subject, or rather to a single branch of a single subject—the out-door relief of able-bodied men.

The Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners, writing in the beginning of the year 1834, divided the out-door relief of the able-bodied into relief in kind, and relief in money; and subdivided relief in money into five classes—1st, Relief without labour; 2d, The allowance system; 3d, The roundsman system; 4th, The labour-rate system; and 5th, Parish employment.

Relief in kind was generally effected by payment to the owners of cottages, themselves almost always vestrymen or overseers, rents on behalf of the poor—a practice which soon created a large and lucrative cottage property;—or by making presents of clothing, or of a ticket for the purchase of clothing, at a shop kept by a vestryman or overseer.

Of the five forms of money relief, they say that—

I. Relief without labour was sometimes given by a weekly payment, from 2s. to 3s. a-week, without condition; but they add—'It is more usual to give a rather larger weekly sum, and to 'force the applicants to give up a certain portion of their time, 'by confining them in a gravel-pit, or in some other enclosure, 'or directing them to sit at a certain spot and do nothing, or 'obliging them to attend a roll-call several times in the day, or 'by any contrivance which shall prevent their leisure from be-'coming a means either of profit or of amusement.'*

II. Allowance was a weekly payment from the parish, in aid of wages, to persons employed by individuals. It was regulated by the price of bread, and the number of persons in a family; the avowed object being to prevent what even Mr Pitt considered an evil—a person unmarried, or with a small family, being better off than a man with a large family; and to enable the farmer to feed his labourers, as he fed his other stock, only in proportion to their necessities. In some places the amount earned was ascertained, and only the remainder paid from the

* Report, p. 20.

rates; in others the earnings were not enquired into, but were assumed to consist of a certain sum, generally the lowest average wages of day labour. In others, no enquiry was made as to wages, but a given sum, generally eighteenpence a-week, was paid for each child above three, or two, or even one. This was called head-money. Frequently the law of a district was promulgated in the form of a scale.

The following are examples of scales:—

'ESSEX.—DIVISION OF CHELMSFORD, 1821.

'At a special meeting of the magistrates acting in and for the said division, held at the Justice Room, in the Shire Hall, on Friday, the 15th day of June 1821,

'It was resolved,

'That the under-mentioned scale of relief, for the assistance of the overseers of the poor within the said division, in relieving the necessitous poor, be recommended: That they do provide each person in every family with the means of procuring half a peck of bread flour per week, together with 10d. per head for other necessaries, if the family consist of two only; 8d. per head, if three; 6d. per head, if four; and 5d. per head, if more than four.

'N.B.—The above-mentioned sums are exclusive of fuel.

'By order of the magistrates,

'T. ARCHER, *Clerk.*' *

'ARUNDEL BOROUGH, Nov. 19, 1830.

'At a meeting of the inhabitants, held this day, the masters agreed to give able-bodied men 2s. per day, wet and dry, and an allowance of 1s. 6d. per week for every child (above two) under 14 years of age.

'Lads from 14 to 16, 8d. per day; lads from 16 to 18, 1s. per day; young men from 18 to 21, 1s. 6d. per day, from this time to Lady-day.

'Agreed to by the magistrates, assembled at their meeting this day.' †

'At a vestry meeting, holden in the parish church of Edgefield, on Monday, April 8, 1833,

'Resolved,—That the rate of wages for able-bodied men be reduced to 4s. per week; that 1s. per week be given to each wife, and 1s. for each child per week. If there is not any children, allow the wife 1s. 6d. per week.

'Agreed for three months from this date, to commence Monday, 15th.

'[Here follow 15 signatures.'] ‡

It will be observed that the first of these scales is a formal document, originating with the magistrates of a division of a

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* Report, p. 23. † Ibid. p. 24.

‡ Ibid. 82. Edgefield is a village in Norfolk, containing, in 1831, 167 families, of whom 130 were agricultural. The rental in 1815 was L.1730; the expenditure on the poor, in 1829, L.1515; in 1785, it was L.303.

county; the second is a resolution by the inhabitants of a borough town, subsequently sanctioned by the magistrates; the third is a specimen of village legislation.

We add Mr Majendie's comment on the Chelmsford scale:—

'In Coggeshall, Essex, weekly wages are 8s.; but by piecework a good labourer may earn 10s. Now, consider the case of labourers with four children, for the subsistence of which family, (according to the Chelmsford scale, which is the law of that district,) 11s. 6d. is required. Of this sum the good labourer earns 10s., and receives from the parish 1s. 6d. The inferior labourer earns 8s., and receives from the parish 3s. 6d. The man who does not work, and whom no one will employ, receives the whole from the parish.'*

III. We now come, thirdly, to the roundsman system, sometimes termed the billet, ticket, or stem system.

This consisted in the parish paying the occupiers of land to employ the labourers at a rate of wages, fixed in each case by the parish, and depending on the wants of the applicants. In general it was effected by a sale, on the part of the parish, of the labourers' services to the farmer;—the difference between the wages paid by the farmer and received by the labourer being made up out of the rates. 'At Yardley Hastings, in Nor-'thamptonshire,' says Mr Richardson, 'all the unemployed 'men are put up to sale weekly; and the clergyman of the 'parish told me that he had seen ten men the last week knocked 'down to one farmer for five shillings. There were about 'seventy men let out in that manner out of a body of one hun-'dred and seventy.'† In Hasilbury, Dorsetshire, the overseers shared out the pauper labourers among the farmers, including themselves, and paid them for their work *wholly* out of the rates.‡

IV. Fourthly, the labour-rate system consisted in an agreement, that each rate-payer should employ and pay, according to a rate fixed by the vestry, a certain number of the labourers having settlements in the parish; or pay to the overseer the wages of those whom he made default in employing and paying.

The provisions of these agreements were very various; but the object of them all was to throw on the class of rate-payers which employed no labourers, or the fewest labourers, in proportion to their rateable property, a proportion of the wages and rates which had previously been paid by others. The shop-

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* Poor Law Report, App. A, vol. i. p. 230.

† Appendix, A, p. 1, p. 401. ‡ Appendix, B. Question 89, p. 141.

keeper was sacrificed to the farmer; the occupier of grass land to the occupier of arable; and the tithe-owner to every body. In Pulborough, Sussex, the rector was required to employ or pay for sixty-two men, at ten shillings a-week each—or L.1612—besides his ordinary poor rate of L.420—altogether L.2032—an amount which appears to have been about double the value of the benefice.*

We are ashamed to say that labour-rates were sanctioned by the temporary act of the 2d and 3d William IV. cap. 96.

V. Parish employment, the last form of relief which we have to consider, and the only one which was legal, was also the one which was least frequently adopted. Out of L.7,036,968 expended for the relief of the poor in 1832, only L.354,000, scarcely one-twentieth part, was paid for work, including work on the roads and in the workhouse.

This may easily be accounted for. In the first place, parish employment is costly. It requires some expenditure for tools and materials, and more for superintendence; and the returns are nothing. Secondly, and that was probably the principal reason, parish employment does not afford a direct profit to any individual. 'Under most of the other systems of relief,' said the Commissioners of Inquiry, 'the immediate employers of labour 'can throw on the parish a part of the wages of their labourers. 'They prefer, therefore, those modes of relief which they can 'turn to their own account—out of which they can extract profit 'under the mask of charity.'†

The result, however, whatever were its motives, was not to be regretted. 'Whatever,' says Mr Richardson, 'the previous cha-'racter of a man may have been, he is seldom able to withstand 'the corruption of the roads: two years' occasional employment 'there ruins the best labourer. Moreover, in very many in-'stances, the difference between parish pay for pretending to 'break stones on the road, and the real wages given by the 'farmer, does not amount to more than one shilling a-week; and, 'if the man has a family entitling him to receive a given sum by 'the scale as head-money, he receives as much from the parish 'as he would from any other employer. Accordingly, the 'labourers who are only occasionally employed are nearly indif-'ferent to pleasing or displeasing their employer; they quit with 'the remark which I heard at least a dozen times from different 'overseers—"I can get as much on the roads as if I worked for 'you."'‡

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* Report, p. 203. † Report, p. 87. ‡ Appendix, A. Part I. p. 399.

We are sorry to prolong this disgusting detail of fraud and oppression; but we must illustrate it by the following extracts from the reports of Mr Okeden, Mr Majendie, and Mr Gulson, which show the practical working of almost all these systems:—

'At Urchfont, a parish in the district of Devizes, the population of which is 1340, and the annual poor rates about L.1450, there are above fifty men out of employ for forty-five weeks every year. To these the parish pays 3s. a-week each during that time, and enquires no further about their time or labour; thus creating an annual item of expense of nearly L.400.

'At the parish of Bodicott, in the district of Bloxham, a printed form is delivered to those who apply for work. The labourer takes this to the farmers in succession, who, if they do not want his labour, sign their names. The man, on his return, receives from the overseer the day's pay of an industrious labourer, with the deduction of 2d. The same system takes place in other parishes.

'At Deddington, during the severe winter months, about sixty men apply every morning to the overseer for work or pay. He ranges them under a shed in a yard. If a farmer or any one else wants a man, he sends to the yard for one, and pays half the day's wages; the rest is paid by the parish. At the close of the day, the unemployed are paid the wages of a day, minus 2d.*

'At Rotherfield, in East Sussex, 120 men were out of employ in the winter 1831-32, and various modes were attempted to dispose of them. First, they were set to work on the parish account—single men at 5s., men with families at 10s. per week. The pay being the same as farmers' pay, the men left the farmers, in order to get the same pay with less work. Then they were billeted among the farmers at 1s. per day from the farmers, and 8d. from the parish. This was changed to 1s. from the parish, and 8d. from the farmer. The men so billeted did not keep the proper hours of work; then the farmers' men, finding that they who worked the regular hours were paid no more than those who were irregular, gave up their employment to become billeted men, and the farmers were induced to throw their men out of employ, to get their labour done by the parish purse. The billeting system having failed, a 6d. labour-rate was made: it soon failed. Magistrates now recommend 6d. in the pound to be deducted from the full rate, and that the occupier should be allowed to pay that proportion of his rate by employment of the surplus hands.†

'The labourers are much deteriorated. They do not care whether they have regular work or not; they prefer idle work on the roads.

'At Burwash, in East Sussex, in the year 1822, the surplus labourers were put up to auction, and hired as low as 2d. and 3d. per day; the rest of their maintenance being made up by the parish. The consequence was, that the farmers turned off their regular hands, in order to

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* App. (A.) Part I., p. 6—12. † Ibid. p. 176.

hire them by auction when they wanted them. During the last year, the following plan has been adopted:—The names of the occupiers are written on pieces of paper, which are put into a bag; the labourer draws out a ticket, which represents 10s. worth of labour, at fair wages; next week the labourer draws another master, and this is repeated till the occupier has exhausted the shilling rate. This has continued two winters; much fraud is mixed up with the practice. Some farmers turn off their labourers in order to have ticketed men; other occupiers refuse to pay the rate, and against them it is not enforced.*

'In the books of Hampton Poyle are the following items:—

Paid for men and boys standing in the pound, 6 days, L.6 7 0

And in every week's payments a list of these labourers, thus—

W. Wheeler, standing in the pound 6 days, . L.0 8 0
J. Cartwright, standing in the pound 4 days, . 0 6 0'†

The old fable, which describes the contest between the wind and the sun to deprive the traveller of his cloak, was never better illustrated. For more than three hundred years, from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, the English Parliament endeavoured to confine the labourer to his parish, and force him to work there at the wages which the Justices should think fit. They accumulated enactment on enactment, and severity on severity; they threatened the employer with fine and imprisonment, and the labourer with torture, chains, mutilation, and death; and they failed. By reason, says the preamble to the 1st Ed. VI. cap. 3, 'of the foolish 'pity and mercy of those who should have seen the said goodly 'laws executed, the said goodly statutes have had small effect.' But the result which the legislature, using all its efforts for the purpose—disregarding, in the pursuit of its object, every principle of liberty or humanity—could not attain by violence, was produced, *against its intention*, by ill-directed benevolence. The poor might well say, we can deal with our enemies, only save us from our friends.

Regardless as the local authorities were of the restrictions imposed on them by the law, they bound themselves, at least in the agricultural parishes, by one rule. They never gave allowance from the rates of a parish to able-bodied labourers who were not settled in it. And, of course, they had no motive to give such relief to the able-bodied who belonged to their parish, but resided elsewhere. They were ready to pay wages out of the rates for their own benefit, but not for the benefit of others. In

* App. (A.) Part I., p. 177.
† First Annual Poor Law Report, p. 184.

a pauperized district, where the labourer's income was composed partly of wages and partly of allowance, the married man had practically no more free-will as to the parish in which he should reside, the master whom he should serve, or the subsistence that he and his family should receive, than the horse that he drove. In parochial language, he *belonged* to the parish in which he had his legal settlement. There only he could receive allowance; and, generally speaking, there only he could get employment. The law decided what should be his place of settlement; the magistrate what should be his whole income; the vestry how much of it should consist of wages, and how much of allowance; and the overseer who should be his master.

Of course, such a system, monstrous as it now seems to us, had much to recommend it. It was pleasant to many of the higher classes to escape both from the pain of witnessing distress, and from the trouble of relieving it. Real active benevolence requires time and investigation, and imposes responsibility: they liked to have nothing to do but to pay their rates, and be charitable by their proxy, the overseer. Many again were comforted by the reflection, that the wives and children of the labouring classes could no longer suffer for the misconduct of the head of the family. And some, perhaps, of still weaker feelings, were glad that even the profligate could claim a comfortable subsistence. The magistrates enjoyed influence by which the soberest mind might have been intoxicated: they were the representatives of benevolence as well as of justice; the arbiters between all the labourers and all the employers of their divisions; they were profuse without cost, and arbitrary without responsibility; they made and re-made their laws without control, and enforced them without appeal.

It was convenient to the farmer to reduce the unmarried to the minimum of subsistence; to have the services of an able-bodied man for eightpence, or sixpence, or even twopence a-day; to turn off his labourers in frost or in rain, and take them back from the gravel-pit or the roads, or the parish pound, or the overseer's yard, whenever he wanted their assistance; and throw the greater part of their maintenance on the shopkeeper or the rector, and the remainder, in the form of deductions from rent, on the landlord. The owner of cottage property found in the parish a liberal and a solvent tenant, and the petty shopkeeper and publican attended the vestry to vote allowance to his customers and debtors. The rental of a pauperized parish was like the revenue of the Sultan of Turkey—a prey of which every administrator hoped to get a share.

But when a generation of pauperized labourers had grown up,

it was found that new evils were inseparable from these new advantages. It was found, that to enact that no one shall lose by idleness, was to enact that no one shall gain by industry; and that to repeal the penalties of misconduct, was to repeal the rewards of merit. The great truth, that slave labour is more expensive than free labour, became apparent. It was shown to be so even when only half the slave's maintenance was paid by the master. 'While the labourer,' said Mr Clark, a Bledlow farmer, in his evidence taken after the Poor Law Amendment Act was in operation, 'was half pauper and half labourer, he was 'like a man with two masters, and could do justice to neither; 'but, now he feels that he is wholly a labourer, he works hard 'and willingly. My eight shillings wages will purchase for me 'labour sufficient to produce ten shillings' worth of crop; but 'with a pauper, my five shillings paid will be a loss. With independent labourers, the more I have in moderation, the more 'I make; but, for the paupers, the more I have, the more I 'lose: I will employ as many of the former and as few of the 'latter as I can. Ten independent labourers would do me more 'good than five; while of paupers, five would be more desirable 'than ten.'*

Even if these semi-servile work-people had been efficient instruments, the mode in which they ultimately became distributed through the pauperized districts, would have destroyed half the value of their services. We have seen that the allowance system imprisoned every man within the parish to which, from the accidents of settlement, he belonged. Nothing could be more anomalous than such an arrangement. Without confusing our readers by an attempt to expound the English law of settlement, which even now is intricate and arbitrary, it may be enough to say that, during the period of which we are treating, a settlement was acquired by inheritance, by marriage, by property, or by a residence of less than six weeks under some one of a set of numerous and capricious conditions. And every acquisition of a new settlement destroyed the previous one. Even when things were left to take their own course, accidental circumstances—such as the establishment or the abandonment of a manufacture, an inclosure, a change in the mode of tillage—in short, any thing which affected the demand for labour within the narrow precincts of a parish, changed the proportions between the number of persons entitled to settlements, and the number of persons whose services were really wanted there. But as the burden of poor

* First Annual Poor Law Report, p. 259.

rates was more and more felt by landlords, all sorts of devices were resorted to, in order to shift settlements from one parish to another. Where a parish belonged to a single owner, or to a few owners acting in concert, the cottages were pulled down, and the inhabitants bribed to sleep in adjoining parishes, under conditions transferring their settlement. We have visited parishes where there was not a house except the squire's mansion and the parsonage, and the whole labour was performed by persons legally resident in the neighbouring villages. Where the number of proprietors or the interests of cottage owners rendered this impossible, the object was effected, on a limited scale, by bribing girls to marry men belonging to other parishes, and by apprenticing boys to masters resident elsewhere. And the result was a distribution of the population without reference either to their welfare or their utility. In a pauperized district, even if the labourers had been industrious, they would have been inefficient, because they were ill distributed: even if they had been well distributed they would have been inefficient, because they had no motive to be industrious.

When we look back at this state of things, it seems strange that where such abuses prevailed, the land should have remained in cultivation. And we firmly believe, that if the remedy had been delayed, even for a very few years—to the time for instance at which we are writing—calamities would have fallen on a large portion of England, such as no free country, unassailed by a foreign or a domestic enemy, has ever endured. But to discover a remedy was not easy, and to apply one was to encounter the determined hostility of all those who were incapable of understanding the nature of the evil or of the remedy—of all the sentimentalists who estimate a law solely by its apparent harshness when applied to extreme cases—of all those who gained, or thought that they gained, or hoped to gain, influence or profit by the existing maladministration—and of all the unprincipled politicians who might hope to make opposition to the proposed law an instrument in party warfare. Such dangers the Tory party, which, with a few brief intervals, reigned from 1784 to 1830, in fact during the whole period in which these abuses grew into maturity, would not incur. They looked on, while a Committee of the House of Commons predicted 'the 'neglect and ruin of the land, and the waste and removal of other 'property, to the utter subversion of that happy order of society 'so long upheld in these kingdoms.' They looked on while poor rates rose from L.2,004,239 in 1785, to L.6,829,042 in 1830; they looked on while in whole counties the rates equalled a third of the remaining rental; while estates were abandoned,

and whole parishes were on the point of being thrown up, without capital or occupier, to the poor; they looked on while the labouring classes lost their subordination, their industry, their skill, their honesty, their benevolence, and even their natural affections. At length a government arose, willing, in a good cause, to brave unpopularity. One of its first measures, even before the Reform bill was carried, was to appoint a commission to enquire into the effects of the poor laws; and to suggest measures for their improvement.

Without dwelling on the report of the commissioners, we proceed to the act which resulted from their recommendations, the Poor Law Amendment Act. That act was in part founded on the 9th Geo. I.; the act which enabled parishes singly, or in union, to establish workhouses, and denied relief to those who refused to enter them. But the 9th Geo. I. was merely permissive, and contained no machinery for its details, or for its general superintendence. It remained, therefore, as far as the uniting parishes for workhouse purposes is concerned, a dead letter. We are not aware that a single union was ever formed under its provisions; and, though it occasioned the establishment of many workhouses for separate parishes, they became, in the absence of all control, mere alms-houses for the impotent, and hotbeds of vice for the able-bodied.

The original and the important part of the Poor Law Amendment Act—the part to which it owes its whole efficiency—was the creation of a Central Board of Commissioners, and the enactment, 'that the administration of relief to the poor should be subject 'to their direction and control; and that they should make all 'such rules, orders, and regulations for the management of the 'poor, the government of workhouses, the guidance and control 'of guardians, vestries, and paid officers, and carrying the act 'into execution in all other respects, as they should think proper; 'but should not interfere to order relief in any individual case.' To enable the Central Board to adapt their rules to the varying circumstances of the 15,000 parishes over which they were to preside, and to superintend their execution, they were directed to appoint assistant commissioners, each itinerant within his own district. They were authorized to unite parishes for the administration of the poor laws, and to give a new organization to the parishes which they should think it better to keep separate; and the bill enacted, that in every such union or parish a board of guardians should be elected by the owners and occupiers, the resident magistrates being *ex officio* guardians; and that the workhouses of such unions should be governed and the relief of the poor administered by such guardians, and that the commis-

sioners should determine the number of the guardians, and prescribe their duties. It further enabled the commissioners to direct the guardians to appoint paid officers, with such salaries, qualifications, and duties as the commissioners should prescribe, and to determine the continuance in office or dismissal of such officers. It directed that no guardian should act except as a member, and at a meeting of the board, and that three members at least should concur in any act of the board. And, subject to some unimportant exceptions, and to the general control of the commissioners, the relief of the poor was placed exclusively in the hands of the guardians.

These, with some enactments respecting bastardy and settlement, into which we do not propose to enter at present, are the principal provisions of this celebrated act.

It is to be observed, that it made no direct change either in the nature or the amount of the relief to be given, or in the persons entitled to it. It legalized neither allowance nor relief without labour; but it contained no enactments prohibiting them, or declaring their illegality. In this respect it differed from all of the many proposals for poor law amendment that had been made since the beginning of the century; including the recommendations of the commissioners of enquiry. The commissioners of enquiry had recommended, that within two years all out-door relief to the able-bodied, or their families, should, by express enactment, become unlawful—and the early drafts of the bill were framed accordingly. A trace of this is to be found in the existing act, sect. 52, which enacts that it shall be lawful for the commissioners to declare to what extent, and for what period, relief may be administered to any able-bodied persons, or their families, *out of the workhouse of any union or parish*—an enactment which, when considered with reference to the previous clauses as they now stand, giving to the commissioners the control over all relief whatever, seems mere surplusage; but was necessary at the time of its first introduction, while there were previous prohibitory clauses.

It is to be observed, too, that although the act placed the overseers under the control of the commissioners, and, in unions, made them the officers of the guardians, it did not expressly relieve them from the duties of making and collecting the rate, and distributing relief. From the most troublesome of these duties, the collection and distribution of the rate, they were afterwards in a great measure relieved, in unions and in parishes under boards of guardians, by the commissioners, who directed the appointment of paid collectors, and paid relieving officers. But

they are still legally bound to make and assess the rate, and to give relief in cases of sudden and urgent necessity.

The whole act shows an anxious desire to avoid unnecessary innovation and direct interference. The object to be ultimately effected was the removal of an extensive and complicated set of abuses, which had become entwined with the habits and prejudices both of the distributors and the receivers of parish pay; and which could not be simultaneously abolished, if such an abolition were practicable, without suffering, intense, wide-spread, and we must add, in most cases undeserved. The poor were not the authors of the system which had ruined their freedom, their industry, and their morals. It had been imposed on them by the ignorance and vanity of the higher orders, and the avarice and fraud of the middle classes. To allow that system to continue, would indeed have been the extreme of injustice and cruelty; but to attack it by direct enactment, and by prohibitions necessarily applicable to the whole of England, and incapable of modification according to the different habits and circumstances of 15,000 different parishes, would, if such an attempt could have succeeded, have been cruelty and injustice, differing only in degree. But it would not have succeeded. The statute would have shared the fate of all its predecessors. It would have been perverted by the local authorities, misinterpreted by the courts of law, and have ultimately aggravated every evil that it was intended to suppress. The appointment of controlling commissioners; the creation through their agency of unions, depriving the magistrates, vestries, and overseers in those unions of their discretionary power; and enabling the commissioners gradually to introduce, and subsequently to enforce, a wise administration; was the only just, the only safe, and, in fact, the only practicable course.

But this course was subject to a serious danger;—a danger that will recur with every vacancy in the commission. The commissioners and their assistants are the act. They are the only persons necessarily appointed for the purpose of carrying it into execution. The relieving officers are nominated by the guardians, and the guardians are elected by constituencies, who are often opposed to the law, as in the well-known cases of Bolton, Nottingham, and Macclesfield; and who choose their guardians for the express purpose of defeating it. These, to be sure, may be called extreme cases; but even when it is honestly administered, a poor law is, of all human institutions, the one most subject to derangement. There is no institution so eminently artificial; none which attempts to overrule or modify so many of the propensities given to us by nature, and so many of the checks

which she has opposed to their undue indulgence. There is none in which abuses are so plausible; none in which they bring with them so much immediate convenience, and betray so little their ultimate mischief. If the central authority relax its vigilance or its activity—if it do not constantly re-adjust the nicely balanced machinery which it has to manage—if it do not keep constantly before the thousands of administrative local authorities, the principles by which they ought to be governed, and the dangers of every departure, however expedient it may appear in the particular instance—if it do not exercise its authority when its advice has been ineffectual; it will become a cloak for maladministration instead of a corrective.

> 'Non aliter, quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
> Remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit,
> Atque illum in præceps prono rapit alveus amni.'

The defect of the act, therefore, if an unavoidable quality can be called a defect, was, and always will be, its dependence for its efficiency on the personal character of the commissioners and the assistant commissioners. The Melbourne Cabinet selected one out of the three commissioners from among their political opponents, and appointed another whose politics, so far as he had manifested them, were Conservative; and entrusted to the central board, without even interposing a recommendation, the appointment of their assistant commissioners. The only person connected with the commission who was not appointed by the commissioners was the secretary; and the talents, knowledge, and services of Mr Chadwick were such, that it was impossible not to place him in the position either of commissioner or of secretary.

No public department has had a more difficult task than the poor law commissioners, and none has executed it more successfully.

The commissioners of inquiry had reported that it was not expedient, or even practicable, to return to the provisions of the 43d of Elizabeth; and exclude from relief the able-bodied labourer who professed to be unable to earn wages adequate to the support of his family. But they held that there must be some *test* of the truth of his representations; and that the test must be, making relief less eligible than independent labour. If he accepted these terms, that acceptance *tested* the reality of his wants.

These principles were acknowledged by the commissioners to whom the execution of the law was intrusted: the difficulty lay in their application.

There appear to be three modes, and only three modes, by which relief can be rendered less eligible than independent labour. 1. By requiring from the pauper labour more severe or more irksome than that of the labourer. 2. By giving to him a subsistence inferior in amount or in quality. 3. By connecting his subsistence with disagreeable conditions. The second of these—the affording to the pauper a less amount of the necessaries of life than is earned by the labourer—could not be thought of. It would not be easy to do so, and to preserve him and his family in health and strength. And even if it had been practicable, it would have been effectually resisted by public opinion. Even under the present workhouse system, which affords all the necessaries of life in much greater abundance than the cottage, the supposed inadequacy of the workhouse diet is a constant subject of popular complaint. How great would have been the indignation if such a complaint had had a real foundation!

The first expedient, or, as it has been called, the labour test, has been found practicable for short periods in towns, where the applicants for relief all reside in the same neighbourhood, and can be collected in one work-yard, under one or two paid inspectors, and be employed in labour disagreeable to persons of sedentary habits. But long experience has shown its inapplicability to a scattered agricultural population, who must in independent employment submit to toil and exposure, and can be put to no severer work. This difficulty, added to that of finding vigilant inspectors, has reduced parochial employment, wherever it has been attempted in country districts, to almost nominal work, and therefore deprived it of all claim to be a test; and even in towns it requires an unrelaxed inspection, which cannot be long sustained.

There remained therefore the third plan, which, abandoning the idea of rendering parish subsistence less abundant than wages, or parish labour more severe than that exacted by an individual employer, proposed to connect the relief of the able-bodied with a condition which no man not in real want would accept, or would submit to when that want had ceased. Our readers are aware that the condition thus selected as a test, was, that the able-bodied applicant, with his family, should enter a workhouse—should be supported there by a diet ample indeed in quantity, but from which the stimulants which habit had endeared to him were excluded—should be subjected to habits of cleanliness and order, be separated from his former associates, and debarred from his former amusements. Wherever this experiment had been tried, at Bingham, at Southwell, at Cookham,

and at Uley, it had succeeded; and the commissioners of inquiry had, as we have seen, recommended that its universal adoption should be rendered imperative by the legislature. We have seen also that Parliament refused to follow this recommendation; but gave to the commissioners intrusted with the execution of the law, power gradually to introduce and to enforce it.

Many parishes, however, were unprovided with workhouses, and very few possessed a population or funds sufficient to establish a workhouse, with proper officers and a proper classification.

The first business of the commissioners, therefore, was to exercise their power of uniting and organizing parishes. They have now created 588 unions, or parishes administered by guardians, which, for brevity, we will also term unions, comprising a population, according to the census of 1831, of 12,182,031 persons;—the parishes still un-united and un-organized consisting chiefly of those with some legal difficulties, still unremoved, except from the provisions of the amended law. In all these unions, with the exception of thirty-three, they have already procured the establishment of new workhouses, or the adaptation of the existing ones to the purposes of the act.

To all these unions and organized parishes they have issued orders, containing, in fact, codes to govern them in the administration of relief, varying according to the circumstances of the case, and relaxed and altered as those circumstances changed.

One of their earliest rules was the prohibition, after a given day, of relief in money to the able-bodied in the employment of individuals. But there was a great interval between this palliative, and the real remedy of the allowance system, the prohibition of out-door relief to able-bodied males. This has been effected by what is called the 'Prohibitory Order'—the effect of which is to prohibit out-door relief to able-bodied persons, who are themselves, together with their children, in health. It is accompanied by several exceptions, the main exception being that of able-bodied widows with children.

During the first of their years of office, the commissioners ventured to introduce the prohibitory order only in the Cookham union and the parish of Sandridge.* In the next year—the year ending August 1836—they had issued it to sixty-four unions.† From this time the prohibitory order appears to have been progressively introduced into the unions possessing proper work-

* First Annual Report, p. 28. † Second Annual Report, pp. 6 and 7.

houses, as they were ripe for its reception. In May 1841, it had been issued to 437 unions and organized parishes, containing, according to the enumeration of 1831, 7,372,021 persons, and comprising nearly all the unions, except those in Middlesex, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and some of the Welsh counties.

In these large districts, therefore, all the great evils of the old maladministration—relief without labour, the allowance system, the roundsman system, the labour-rate system, and out-door parish employment—have, as far as respects able-bodied men and their families, been extirpated. The labourers, in a population of more than seven million persons, have been raised from a semi-servile state to freedom.

A more general estimate of the improvement effected, may be made by comparing the total amount of the poor rates in 1834 with the amount in 1840. The amount for 1834 was L.7,511,219, that for 1840 was L.5,110,683—the difference being L.2,400,536, or nearly one-third. And this was effected under the pressure of bad harvests, hard winters, and manufacturing distress, unexampled in severity and duration. The annual official expense by which this saving was effected, is less than L.50,000 a-year, less than one-fiftieth part of the saving. And yet the expense of the Poor Law Commission has been a fertile subject of declamation!

We attach, however, little comparative importance to the pecuniary results of the Poor Law Amendment Act. If the difference between the rates of 1836 and those of 1840 had still been raised but merely to be thrown away, our prosperity would have been little impaired. Every year of a war costs ten times as much. The real evil of the profusion was the indirect evil—the real benefit of the economy is its indirect benefit. We are grateful to the legislature, and grateful to the commissioners, not for having saved L.2,400,000 a-year, but for having stopped the progress of the plague, and improved the morals of the people. These results cannot be expressed in figures or tables; nor can the evidence for them be stated, or even referred to in detail, within the narrow limits of an article. The appendices to the seven annual reports of the commissioners, and the minutes of evidence of the committee of the House of Commons, which subjected the administration and effects of the Poor Law Amendment Act to a searching and elaborate investigation in 1837 and 1838, are the best sources of information. The general result may be stated to be, that the labourer, finding himself no longer entitled to a fixed income, whatever be his idleness or misconduct, and no longer restricted to that income, whatever be his

industry and his integrity, becomes, as is always the case in a state of freedom, stimulated to activity and honesty by the double motive of hope and fear. Character has again become valuable.

We had proposed to insert some extracts from the evidence on this part of the subject; but we found it so vast and so uniform that we desisted. The annual reports of the commissioners, and the report and appendix of the House of Commons in 1838, are universally accessible; and the reader has only to open at hazard any volume, and he will find what we have briefly stated repeated by witness after witness, and expanded in all its details.

There never was a better illustration of the great truths, that in Morals, as well as in Political Economy, the laws of nature are wiser than those of man; and that the virtues of the mass of the people are as much at the mercy of the legislature as their wealth—equally capable of injury from rash interference, and of recovery when that interference has ceased. The surplus population, which had been so long the subject of complaint and of terror, and which farmers and landlords had vainly attempted to reduce by labour rates and allotments, and statesmen by vast schemes of emigration, disappeared as if by magic. The labourers had become *redundant*—to use an expression which seven years ago was unhappily familiar—partly because they were capriciously pent up in parishes, where the population was disproportioned to the area, partly because, where there was work for them to do, they had no motive to do it, and partly because they had ceased to reproduce the fund from which their wages were to come. When the bonds which confined them to their parishes were broken, they distributed themselves where their services were most wanted. When they were allowed the free disposal of their services, they endeavoured to make those services valuable. When the application of more efficient labour increased the employer's returns, and at the same time reduction of rates diminished his outgoings, he had a larger fund for the purchase of those services. The redundancy vanished with its causes. The able-bodied pauper is the result of art. He is not the natural offspring of the Saxon race. Unless his pauperism is carefully fostered by those who think it their interest to preserve it, he rapidly reverts to the *normal type*—the independent labourer.

We have now gone through the greater part of our task; we have explained the origin of the English poor laws, the abuses by which they were perverted, and the remedy which has been applied. We proceed to consider the principal obstacles with which the Poor Law Amendment Act has to contend, and the principal dangers to which it is exposed. To

a certain extent we have done this already; many of the causes which produced the maladministration of the old are working to defeat the new law. There is indeed less ignorance among the educated classes in towns, and among all classes in the agricultural districts; but the middle and lower classes in towns, who read nothing but newspapers, and converse only with one another, are probably in a worse state of mind on this subject now than they were ten years ago. Then, they were only ignorant; they are now ignorant and prejudiced; and in fact, except as respects the owners of estates, or the occupiers who are leaseholders, or reckon on being permanent tenants, a clear perception of the loss which ultimately follows the maladministration of relief, is no check to the unscrupulous. The inhabitant of a town is a transient occupant. If he is a publican, or a petty shopkeeper, or the owner of houses occupied by the poor, or a contractor for the supply of articles of relief, it may be worth his while to increase his custom or his rents, by promoting the increase of rates, of which he pays only a portion, and can throw a part of that portion on his landlord. A manufacturer, by getting twenty per cent of the wages of his work-people paid out of the rates, may undersell and ruin rival establishments five hundred miles off, may double his profits, may pauperize the surrounding district, and retire with his fortune, and never hear of the misery which he has left behind. Again, in populous places, the relief of the poor, under the old law, employed a much larger number of paid officers than it does under the present system. In the seventeen unions in Lancashire that were in operation in 1839, the number of paid officers was reduced, on the formation of the unions, from 347 to 47.* Of course, these three hundred persons are opposed to a system which has deprived them of profit and of power.

And, even in rural districts, the conviction that the old system was bad, is often one of those general principles which those who assert them try to avoid applying to their own case. Every one, indeed, protests against returning to head-money, or payment of wages out of rates. But an indifferent workman, with half-a-dozen children from twelve to two years old, complains to the guardians that he cannot live on his wages. A shilling a-head for his children would enable him to keep out of the workhouse—in it, he and his family would cost 24s. a-week. The guardian of his parish begs that this one case may be an exception to the general rule. He prevails on his colleagues to

* Fifth Annual Report, p. 30.

ask the sanction of the commissioners; the commissioners see that it is a mere case of allowance in aid of wages, and refuse—and are accused of administering the law pedantically and harshly, and of preventing the guardians from doing as they like with what is called their own money! Again, a severe winter interferes with field-labour, and a farmer finds that ten of his men, to whom he is paying 10s. a-week, are not worth to him more than 8s. Under the old system, the extra 2s. a-week would have been supplied from the rates, or the men would have been discharged by their employer, and the parish would have sold them by auction, or sent them to the gravel-pit, or the roads, or the parish pound, and paid their wages out of the rates. Under the new system, either the farmer must keep them, at an immediate loss of L.1 a-week, or the ten men and their families, amounting probably altogether to fifty persons, must come into the workhouse, where they would cost 3s. a-piece a-week. The result is, that rather than incur the loss and the odium of adding such a burden to the rates, and the further loss that would follow from his example being imitated by his neighbours, the farmer keeps them on: his neighbours keep on their labourers, and perhaps one hundred families, amounting to five hundred persons, whom the old law would have made or retained paupers, are independent. But the farmer grumbles over his immediate loss, and sighs for the time when the tithe-owner and the shopkeeper helped to pay the wages of those whom he employed, and to keep waiting for him those whom he might think fit to dismiss and resume.

The great obstacle, however, to the success, and to the popularity of the measure, is political. The session in which the Poor Law Amendment Bill became law, was the last in which this country has enjoyed a strong administration. The Parliament which passed it never re-assembled—the Ministry which carried it through was dissolved in less than three months. In the two subsequent Parliaments the Whig majority could never be reckoned on for a session, and seldom for a month. The hostility of Tories and Chartists against their common enemy, was stimulated by the constant proximity of success, and exasperated by constant disappointment. An obvious mode of party warfare was to attack the Whigs through their greatest administrative measure. In agricultural districts, where the working of the law is notorious, and where the higher classes, whatever be their political opinions, take an active part in it, the attempt failed. But in the larger towns, an anti-poor law agitator, who merely discarded veracity, had a tempting field. Only a small portion of the inhabitants of a large town take any part in the

administration of relief. The higher classes do not like to sit at the same board with their shoemakers and grocers: the feudal connexion of landlord and tenant, and the sympathy in agricultural and sporting pursuits, which unite the peer and the farmer, are wanting; and only a few among the tradesmen can find time for an unpaid office. The great majority of the population know nothing of the principles on which the law ought to be administered, or of the mode in which it actually is administered. They are the ready victims of misrepresentation, either of theory or of fact. On such a stage nothing is easier than to declaim on the sufferings of the poor and the duties of the rich—to accuse of cruelty every restriction by which relief is rendered less eligible than labour—to call workhouses 'Bastiles,' workhouse diet starvation, and separation of the sexes impiety—to represent the expense of the commission as extravagant, its authority as unconstitutional, and its conduct as harsh—to call its mere existence an insult, and every exercise of its powers an oppression—and to envenom the invective by an appeal to the party hatred which rages in provincial society. That the Chartists should have snatched at such a weapon, is not to be wondered at. They hate the Poor Law Amendment Act on the same ground on which they hate the Whigs—the support which it gives to the existing constitution. But the conduct of a large portion of the Tory candidates is disgraceful to the party, and indeed to the English aristocracy. They have coalesced with their bitterest enemies in an attack on an institution which they know to be essential to the prosperity and morals of the country; and they have urged that attack by spreading statements which they know to be false, and principles which they know to be destructive. A few Whigs and Radicals have acted with equal dishonesty; and the result has been, that in many places the law has been deprived of an aid which is essential to the perfect success of every law, and to the moderate success of a law that is to be worked by the people themselves—the support of public opinion. In some towns, whole boards of guardians have been elected from among those hostile to the law, and who come forward for the avowed purpose of defeating it. In others, its friends and its enemies have met at the same board, and the administration of relief has been made the subject of continual struggle or mischievous compromise; or the better educated have been driven away by the strife, and left the poor and the rate-payers a prey to the corrupt and the ignorant. The only check has been the authority of the commissioners, and their presence in the persons of their assistants.

And there is an apparent danger, though we trust not a real one, that even this check may be withdrawn or impaired.

Nothing could be more masterly than Lord Althorp's management of the Poor Law Amendment Bill in the House of Commons; nothing more lucid than his development of its details, or more convincing than his enforcement of its principles. But his desire for an overwhelming majority betrayed him into one unhappy error. He allowed the bill to be altered by inserting a proviso, limiting the duration of the commission to five years; feeling, as he said, no doubt that, at the end of the period, it would be made perpetual. He did not foresee that in 1839 the Government would not be strong enough to propose any thing to which half a dozen of their own supporters objected: the consequence, as we have seen, has been a mere annual prolongation of the commission, and an annual agitation by its enemies, in the hope that, under some accident, it may be left to expire, or that some less efficient check may be put in its place, or that it may be prolonged with less efficient powers of inspection and control.

We will briefly consider the probable results of any one of these three alternatives.

First, if the commission were suffered to expire, the whole legal administration of relief would remain fixed in the position in which it stood on the day when the regulator ceased to act. The parishes into which the new law had not been introduced would be excluded from it; the existing unions would be incapable of change. No errors in their formation or organization could be corrected; no defects could be supplied. The rules issued by the commissioners to different unions are necessarily affected by temporary peculiarities. These rules would remain unalterable. The rule, for instance, prohibiting out-door relief, has now been issued to 437 unions; but subject, in every case, to be departed from with the sanction of the commissioners. That sanction could no longer be given, and no longer be retracted or varied. Many thousand administrative officers, though appointed by the guardians, hold their situations at the will of the commissioners. They would no longer be subject to the control, or entitled to the protection of any responsible, or of any impartial authority.

These would be the *legal* consequences of the expiration of the powers of the commission. The *practical* consequence, however, would be, not rigidity, but anarchy. The guardians are in fact irresponsible. The office is elective and gratuitous, and they act not individually, but as a board. The only check is the disallowance by the auditors of any illegal expenditure. The auditors are inferior salaried officers, appointed by the

guardians. They are kept to their duty by the power of the commissioners to retain them in office, and to dismiss them. Remove that power, and they would become the tools of their superiors, the guardians, and all restraint on corrupt or ill-directed expenditure would be at an end. 'The thing which has been, it is that which shall be.' The discretionary administration of the guardians would resemble the discretionary administration of the magistrates and overseers. In some places, it would be perverted by the crotchet of a chairman; in others, by the cunning of the farmers; in some boards, the publican interest would prevail; and in others, that of the owners of factories or of stocking-frames. In the boroughs which are infested by freemen, the relieving officer would become an electioneering instrument, and boards of guardians would be elected to serve their own party; and where incendiarism has prevailed, the motive to profuseness would be terror.

Let it not be supposed that we undervalue the boards of guardians. We believe their establishment to have been an innovation as useful as it was bold; but we do not believe that any local irresponsible bodies can be trusted with the power of taking money from one portion of the community, and presenting it to another, with no supervision but that of auditors appointed by themselves.

Secondly, instead of suffering the commission to expire, it may be abolished, and a new control substituted in its place. This control may consist either in a new department of the Home Office, or in a new law, specifying all the details according to which the relief of the poor is to be administered, and appointing local and responsible authorities to enforce them. If the first expedient be adopted, and the duties of the commission be transferred to the Home Office, nothing whatever will be gained, except the empty concession of a change; and much will be lost. Under the present system, the commissioners and their assistants have been appointed, without distinction of party, solely on the ground of their fitness. No one can be Utopian enough to suppose that such would be the case, if an under-secretary of state were substituted for the board, and the assistant commissionerships were part of the Government patronage. Under the present system, we have obtained the services of men whose whole thoughts and energies have been consumed in the anxious and unremitting labour of their duties. Could we hope for such devotedness from politicians who would consider their office as a mere step, and a painful one, in the career of preferment? Under the present system, among all the calumnies with which the English board has been assailed, one reproach has never been

whispered. They have never been accused of prostituting their influence for political purposes. Can we hope that a ministerial department would be free from such a stain? Or, if it were free from the stain, that it would be free from the imputation?

And lastly, could any government support the unpopularity of a firm execution of the duties of the office? Could any government venture to control between five and six hundred elective bodies—comprising all the most powerful members of the county constituencies, and the most active demagogues in the towns—to resist their jobs, to interfere with their favourite schemes, to dismiss their officers for improper subservience, or keep them in office for proper independence, to exact from them what it believed to be a sufficient expenditure, and restrain them from what it held to be profuseness? A government rash enough to assume such duties, if it attempted to perform them would ruin itself, and if it neglected them would ruin the country.

But mere neglect by the Government, fatal as it would be, is not the most formidable danger. It must be recollected that we are legislating for years—perhaps for centuries. At present, indeed, the heads of the three great parties have too much knowledge and too much honesty to be guilty of the folly and the wickedness of replunging the country into pauperism. But are we sure that this feeling will continue? Who can tell what dangers and what calamities may lie hid within what remains of the present century? Who can tell how intense may be the distress, how fierce the animosities, or how unscrupulous the factions that may be let loose upon us? No more attractive or more exciting watchword could be assumed by any party than that of kindness to the poor. If a powerful opposition raised this cry, could a Ministry, charged with the administration of the poor laws, dare to resist it? If it were proclaimed by a Ministry, could it be withstood by an Opposition? And if the two great parties were bidding against one another for popularity, would philosophy or even experience be listened to? While the administration of the poor laws is vested in an independent body, unconnected with party—whose conduct reflects on the Government neither popularity nor odium—we may expect that it will be, as we know that it has been, exercised for the general good. But if that administration is assumed by the executive, it must, sooner or later—we fear very soon—be perverted by party interests. The restraints which alone render the workhouses a test, will be denounced as inhuman, and relaxed. They will become vast establishments for the propagation of hereditary pauperism. Out-door relief will be afforded to the able-bodied, and will again be a substitute for wages. Avarice, ambition, and vanity will again

be permitted to usurp the name of benevolence; and oppression and fraud to call themselves charity. The abuses which seven years of unremitted struggle have subdued, but not extirpated, will revive with more than their former vigour; and the Poor Law Amendment Act, like all its predecessors, will be worse than a failure.

Equally fatal would be the attempt to embody in an act of Parliament the rules according to which the law is to be administered. Even if the population of England were homogeneous—even if there were not between town and country, and between different towns and different parts of the country—between Reading, for instance, Manchester, and Merthyr Tydvil, and between Sussex, Lincolnshire, and Northumberland—differences in occupations, in wages, in habits, in wants, and in morals, as great as between the inhabitants of Paris and of Berlin, or those of Holland and Bohemia—still the attempt to specify such details in a statute, and to enforce them in courts of law, would be preposterous.

The causes which give a title to relief, cannot be expressed in any but very vague words. The terms 'emergency,' 'accident,' 'necessity,' and 'infirmity,' when employed by those who wish to misinterpret them, may be extended to the case of almost every conceivable applicant. We have seen that the local authorities, with whom the distribution of relief rests, are beset by motives to maladministration. The unremitting superintendence of the commissioners, devoting their whole attention to this one subject—framing and altering the language of their rules to meet every fresh evasion; armed with power to dismiss or to retain the paid officers who are to execute them; and present every where, in the persons of their assistant commissioners—has enabled them to legislate with success for the greater part of the unions which they have established. But even the commissioners have seldom ventured to lay down general rules. They have dealt with each union separately. They have appended to every order an elaborate explanation of its motives and its intentions; and they have relaxed and varied it wherever a change became expedient. A statute, containing a code for the regulation of out-door and in-door relief, to be construed and enforced by courts of law, would be a Parliamentary sanction to pauperism in all its forms. There is no tribunal in the world to whose judgment we would more reluctantly leave any questions, the solution of which required general views of expediency, or indeed any enlarged views at all, than the English Common Law Judges. The narrow rules of construction with which they fetter themselves, render them the worst possible expounders of written

instruments. Even in the interpretation of Wills, where they profess to follow the intention of the testator, they gradually formed rules of construction so elaborately irrational, that it was necessary, about four years ago, to pass an act totally reversing them. On poor law matters their incompetence has been glaringly manifest. Knowing little of the details of poor law administration, and absolutely nothing of the principles on which it ought to be grounded, wherever it has been possible to pervert an act of Parliament, they have done so.

Thirdly, the commission, instead of being left to expire, or being abolished, may be prolonged with less efficient powers of inspection and control. It would be impossible to treat this part of the subject exhaustively, without considering in detail the different powers of the commissioners, and the consequences which in each case would follow if they were impaired. We will confine ourselves therefore to the alteration, which, as it would be the most mischievous, is the most likely to be proposed by the enemies of the law—namely, the abolition, or, what would be nearly as fatal, the considerable reduction in number, of the assistant commissioners. At present there are twelve assistant commissioners, a number which, if the whole country were equally divided between them, and the population of England and Wales were evenly distributed, would give to every assistant commissioner about fifty unions, comprising about 3000 square miles, and about 1,400,000 persons.

It has been found, we believe, in practice, that about four unions a-week are the utmost that can be visited, one day being devoted to correspondence, and another consumed on the longer journeys; the extreme points of a district being generally 100 miles apart. If, therefore, each union received equal attention, each would be visited four times a-year. In proportion, however, as they recede from perfect administration, unions require more frequent attendance. We believe that some occupy the assistant commissioners ten or twelve days each in the year; a single enquiry in a single union often lasts two or even three days, which, of course, is effected by reducing the attendance on the well-managed boards to one or two annual visits. We do not believe that this inspection is adequate; but it is all that, with the present force of the establishment, can be given.

The Poor Law Amendment Act empowers the commissioners to delegate to their assistants all their own authorities, except that of issuing rules addressed, at the same time, to more than one union. This power, however, has not been exerted. The assistant commissioners are empowered by the central board merely to inspect and report. They are the outward

organs of the commission, and are as essential to it as eyes and ears are to a watchman. The routine duty of an assistant commissioner, on arriving at the head-quarters of a union, is to attend the meeting of the guardians, and observe their proceedings; to look through their accounts and ascertain how far their expenditure has been lawful; to inspect the workhouse, and the management and condition of its inmates; and to report to the commissioners the result of his enquiries. By these reports, and by these reports almost exclusively, the commissioners are aware of the state of the unions confided to them. If improper habits of expenditure prevail, they can check them by remonstrance; and if that is not effectual, by positive order: if the auditor, or the relieving officer, or the master or mistress, or schoolmaster of a workhouse has neglected his duty, or has been seduced or intimidated into deserting it, they can suspend or dismiss him. On the other hand, if the salaried officers of a union have resisted the maladministration of the guardians, the commissioners can protect them; and, what is practically more beneficial, the knowledge, on the part of all parties, that their proceedings are open to inspection, prevents abuses from arising.

In the absence of this inspection, the commissioners might issue their orders from Somerset House; but they would have no means of ascertaining how far they were obeyed. No more attention would be paid to them than to the Queen's proclamation against vice and immorality. Again, when complaints are made to the commissioners, it is through the assistant commissioners that they are investigated. Where officers are to be appointed, the assistant commissioner frequently attends, and gives the aid of his experience and impartiality in determining the relative merits of the candidates. When the guardians are in doubt as to their proceedings, he gives direct advice; or, if they refer the question to the commissioners, he gives to the commissioners the advantage of his local knowledge; and, above all, he is the disseminator of good principles. His whole time is spent in watching the different effects of different modes of relief. A few years of such experience must have exhibited to him the results of every form in which it can be administered. He can warn the guardians against the dangers of plausible expedients, and predict the advantages which will ultimately result from a conduct, which, at its commencement, may be unpromising.

These are high functions; but it would be absurd to hope that they can be popular. The best-managed boards scarcely see the assistant commissioner. He visits them once or twice a-year, expresses his approbation, and disappears. The worst-managed

boards see him frequently, but as a spy and a reprover. He comes to defeat their jobs, and restrain their extravagance: he procures, perhaps, the dismissal of an incompetent schoolmaster—the chairman's protegé—and the retention of an auditor obnoxious from his vigilance. In the greater part of the unions, where the views of different guardians differ, each party appeals to the assistant commissioner. He is bound to give his opinion, and those to whom it is unfavourable accuse him of being the tool of a party. We believe that if an enquiry were made into the state of the unions and parishes which have petitioned against the assistant commissioners, the places which have denounced them as useless, would be found to be precisely those in which their services were most essential.

We have now performed our undertaking, so far as our limits have allowed us. We have shown that the English Poor Laws may be divided into three classes; the first extending from the middle of the reign of Edward III. to the end of that of Elizabeth; the second from the death of Elizabeth to the middle of the last century; and the third from the middle of the last century, to the 15th of August 1834, the date of the Poor Law Amendment Act. We have shown that during the first period the Poor Laws were only parts of a systematic attempt to bring back villanage, and confine the labourers to their parishes, and force them to work there for such wages as their superiors thought fit; and that this attempt failed. We have shown that during the second period the object was the relief of the impotent, the able-bodied being considered subject to the provisions, not of the poor laws, but of the vagrant laws; and that during this period the law appears to have been successful. We have shown that during the third period an attempt was made to give to the labourer a security incompatible with his freedom; to provide for him and his family a comfortable subsistence at his own home, whatever were his conduct, and whatever were the value of his labour. And we have shown that this attempt succeeded in what have been called the pauperized districts, and placed the labourer in the condition, physically and morally, of a slave;—confined to his parish, maintained according to his wants, not to the value of his services, restrained from misconduct by no fear of loss, and therefore stimulated to activity and industry by no hope of reward. We have stated the principal provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, by which this fatal system was corrected; we have stated the mode in which that act has operated, the obstacles by which it has been impeded, and the principal dangers to which it is exposed. On a future occasion we hope to recur to the subject, and to state the improvements of which we believe the act to be capable.

With respect to the works which we have mentioned at the head of this article, the nine volumes published by the poor law commissioners give full statements of the proceedings of the commission, and of their results; the reports and evidence of the Lords and Commons, contain elaborate investigations of all the complaints which had then been made of the law, and the decisions as to those complaints of the Committees of the two houses.

The pamphlet by a guardian relates, more fully than is to be found elsewhere, the history of the Poor Law Amendment Act; and contains a detailed examination of the principal alterations which were proposed when the bill for prolonging the commission was pending in the late House of Commons.

Mr Sandby's pamphlet is an admirable illustration of one branch of the subject—the conduct to be expected from guardians when left to their own discretion.

We have carefully avoided allusions to the poor law administration of Ireland or Scotland. In Ireland the act is only beginning to be tried. Our own law has indeed endured for centuries; but we have not thought it right to treat so grave a subject incidentally, or indeed without being able to give to it an undivided attention. We have it fully in view to do so at a convenient season. Let us, meanwhile, repeat the warning with which we set out. Our Scottish countrymen must not treat the English poor law as *res inter alios acta*. Already we have been told that our system, though it was good while we were agriculturists, requires to be modified now we are manufacturers. Already the assimilation of the law in the two countries has been suggested. If sound principles are maintained by the Imperial Parliament, we shall have the benefit of them; but if the unhappy doctrine prevail, that the poor are benefited in proportion as they are made the objects of parochial relief—if all restrictions on the distribution of relief are treated as tyranny, and all conditions imposed on the recipients as inhumanity—no conviction that we may ourselves feel as to the excellence of our institutions will enable us to preserve them. It is the duty, therefore, of every Scotchman who values the industry and the morals of his country, and especially of every Scotch representative in either house of Parliament, to watch narrowly the proceedings on the English Poor Law Amendment Act; to endeavour to improve that truly great measure, wherever it can safely be improved; and to resist perseveringly, whatever be the temptations to concession, every attempt to diminish its efficiency.

ART. II.—*The Zincali; or, an Account of the Gypsies of Spain.* By GEORGE BORROW, late Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Spain. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1841.

THIS is a strange book, of which the greatest part, as the author tells us, was written under very peculiar circumstances; 'at very considerable intervals, during a period of nearly five 'years passed in Spain—in moments snatched from more im-'portant pursuits—chiefly in *ventas* and *posadas*, while wander-'ing through the country in the arduous and unthankful task of 'distributing the gospel among its children.' However arduous and unthankful the task may be, we strongly suspect that these objections are pretty fully compensated, to some tempers, by the zest of the vagrant and delightfully precarious life which it imposes. The part of agent of a Bible Society must furnish more opportunities of romance and adventure than are lightly to be encountered in the prosaic world of modern times. Wanderers from land to land, they have to learn the language and manners of every class of society. When persecuted in one city, they must escape to the next; when out of favour with the authorities, they must retire for shelter under the roof of the peasant; when unpopular with the mob, they must try to ingratiate themselves with those in power;—like Voltaire's prophets, one day *fêted* and caressed, and well cudgeled the next. All this apostle-being, as Mr Carlyle might call it, has two sides:—it is, no doubt, very heroic, and self-denying, and martyr-like; on the other hand, it must be confessed that it has something not a little picturesque, and attractive to the roving spirit of man: particularly in days when persecution rarely waxes hot, and giant Pope seldom exerts himself even so far as to gnash his teeth at the pert pilgrims who venture within arms' length of him; while giant Pagan is sunk into a poor credulous monster—a 'most scurvy monster'—tamed into abject dread of Christian envoys, consuls, and sea captains, and all the other imps of European diplomacy, by whom he is sorely tormented in these his days of decrepitude.

> 'For every trifle are they set upon him;
> Sometimes like apes, that moe and chatter at him,
> And after, bite him; then like hedgehogs, which
> Lie tumbling in his barefoot way.'

And we must say that Mr Borrow exhibits a very happy taste for making the most of his privileges and character as a cosmopolite—a knack of irritating the reader's curiosity by imparting half glimpses of the unaccountable things he has seen—the

romantic corners of the earth which he has visited—the ways and learning of mysterious races of mankind with which he has become acquainted. Who does not feel a strong attraction to an author who is able to introduce his stories after such a fashion as the following?

'I was acquainted with a very handsome Jewess of Fez: she had but one eye, but that one was particularly brilliant. On asking her how she lost its fellow, she informed me.'—'Whilst I resided at Cordova, I was acquainted with an aged ecclesiastic; he was detained in Cordova on account of his political opinions, though he was otherwise at liberty. This person, who was upwards of eighty years of age, had formerly been inquisitor at Cordova. One night, whilst we were seated together.'—'The following is the account of the Dar-Bushi-fal (a tribe of fortune-tellers), given me by a Jew of Fez, who had travelled much in Barbary.'—'A hundred years, could I live so long, would not efface from my mind the appearance of an aged Ziganskie Attaman, or Captain of Zigani, and his grandson, who approached me on the meadow before Novo-Gorod.'—'Once, during my own wanderings in Italy, I rested at night-fall by the side of a kiln, the air being piercingly cold; it was about four leagues from Genoa. Presently arrived three individuals to take advantage of the warmth—a man, a woman, and a lad. They soon began to discourse.'—'While at Seville, chance made us acquainted with a highly extraordinary individual: a tall, bony figure, in a tattered Andalusian hat, ragged capot, and still more ragged pantaloons.'

Who would not feel inclined, in some moods of the mind, to wander with him over the earth's surface continually, holding converse by turns with patriarchs, bishops, monks, soldiers, mendicants, Turks, Jews, Moors, and gypsies; now listening to the occult learning of 'my friend, Hyacinth, Archimandrite of Saint John 'Nevsky;' and now to the revelations of such beings as the unearthly commercial traveller described in the following passage:—

'Among the Zingarri (Oriental gypsies) are not a few who deal in precious stones, and some who vend poisons; and the most remarkable individual whom it has been my fortune to encounter amongst the gypsies, whether of the Eastern or Western world, was a person who dealt in both these articles. He was a native of Constantinople, and in the pursuit of his trade had visited the most remote and remarkable portions of the world. He had traversed alone and on foot the greatest part of India; he spoke several dialects of the Malay, and understood the original language of Java, that is more fertile in poisons than even "far Iolchos and Spain." From what I could learn from him, it appeared that his jewels were in less request than his drugs, though he assured me there was scarcely a Bey or Satrap in Persia or Turkey whom he had not supplied with both. I have seen this individual in more countries than one, for he flits over the world like the shadow of a cloud; the last time at Granada, in Spain, whither he had come after paying a visit to his Gitano brethren in the presidio of Ceuta.'—Vol. i. p. 29.

'In Andalusia,' says our author, 'the Gitano, or gypsy lan-'guage, has been cultivated to a great degree by individuals who 'have sought the society of the Gitanos from a zest for their 'habits, their manners, and their songs; and such individuals 'have belonged to all classes—amongst them, noblemen and 'members of the priestly order.' Such as are addicted to the Gitanos and their language, are called, in Andalusia, *los del aficion*, or 'those of the predilection.' Mr Borrow is very plainly 'one of the predilection.' His imagination seems to have been captivated, in early youth, with the romance attached to the unknown origin of this singular people, as well as the wild freedom of their habits. He learned their language, we suppose, in his own country; and soon discovered in his travels that which strikes all who are acquainted with it—its radical identity wherever the nation is spread. Guided by this clue, he seems to have made friends with them wherever he met them; in the green lanes of England, the mountain valleys of Hungary, and in the dilapidated suburbs of Spanish towns. The strong attachment of this people to their national language, for such it is, is one of the most striking features in their character; and ought to have been sufficient to have convinced that it is so, those who persisted in maintaining it to be nothing but a jargon, cant, or thieves' Latin, picked up at random in the different countries they have traversed. The moment they are addressed in it, their excitable temperament is roused at once; and they pass from their habitual sullenness to strangers, or their artificial loquacity when aiming at deception, into the most unrestrained expressions of pleasure and confidence. This was discovered by the benevolent Hoyland, when, on one of his first visits to a gypsy encampment, he showed that he understood the meaning of what a young gypsy woman said to her companion, having in fact only picked up a few words from Grellman's Vocabulary—'They gave way to immoderate transports 'of joy, saying they would tell me any thing I wished to know 'of them.' And by virtue of the same talisman, (aided by his personal appearance, as we conjecture from some of his expressions,) Mr Borrow succeeded every where in captivating their hearts, wrapt up in impenetrable hatred and distrust of strangers. They took him for one of themselves; and in that confidence they gave him a full insight into their policy, their manner of life, their savage principles of independence.

Since the researches of Grellmann, Bischoff, and others, the gypsies can scarcely be made to say, in the words of Beranger—

'D'où nous venons? l'on n'en sait rien;
L'hirondelle
D'où vous vient-elle?'

The speculations of the enquirers of former times about them may be dismissed without any hesitation; and the notion which is still prevalent in Spain of their being Moriscoes, or at least strongly inoculated with Morisco blood, is scarcely worth the serious refutation which Mr Borrow has thought proper to bestow upon it. It is founded on no better authority than the old figment of their Egyptian descent, in which they appear themselves to believe, as far as they believe in any thing. This the learned Grisellini (to give only one specimen among thousands of the kind of criticism which has been brought to bear upon the problem) justifies, by remarking that these poor wretches, who consider themselves fortunate when a carrion horse falls in their way, 'abstain from partridge, pheasant, perch, scaled bream, 'and lamprey,' because the ancient Egyptians of Lycopolis and Tagariopolis did so! They are of Indian origin without a doubt, as is demonstrated by the infallible test of language. Theirs, every where, contains a number of Sanscrit roots. For instance, the ancient Indian name of the sacred element of water, '*pani*,' is used by the gypsies wherever they are found; and Mr Borrow suggests that single word as a test, when he speculates on the probability of their connexion with some of the wandering tribes of Morocco. But beyond this single discovery, their history remains as dark as ever. The common notion of their having been expelled from their native haunts by the conquests of Timour, is only a conjecture, founded on the time when they first appeared in Europe. But one of Timour's historians mentions them as existing at Samarcand in his time—nay, plying the same trades of wrestlers, gladiators, and pugilists, in which they have cut some figure in modern Europe wherever similar qualities are cultivated;—in England, for example, where they have contributed several distinguished ornaments to the prize-ring.

In Spain, as well as elsewhere, they call themselves *Rommany*, which, in their own tongue, signifies 'husbands;' as if the idea of family and nation were closely connected in their minds, as in those of all orientals. They also designate themselves *Calore*, black people, likewise pure Sanscrit; and *Chai*. But the name *Sinte*, which they adopt in Germany and elsewhere, and which was one of the first circumstances which put the learned on the right scent as to their origin, does not occur in our author's glossary. They are far less marked and distinct in their habits than they were formerly; less perhaps than even those of England; for it seems that none, except the very poorest, adopt the wandering life. The greater number are collected in the suburbs of the towns, some of which have a particular

district inhabited by them, or *Gitaneria*. Their whole number in Spain is rated by Mr Borrow at about 40,000; but this is a mere conjecture.

The men *were*, almost universally, thieves or robbers by profession; they pursued also the subordinate employments of smiths, horse-dealers, and jockeys; which their descendants, in their degenerate days, appear to adopt as their principal means of support. The great change which has been wrought in this respect, since the wise and humane decree of Charles III. in 1783, will be mentioned by and by. They are generally very poor; although a few carry on an extensive trade in horses and mules. But the common Gitano, if ever he succeed in making a little money, is sure to squander it immediately in feasting and revelry; particularly on the occasion of their marriages, the expenses of which seem in general to reduce the happy couple to beggary for some years.

There is little to be said of them as a body; but the female Gitanas are a far more interesting class than their mates, and seem indeed to be much more industrious and successful members of society. The richest among them are generally 'contrabandists, and in large towns go from house to house with 'prohibited goods.' But the greatest number seek a livelihood by certain tricks and practices, which are carefully classified by Mr Borrow.

The principal is *La Bahi*, or fortune-telling; the favourite mystery for which the caste is celebrated all the world over, and which must continue to flourish as long as the race of Adam subsists, deceiving and to be deceived. 'Their practice lies chiefly amongst the females, the portion of the 'human race most given to curiosity and credulity. To the 'young maidens they promise lovers, handsome invariably, and 'sometimes rich; to wives children, and sometimes another husband; for their eyes are so penetrating, that occasionally they 'will develop your most secret thoughts and wishes; to the old, 'riches, and nothing but riches; for they have sufficient knowlege of the human heart to be aware that avarice is the last passion that becomes extinct within it. These riches are to proceed either from the discovery of hidden treasures, or from 'across the water—from the Americas, to which the Spaniards 'still look with hope; as there is no individual in Spain, however 'poor, but has some connexion in these realms of silver and 'gold, at whose death he considers it possible that he may succeed to a brilliant *herencia*.'

The Great Trick, or *Hokkano Baro*, is accomplished in differ-

ent ways; but the one most generally practised, is to persuade some simple individual to hide a sum of money in the earth, upon the assurance, that if not looked at for a certain time, it will be vastly increased. The money is, of course, abstracted before the appointed period of examination.

The gypsies of Spain seem to be nearly in the lowest state of poverty and degradation which the nation has reached. They are not so important, nor, in their desultory fashion, so industrious a class as those of Hungary and Transylvania, who perform thieving circuits over great part of Europe with considerable profit;—a class with whom Mr Borrow promises to bring us acquainted at some future time. Nor has fortune ever favoured them as in Russia, where the exquisite beauty of the voices of the women has raised numbers of their tribe to affluence:—'Amongst 'the gypsies of Moscow, there are not a few who inhabit stately 'houses, go abroad in elegant equipages, and are behind the 'higher order of the Russians neither in appearance nor mental 'acquirements.' But in Spain, as well as every where else, a strong and peculiar interest attaches to them, even in their uttermost degradation—the interest with which we cannot fail to regard a people which, without religion, without history, without literature, without the commonest principles of civil society, has nevertheless preserved its national existence through centuries of misery; and continues to dwell among our busy multitudes as the disregarded remnants of some bygone stage and condition of mankind.

Mr Borrow confirms, in a striking manner, the statements of all former writers respecting the utter irreligion of the gypsies.—'Coming from India, as they most assuredly did, it was impossible 'for them to have known the true God; and they must have been 'followers (if they followed any) either of Buddh, or Bramah—'those tremendous phantoms which have led, and are likely still to 'lead, the souls of hundreds of millions to destruction: yet they are 'now ignorant of such names, nor does it appear that such were 'ever current amongst them subsequent to their arrival in Europe, 'if, indeed, they ever were. They brought with them no Indian 'idols, as far as we are able to judge at the present time, nor 'indeed Indian rites or observances; for no traces of such are 'discovered among them. All, therefore, which relates to their 'original religion is shrouded in mystery, and is likely so to re-'main. They may have been idolaters, or atheists, or what 'they now are—totally neglectful of worship of any kind; and, 'though not exactly prepared to deny the existence of a Supreme 'Being, as regardless of him as if he existed not, and never

'mentioning his name, save in oaths or blasphemy, or in mo-'ments of pain or sudden surprise, as they have heard other 'people do, but always without any fixed belief, trust, or hope.' Nor do they appear to entertain any notions whatever of a future state; to which Grellman ascribes their love of life, which he characterizes as 'indescribably great.' Mr Borrow mentions, indeed, a wild story of gypsies led to execution, deriding the officers of justice, and declaring scornfully that it was 'impossible to kill them!' But this, if true, was probably no more than a trick, to frighten the credulous Gentiles, although it seems to have been caught at as a proof that the tenet of the metempsychosis was not forgotten among them. It was a fabrication of the same kind with the ingenious story which obtained them so much credit and respect in Europe on their first appearance—that they were penitents, condemned by the Pope to a certain period of pilgrimage, in expiation of the sin of their Egyptian ancestors in denying succour to the Holy Family. They profess the religion of every country in which they may happen to sojourn. They baptize their children indifferently as Romanists or Protestants; and in Turkey they are all Mahometans, although the value of their adherence to Islam is estimated so low, that the Sultan wisely leaves to Mahomet the task of distinguishing his own, and imposes the capitation-tax upon them in common with Jews and Christians.

This characteristic of the unhappy race is finely introduced by Sir Walter Scott, in the most poetical sketch of the gypsy vagrant ever drawn—that of Hayraddin the Bohemian, in 'Quentin Durward.' Well known as the passage is, we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of placing it side by side with Mr Borrow's portraits from the life.

'"I am of no country," answered his guide.

'"How? of no country?" repeated the Scot.

'"No," answered the Bohemian; "I am of none. I am a Zingaro, a Bohemian, an Egyptian, or whatever the Europeans, in their different languages, may choose to call our people. But I have no country."

'"Are you a Christian?" asked the Scotchman.

'The Bohemian shook his head.

'"Dog!" said Quentin, "dost thou worship Mahoun?"

'"No," was the indifferent and concise answer of the guide, who seemed neither offended nor surprised at the young man's violence of manner.

'"Are you Pagan, then, or what are you?"

'"I have no religion," said the Bohemian.

'Durward started back; for, though he had heard of Saracens and Idolaters, it had never entered into his idea or belief, that any body of men could exist who practised no mode of worship whatever.

'"Under whose laws do you live?"

The great trust of the nation is also the permanent and exclusive hope of each member of it; from the money-changer whose operations affect the councils of princes, down to the pettiest huckster who wrings his miserable livelihood from the peasants of some Polish village. There is not, therefore, so much ground to wonder at the permanence and unchangeable character of such a people: the talisman of their immortality is in their scripture and tradition. How different from their brethren in the same mysterious lot, the wandering tribe of Hindostan! They have no God; they reck not of their own origin or country; they have no rites, no tradition, no superstition: the gypsies of each country have only a vague notion, that other children of their blood reside in other lands. Unstable as water, without an outward principle of coherence, there seems no reason why they should not have mingled, many a generation ago, with the mass with which they are in constant and close communication—the thieves, vagrants, and outlaws of the lands in which they dwell. Yet four hundred years have passed over them without a change. Their language remains radically the same every where; and the venerable Sancrit peeps strangely out, like a philosopher in rags, from among the fragments of foreign and vulgar jargons with which it is encrusted. Their descent is purity itself: no mixture of European blood has contaminated theirs. Their physical characteristics are absolutely unaltered. The same extremely dark skin, the same slender and perfect shape, the same mobility of feature and manner, the same wild gaze, like nothing else in the world, distinguish them every where from the children of the soil. The gypsy look is contrasted, in quite as marked, if not quite so ludicrous a manner, with the dark Spanish glance, as with the

> 'healthy stare—
> Wide, sluggish, blank, and ignorant, and strange—'

of the honest peasant who lounges beside their encampment in England.

'It is in the eye,' says this author, 'more than in any other feature, that they differ from other human beings. There is something remarkable in the eye of a Rommany. Should his hair and complexion become fair as those of the Swede or the Finn, and his jerking gait as grave and ceremonious as those of the nation of Old Castile; were he dressed like a king, a priest, or a warrior—still would the Gitáno be noticed by his eye, should it continue unchanged. The Jew is known by his eye, but then in the Jew that feature is peculiarly small; the Chinese has a remarkable eye, but then the eye of the Chinese is oblong, and even with the face, which is flat: but the eye of the Gitáno is neither large nor small, and exhibits no marked difference in its shape from eyes of the common cast. Its peculiarity consists chiefly in a strange staring expres-

sion, which to be understood must be seen, and in *a thin glaze which steals over it when in repose, and seems to emit phosphoric light.*'

The strange stare must have been observed by every one who has had opportunities of marking gypsy faces; but for the *phosphorescent eye* we must put our trust in our author.

The principles of permanence which belong to the nation, are to be found in hereditary love and hatred, and in these alone: these have kept perpetually open the gulf which separates them from the rest of mankind. They constitute the entire sum of the national feelings of the Rommany. Creatures of violent but brief passions, utterly wanting in perseverance, or firmness of character, yielding in every other respect to the impulse of the moment, the only two impressions which seem constantly present in their minds are those of attachment to their tribe, and detestation of the stranger. They may live together; the European vagrant is often to be found in the tents of the gypsies: they may join in the fellowship of sport, the pursuit of plunder, or the management of their low trades, but they can never fraternize.

The mutual attachment which binds the gypsies together seems to vary a good deal in different countries, at least in its ordinary effects. Perhaps in England, where the gypsies seem to be greater wanderers, and less mixed with the town folks, it is even greater than in Spain. 'The gypsies in this country,' says one who had lived a good deal among them, 'call each other brother and 'sister: they support and help each other: a gypsy is never in 'distress.' This seems to be hardly the case in Spain, if the frequent complaints which Mr Borrow puts into the mouths of his gypsies, of the neglect of the poor by their richer brethren, are well founded. But they recognize the principle. 'There 'was a time when the house of every Zincalo, however rich, was 'open to his brother, though he came to him naked.'—'He 'knew that by *gypsy law* he was bound to take you to his house, 'and feast you, whilst you remained, like a prince of the Cales, 'as I believe you are, even though he sold the last horse from 'the stall.' And on some occasions, notwithstanding their degraded and disunited condition in Spain, this feeling comes to the light in a very striking manner.

'As a proof of the fraternal feeling which is not unfrequently displayed among the Gitanos, I shall relate a circumstance which occurred at Cordova, a year or two before I first visited it. One of the poorest of the Gitanos murdered a Spaniard with the fatal manchegan knife: for this crime he was seized, tried, and found guilty. Bloodshedding in Spain is not looked upon with much abhorrence, and the life of the culprit is seldom taken, provided he can offer a bribe sufficient to induce the

notary-public to report favourably upon his case. But in this instance money was of no avail. The murdered individual left behind him powerful friends and connexions, who were determined that justice should take its course. It was in vain that the Gitanos exerted all their influence with the authorities in behalf of their comrade; and such influence was not slight. It was in vain that they offered extravagant sums, that the punishment of death might be commuted to perpetual slavery in the dreary presidio of Ceuta: I was credibly informed that one of the richest Gitanos, by name Truto, offered, for his own share of the ransom, the sum of 5000 crowns, while there was not an individual but contributed according to his means. Nought availed, and the gypsy was executed in the plaza. The day before the execution, the Gitanos, perceiving that the fate of their brother was sealed, one and all quitted Cordova, shutting up their houses, and carrying with them their horses, their mules, their borricos, their wives and families, and the greatest part of their household furniture. No one knew whither they directed their course, nor were they seen in Cordova for some months, when they again suddenly made their appearance: a few, however, never returned. So great was the horror of the Gitanos at what had occurred, that they were in the habit of saying that the place was cursed for evermore. And when I knew them, there were many among them who on no account would enter the plaza which had witnessed the disgraceful end of their unfortunate brother.'—Vol. I. p. 272.

The following conversation, regarding a remarkable encounter, narrated to the author by Antonio, a gypsy of Badajoz, exemplifies the strong nationality which binds these outcasts together. This worthy, 'a goodly compound of gypsy and bandit,' took Mr Borrow, it must be premised, for one of his own people:—

'*Antonio.* "I am Zincalo by the four sides. I love our blood, and I hate that of the Busné. Had I my will, I would wash my face every day in the blood of the Busné, for the Busné are made only to be robbed and slaughtered; but I love the Caloré, and I love to hear of things of the Caloré, especially from those of foreign lands; for the Caloré of foreign lands know more than we of Spain, and more resemble our fathers of old."

'*Myself.* "Have you ever met before with Caloré who were not Spaniards?"

'*Antonio.* "I will tell you, brother. I served as a soldier in the war of independence against the French. War, it is true, is not the proper occupation of a Gitano, but those were strange times; and all those who could bear arms were compelled to go forth to fight; so I went with the English armies, and we chased the Gabiné unto the frontier of France. And it happened once that we joined in desperate battle, and there was a confusion, and the two parties became intermingled, and fought sword to sword, and bayonet to bayonet; and a French soldier singled me out, and we fought for a long time, cutting, goring, and cursing one another, till at last we flung down our arms and grappled: long we wrestled, body to body, but I found that I was the weaker, and I fell. The French soldier's knee was on my breast, and his grasp was on

my throat; and he seized his bayonet, and he raised it to thrust me through the jaws; and his cap had fallen off, and I lifted up my eyes wildly to his face, and our eyes met; and I gave a loud shriek, and cried Zincalo! Zincalo! and I felt him shudder; and he relaxed his grasp and started up; and he smote his forehead and wept, and came to me and knelt down by my side, for I was almost dead; and he took my hand and called me brother, and Zincalo; and he produced his flask and poured wine into my mouth, and I revived; and he raised me up and led me from the tumult, and we sat down on a knoll, and the two parties were fighting all around; and he said, Let the dogs fight, and tear each other's throats till they are all destroyed; what matters it to the Zincali? They are not of our blood, and shall that be shed for them? So we sat for hours on the knoll, and discoursed on matters pertaining to our people; and I could have listened for years, for he told me secrets which made my ears tingle; and I soon found that I knew nothing: but as for him, the Bengui Lango (the lame devil: Asmodeus) himself could have told him nothing but what he knew. So we sat till the sun went down, and the battle was over; and he proposed that we should both flee to his country, and live there with the Zincali; but my heart failed me. So we embraced, and he departed to the Gabiné, (French,) whilst I returned to our own battalions."

'*Myself.* "Do you know from what country he came?"

'*Antonio.* "He told me that he was a Mayoro."

'*Myself.* "You mean a Magyar or Hungarian?"

'*Antonio.* "Just so; and I have repented ever since that I did not follow him."'—Vol. i. p. 232.

But the chief moral characteristic of the race, which is at once the effect and the cause of this national cohesiveness, as well as their physical identity, is one which our readers, who have not met with the work of Mr Borrow, will scarcely have conjectured—the strict honour of their women. This is a point on which we cannot venture to be very explicit, although Mr Borrow is so, with considerable earnestness, and with much curious and not very select particularity. He carefully confines his assertion to the gypsy women of Spain. And, notwithstanding the air of romance which pervades many of his stories, we are inclined to think, that, in this respect, he must be perfectly accurate, and that the quality he describes belongs to the nation in general; and, moreover, that this statement constitutes the most remarkable novelty of his work. What is the uniform account which loose observers and careless travellers give of these outcasts, in all countries where they meet with them? That the men are thieves and jockies—the women thieves, fortune-tellers, and prostitutes. If this last accusation were as true as the rest, where would the gypsy race be now? Does not the mere fact, that it exists at all, its blood unmingled with that of the lower classes of the European population, with which it is in

constant society, speak of itself strongly against the charge? And if so, there are few more singular facts in the history of mankind. Here are people brought up in utter disregard of the common principles of morality, without religion, and seemingly without shame; and yet more fiercely jealous of this point of honour than the most refined and highly cultivated classes in any country. Instances of intermarriage, according to our author, are extremely rare; most of all, those of gypsy women with Spanish men. Unlicensed connexions between them are rarer still. The women are not only allowed the most perfect liberty, but trained to practise the arts nearest akin to licentiousness, as a mode of subsistence. 'No females in the world can be more 'licentious in word and gesture, in dance and in song, than the 'Gitános; but there they stop;'—cold as salamanders in the midst of the furnace which they themselves have kindled. Nor are they less scrupulous in their conduct among each other.

'Marriage is invariably preceded by betrothment; and the couple must then wait two years before the union can take place, according to the law of the Cales. During this period, it is expected that they meet each other as common acquaintance; they are permitted to converse, and even occasionally to exchange slight presents. One thing, however, is strictly forbidden—and if in this instance they prove contumacious, the betrothment is instantly broken off, and the pair are never united; and thenceforward have an evil reputation among their sect. This one thing is, going into the camps in each other's company, or having any rendezvous beyond the gate of the city, town, or village in which they dwell. With all the other gypsies, however, and with the Busné or Gentiles, the betrothed female is allowed the freest intercourse, going whither she will, and returning at all times and seasons. With respect to the Busné, indeed, the parents are invariably less cautious than with their own race; and true it is that experience has proved that their confidence in this respect is not altogether idle.'

We have thus far endeavoured to sketch a few of the more remarkable traits in the general character of the gypsies, as these are noticed by Mr Borrow. But by far the most amusing part of his book consists in the stories and conversations with which it is interspersed. How far he has allowed himself to colour them, for the sake of effect, we will not pretend to conjecture; but will add one or two more specimens to those already given, from which our readers may form their own opinion:—

Telling the Fortune of a Queen Regent.

'There were two Gitanas at Madrid, and probably they are there still. The name of the one was Pepita, and the other was called La Chicharona. The first was a spare, shrewd, witch-like female, about fifty, and was the mother-in-law of La Chicharona, who was remarkable for her stoutness.

These women subsisted entirely by fortune-telling and swindling. It chanced that the son of Pepita and husband of Chicharona, having spirited away a horse, was sent to the presidio of Malaga, for ten years of hard labour. This misfortune caused inexpressible affliction to his wife and mother, who determined to exert every effort to procure his liberation. The readiest way which occurred to them, was to procure an interview with the Queen-Regent Christina, whom they doubted not would forthwith pardon the culprit, provided they had an opportunity of assailing her with their gypsy discourse; for, to use their own words, "they well knew what to say." I at that time lived close by the palace, in the street of Santiago, and daily, for the space of a month, saw them bending their steps in that direction.

'One day they came to me in a great hurry, with a strange expression on both their countenances. "We have seen Christina, Hijo," (my son,) said Pepita to me.

'"Within the palace?" I enquired.

'"Within the palace, O child of my heart!" answered the sybil. "Christina at last saw and sent for us, as I knew she would; I told her bahi, and Chicharona danced the romalis (gypsy dance) before her."

'"What did you tell her?"

'"I told her many things," said the hag; "many things which I need not tell you: know, however, that amongst other things, I told her that the chabori (little queen) would die, and then she would be queen of Spain. I told her, moreover, that within three years she would marry the son of the King of France, and it was her bahi to die queen of France and Spain, and to be loved much and hated much."

'"And did you not dread her anger when you told her these things?"

'"Dread her, the Busnée!" screamed Pepita; "no, my child, she dreaded me far more; I looked at her *so*, and raised my finger *so*, and Chicharona clapped her hands, and the Busnée believed all I said, and was afraid of me; and then I asked for the pardon of my son, and she pledged her word to see into the matter: and when we came away, she gave me this baria of gold, and to Chicharona this other, so at all events we have bokkanoed the queen. May an evil end overtake her body, the Busnée!"'—(Vol. i. p. 316.)

The Gypsy Soldier of Valdepenas.

'It was at Madrid, one fine afternoon in the beginning of March 1838, that as I was sitting behind my table in a Cabinete, as it is called, of the third floor of No. 16, in the calle de Santiago, having just taken my meal, my hostess entered and informed me that a military officer wished to speak to me, adding, in an under tone, that he looked a *strange guest*. I was acquainted with no military officer in the Spanish service; but, as at that time I expected to be arrested daily for having distributed the Bible, I thought that very possibly this officer might have been sent to perform that piece of duty. I instantly ordered him to be admitted, whereupon a thin active figure, somewhat above the middle height, dressed in a blue uniform, with a long sword hanging at his side, tripped into the room. Depositing his regimental hat on the ground, he drew a

chair to the table, and seating himself, placed his elbows on the board, and supporting his face with his hands, confronted me, gazing steadfastly upon me, without uttering a word. I looked no less wistfully at him, and was of the same opinion as my hostess, as to the strangeness of my guest. He was about fifty, with thin flaxen hair, covering the sides of his head, which, at the top, was entirely bald. His eyes were small, and, like ferrets', red and fiery. His complexion like a brick, or dull red, chequered with spots of purple. "May I enquire your name and business, sir?" I at length demanded.

'*Stranger.* "My name is Chaléco of Valdepeñas; in the time of the French I served as bragante, fighting for Ferdinand the Seventh. I am now a captain on half pay, in the service of Donna Isabel; as for my business here, it is to speak with you. Do you know this book?"

'*Myself.* "This book is St Luke's Gospel in the gypsy language; how can this book concern you?"

'*Stranger.* "No one more. It is in the language of my people."

'*Myself.* "You do not pretend to say that you are a calo?"

'*Stranger.* "I do! I am Zincalo by the mother's side. My father, it is true, was one of the Busné, but I glory in being a calo, and care not to acknowledge other blood."

'*Myself.* "How became you possessed of that book?"

'*Stranger.* "I was this morning in the Prado, where I met two women of our people, and amongst other things they told me they had a gabicote (testament) in our language. I did not believe them at first; but they pulled it out, and I found their words true. They then spoke to me of yourself, and told me where you live, so I took the book from them and came to see you."

'*Myself.* "Are you able to understand this book?"

'*Stranger.* "Perfectly, though it is written in very crabbed language; but I learned to read calo when very young. My mother was a good calli, and early taught me both to read and speak it. She too had a gabicote, but not printed like this, and it treated of a different matter."

'*Myself.* "How came your mother, being a good calli, to marry one of different blood?"

'*Stranger.* "It was no fault of hers; there was no remedy. In her infancy she lost her parents, who were executed, and she was abandoned by all, till my father, taking compassion on her, brought her up and educated her; at last he made her his wife, though three times her age. She, however, remembered her blood, and hated my father, and taught me to hate him likewise, and avoid him. When a boy I used to stroll about the plains, that I might not see my father; and my father would follow me and beg me to look at him, and would ask me what I wanted, and I would reply, 'Father, the only thing I want is to see you dead.'"

'*Myself.* "That was strange language from a child to its parent."

'*Stranger.* "It was, but you know the couplet which says, I do not wish to be a lord, I am by birth a gypsy: I do not wish to be a gentleman, I am content with being a calo."

'*Myself.* "I am anxious to hear more of your history, pray proceed."

'*Stranger.* "When I was about twelve years old my father became distracted, and died. I then continued with my mother for some years:

she loved me much, and procured an instructor to teach me Latin. At last she died, and then there was a pléyto (lawsuit.) I took to the sierra, and became a highwayman; but the wars broke out. My cousin Jara of Valdepenas raised a troop of bragantes. I enlisted with him, and distinguished myself very much; there is scarcely a man or woman in Spain but has heard of Jara and Chaléco. I am now captain in the service of Donna Isabel. I am covered with wounds—I am—ugh! ugh! ugh!"

'He had commenced coughing, and in a manner which perfectly astonished me. I had heard hooping coughs, consumptive coughs, coughs caused by cold and other accidents, but a cough so horrible and unnatural as that of the gypsy soldier I had never witnessed in the course of my travels. In a moment he was bent double, his frame writhed and laboured, the veins of his forehead were frightfully swollen, and his complexion became black as the blackest blood; he screamed, he snorted, he barked, and appeared to be on the point of suffocation: yet more explosive became the cough; and the people of the house, frightened, came running into the apartment. I cried, "the man is perishing, run instantly for a surgeon." He heard me, and with a quick movement he raised his *left* hand, as if to countermand the order. Another struggle—then one mighty throe, which seemed to search his deepest intestines, and he remained motionless, his head on his knee. The cough had left him, and within a minute or two he again looked up.

'"That is a dreadful cough, friend," said I, when he was somewhat recovered. "How did you get it?"

'*Gypsy soldier.* "I am—shot through the lungs—brother! Let me but take breath, and I will show you the hole—the agujero." He continued with me a considerable time, and showed not the slightest disposition to depart; the cough returned twice, but not so violently. At length, having an engagement, I arose, and apologizing, told him I must leave him. The next day he came again at the same hour; but he found me not, as I was abroad, dining with a friend. On the third day, however, as I was sitting down to dinner, in he walked unannounced. I am rather hospitable than otherwise, so I cordially welcomed him, and requested him to partake of my meal. "Con mucho gusto," he replied, and instantly took his place at the table. I was again astonished; for if his cough was frightful, his appetite was yet more so. He ate like a wolf of the sierra; soup, puchero, fowl, and bacon disappeared before him in a twinkling. I ordered in cold meat, which he presently dispatched; a large piece of cheese was then produced. We had been drinking water.

'"Where is the wine?," said he.

'"I never use it," I replied. He looked blank. The hostess, however, who was present waiting, said, "If the gentleman wish for wine, I have a bota nearly full, which I will instantly fetch."

'The skin bottle, when full, might contain about four quarts. She filled him a very large glass, and was removing the skin; but he prevented her, saying, "Leave it, my good woman; my brother here will settle with you for the little I shall use."

'He now lighted his cigar, and it was evident that he had made good his quarters. On the former occasion, I thought his behaviour sufficiently strange; but I liked it still less on the present. Every fifteen

minutes he emptied his glass, which contained at least a pint; his conversation became horrible. He related the atrocities which he had committed when a robber and bragante in La Mancha. "It was our custom," said he, "to tie our prisoners to the olive trees, and then putting our horses to full speed, to tilt at them with our spears." As he continued to drink, he became waspish and quarrelsome; he had hitherto talked Castilian; but he would now only converse in gypsy and Latin—the last of which languages he spoke with great fluency, though ungrammatically. He told me that he had killed six men in duels; and drawing his sword, fenced about the room. I saw by the manner in which he handled it, that he was master of his weapon. His cough did not return, and he said it seldom afflicted him when he dined well. He gave me to understand that he had received no pay for two years. Therefore you visit me, thought I. At the end of three hours, perceiving that he exhibited no signs of taking his departure, I arose and said I must again leave him. "As you please, brother," said he; "use no ceremony with me: I am fatigued, and will wait a little while." I did not return till eleven at night, when my hostess informed me that he had just departed, promising to return next day. He had emptied the *bota* to the last drop; and the cheese produced being insufficient for him, he sent for an entire Dutch cheese on my account, part of which he had eaten, and the rest carried away. I now saw that I had formed a most troublesome acquaintance, of whom it was highly necessary to rid myself, if possible; I therefore dined out for the next nine days.

'For a week he came regularly at the usual hour, at the end of which time he desisted; the hostess was afraid of him, as she said that he was a brujo or wizard, and only spoke to him through the wicket.

'On the tenth day I was cast into prison, where I continued several weeks. Once, during my confinement, he called at the house, and being informed of my mishap, drew his sword, and vowed, with horrible imprecations, to murder the prime minister Ofalia, for having dared to imprison his brother. On my release, I did not revisit my lodgings for some days, but lived at an hotel. I returned late one afternoon with my servant Francisco, a Basque of Hernani, who had served me with the utmost fidelity during my imprisonment, which he had voluntarily shared with me. The first person I saw on entering was the gypsy soldier, seated by the table, whereon were several bottles of wine which he had ordered from the tavern, of course on my account. He was smoking, and looked savage and sullen; perhaps he was not much pleased with the reception he had experienced. He had forced himself in, and the woman of the house sat by him in a corner, looking upon him with dread. I addressed him; but he would scarcely return an answer. At last he commenced discoursing with great volubility in gypsy and Latin; I did not understand much of what he said. His words were wild and incoherent; but he repeatedly threatened some person. The last bottle was now exhausted, he demanded more. I told him in a gentle manner that he had drunk enough. He looked on the ground for some time; then slowly, and somewhat hesitatingly, drew his sword and laid it on the table. It was become dark. I was not afraid of the fellow: but I wished to avoid any thing unpleasant. I called to Francisco to bring

lights, and obeying a sign which I made him, he sat down at the table. The gypsy glared fiercely upon him—Francisco laughed, and began with great glee to talk in Basque, of which the gypsy understood not a word. The Basques, like all Tartars, and such they are, are paragons of fidelity and good nature; they are only dangerous when outraged, when they are terrible indeed. Francisco to the strength of a giant, joined the disposition of a lamb. He was beloved even in the patio of the prison, where he used to pitch the bar, and wrestle with the murderers and felons, always coming off victor. He continued speaking Basque. The gypsy was incensed; and, forgetting the languages in which for the last hour he had been speaking, complained to Francisco of his rudeness in speaking any tongue but Castilian. The Basque replied by a loud carcajada, and slightly touched the gypsy on the knee. The latter sprang up, like a mine discharged, seized his sword, and retreating a few steps, made a desperate lunge at Francisco.

'The Basques, next to the Pasiegos,* are the best cudgel-players in Spain, and in the world. Francisco held in his hand part of a broomstick which he had broken in the stable, whence he had just ascended. With the swiftness of lightning he foiled the stroke of Chalêco, and in another moment, with a dexterous blow, struck the sword out of his hand, sending it ringing against the wall.

'The gypsy resumed his seat and his cigar. He occasionally looked at the Basque. His glances were at first atrocious, but presently changed their expression, and appeared to me to become prying and eagerly curious. He at last arose, picked up his sword, sheathed it, and walked slowly to the door; when there he stopped, turned round, advanced close to Francisco, and looked him steadfastly in the face. "My good fellow," said he, "I am a gypsy, and can read *bahi*. Do you know where you will be this time to-morrow?" † Then laughing like a hyena, he departed, and I never saw him again. At that time on the morrow, Francisco was on his deathbed. He had caught the jail fever, which had long raged in the Carcel de la Corte, where I was imprisoned. In a few days, he was buried, a mass of corruption, in the Campo Santo of Madrid.'—(Vol. i., p. 291.)

Such are the gypsies of the present day in Spain, and such, in all the main features of their condition, throughout Europe. A few words in conclusion, as to the prospects of amelioration which that condition presents. If this depended on the philanthropic exertions of individuals, nothing could be more hopeless—so

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* 'A small nation or rather sect of contrabandistas, who inhabit the valley of Pas, amidst the mountains of Santander. They carry long sticks, in the handling of which they are unequalled. Armed with one of those sticks, a smuggler of Pas has been known to beat off two mounted dragoons.'

† 'The hostess and her son were present when the outcast uttered these prophetic words.'

thinks Mr Borrow, from the results of his own experience. And we believe that his views are corroborated by the ill success of those who have made similar experiments in other quarters. None of these benevolent reformers—and there have been many —seem ever to have made even the most fugitive impression upon their disciples. The gypsy character, like that of most savages, seems to want some of the fundamental qualities necessary for civilization. There is no *fulcrum* for the lever to rest on. Even supposing that their well-meaning instructor could pass the gulf which ancient hatred has dug between this people and all other races of mankind, what has he to impart to which their wayward imaginations can possibly attach a value? How is the hope of physical advantage to move beings whose supreme felicity is in idleness? Or how are the motives of religion to be applied to hearts which seem never to feel that need of religious hope which is the first spring of religious feeling? The result of Mr Borrow's own attempts is told by him with a good-humoured simplicity, which is one of the best points in his book. 'Try them with the gospel, I hear some one cry, which speaks 'to all: I did try them with the gospel, and in their own lan-'guage.' He translated the Gospel of Saint Luke for them, and read and expounded it daily to considerable numbers. 'The 'Gitanos of Madrid purchased the gypsy Luke freely; many of 'the men understood it, and prized it highly, induced of course 'more by the language than the doctrine; the women were par-'ticularly anxious to obtain copies, though unable to read them; 'but each wished to have one in her pocket, *especially when en-'gaged in thieving expeditions*, for they all looked upon it in the 'light of a charm, which would preserve them from all danger 'and mischance; some even went so far as to say, that in this 'respect it was equally efficacious with the *bar lachi*, or load-'stone, which they are so desirous of possessing!' A further illustration of the value set upon his zealous ministrations, will be found in a capital scene, described at the end of the first volume, which nothing but want of space prevents us from extracting.

So much for direct conversion. But there are slower and more certain agencies at work, which are operating imperceptibly but surely upon their condition. Laws more severe and more ineffectual than those which have been levelled at the gypsies for the last four hundred years, by the several states in which they have sojourned, cannot be imagined. Banishment, imprisonment, the lash, and the gibbet, have been the four principal instruments employed in their government. Whenever the laws were executed, their condition became intolerable. The story told by Grellmann, of a gypsy who was scourged backwards and

forwards across the frontier of two or three petty German principalities, each under a temporary fit of vigorous administration, until he was driven to destroy himself—a rare instance of despair in his tribe—is a frightful proof of the atrocities sometimes perpetrated by a zealous police. Fortunately, such severities, in the very nature of things, could never be permanently practised. They were most happy when they enjoyed the contemptuous neglect of the law, unprotected and uncoerced. Grellmann mentions it as a recent occurrence, that, 'at a hunting 'party at one of the small German courts, a mother and her 'sucking child were shot like a couple of wild beasts.' But, in addition to their ordinary state of outlawry, they have been sometimes liable to the most frantic persecutions, on very unreasonable grounds. Such was the favourite imputation of child-stealing, which Mr Borrow, with great reason, disbelieves; this being the last article of other people's property with which they were likely to burden themselves, except now and then, in old times, for sale to the Barbary cruisers. Such was also the darker charge of cannibalism—under which many families perished in tortures, in the middle of the last century, in Hungary and elsewhere—although no plausible evidence of it was ever adduced.

Amidst all these miseries, the gypsy race, as a matter of course, flourished, multiplied, and became more desperate and more united. Like its partner in calamity, the Jewish people, it derived a more intense nationality from its sufferings. The Jews found a kind of contraband protection from the higher classes of society, to whom they made themselves useful. The gypsies connected themselves, for mutual defence, with the outcasts of the community, and became valuable members of the permanent association of *Want* against *Have*. But each people nourished in silence its deep and implacable hatred towards its oppressors, and, not the least bitterly, towards those to whom they cringed for shelter.

It was very long before the spirit of legislation began to change; and, when it did, the effects were of course very slow; but they were undeniable. We cannot sneer, with Mr Borrow, at such sovereigns as Charles III. of Spain, or Joseph II. of Germany, because their administration was influenced by the notions of infidel 'philosophers.' Surely, if the so-called philosophy of that time effected what religion had never been able to accomplish, religion, or rather bigotry, must put up with the disgrace of the comparison. The provisions of Charles III.'s law respecting the gypsies, (they are given in the 13th chapter of Mr Borrow's work,) appear to have been at once humane and

judicious in no ordinary degree. At the same time, considerable efforts were made in Austria in the same direction; but the Austrians erred in attempting too much. The Spanish legislators had the sense to perceive that their exertions were to ensure the gypsies a certain position in society, and leave the rest to time and themselves. The Austrians thought it their duty to improve and enlighten them by active measures;—a mistake, which, though amiable in the abstract, is not always so in the application. Maria Theresa caused all the gypsy children in some of her provinces to be seized and carried away from their parents in a single day, in order to educate them at the expense of the public. True philosophy in such matters is content with affording opportunities, instead of forcing them on the party whom it is intended to reform—a philosophy not thoroughly comprehended even in the present day.

The effects of Charles III.'s law seem to have been considerable, when measured by the stationary condition of gypsyhood for centuries before; although, doubtless, slight enough in the view of impatient reformers. 'Gitánismo,' according to Mr Borrow, is altogether on the decline. The greater number of the gypsies have abandoned their vagrant life, and come to reside in the towns; and this change has produced a less intense national feeling, and hastened the decay of the ties which bound them together. 'El crallis hra nicobado la ley de los Cales'—'The king has destroyed the law of the gypsies'—is a favourite saying among them at this day.

This is, no doubt, only a beginning, and a similar beginning has taken place in most European countries; but can any one doubt, small as the progress is, that the days of the gypsy race, as a distinct people, are numbered? It is impossible, we think, not to see, in the case both of the Jews and gypsies, the tendency of equal and liberal laws gradually to melt the separate drop into the general mass. We continue to wonder at the marked character which belongs to the Hebrew people; but a closer observation detects that it is wearing away, slowly but certainly—that is, in well-governed communities; as will be perceived when the English or Dutch Jew of the present day is compared with those of a century and a half ago. Let him disdain the imputation of degeneracy as much as he will, he is not what his forefathers were; he cannot occupy the proudly insulated position in which they retorted hate on an injurious world; his peculiar traits evaporate one by one, perhaps will continue to do so with accelerated progress—we say it with all respect for those who read the language of prophecy otherwise—until all things are accomplished. The gypsies oppose only a stubborn, passive resistance

to this amalgamation, which will probably be far sooner overcome.

How far will education tend to assist this gradual operation of other causes? On this point we think that Mr Borrow speaks well and sensibly. The acquisition of mere elementary instruction will not turn the gypsy into an ordinary citizen; but a gypsy with the very slightest instruction is better than a gypsy with none at all. In Spain they seem to have their share of the very scanty primary instruction of the country: they 'can read and 'write in the proportion of one man in three or four;' and 'to 'acquire only the rudiments of education, it is necessary to sub-'ject the mind to a species of discipline which, in most cases, 'exerts a salutary influence on the human being; education, 'however slight, never yet made an individual reckless, but has 'sobered many.' There is a truth in these plain and practical remarks, which it is much to be wished that the opponents of all popular instruction, except such as is cut out after their own favourite pattern, would do well to remember.

Here we take leave of Mr Borrow, and with many thanks for the amusement he has given us; hoping to meet him again, according to promise, in the mountains and heaths of Hungary. We have taken no notice of his second volume, which antiquarians perhaps may consider the more valuable of the two. It contains a glossary of the Spanish dialect of the gypsies, in which the radical words seem to be the same as those in the German and English, and, of course, of undoubted Indian origin; a point which Mr Borrow seems to labour too much to prove, by finding out the same respectable descent for many trivial words, which they are most likely to have picked up in the course of their wanderings. For example, 'jundunares,' 'soldiers,' which he draws from some Sanscrit root, signifying a sword, is surely a mere corruption of 'gendarmes.' It contains also plenty of gypsy couplets, with Mr Borrow's translations, which it seems to require a very strong dose of the 'afición' to digest at all;—resembling, but at an humble distance, those ditties in which the street minstrels of Britain inveigh against the workhouse and the new police. The only remarkable thing about them is, that the connected sense is seldom carried beyond one stanza; a curious exemplification of the unfitness of the gypsy mind for continued attention.

ART. III.—1. NIMROD'S *Hunting Tours.* 8vo. London: 1833.

2. *The Chase, the Turf, and the Road.* By Nimrod, with Illustrations. 8vo. London: 1837.

3. *Instructions to Young Sportsmen in all that relates to Guns and Shooting.* By Lieut.-Col. P. HAWKER. 8th Edition. 8vo. London: 1838.

4. *Sporting Scenes and Country Characters.* By MARTINGALE. With numerous Illustrations on Wood. 8vo. London: 1840.

5. *An Encyclopædia of Rural Sports; or, a Complete Account, Historical, Practical, and Descriptive, of Hunting, Shooting, Fishing, Racing, and other Field Sports and Athletic Amusements of the present day.* By DELABERE P. BLAINE, Esq., Illustrated by Six Hundred Engravings on Wood. 8vo. London: 1840.

6. *The Moor and the Loch.* By JOHN COLQUHOUN, Esq. Second Edition. 8vo. London: 1841.

7. *The Rod and the Gun; being two Treatises on Angling and Sporting.* By JAMES WILSON, F.R.S.E., and by the Author of 'The Oakleigh Sporting Code.' Republished from the Seventh Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* 8vo. Edinburgh: 1841.

TIME was when practice and theory were sworn enemies: the persons actually engaged in any given pursuit, whether of pleasure or profit, professed a sovereign contempt for book knowledge; and the praise of science, literature, or philosophy, was almost exclusively reserved for those who wrote on subjects few cared about, in a language few understood. Long after the learned had condescended to compose in the vernacular tongue, they cautiously eschewed utility; and if occasionally an author like Izaak Walton, Dame Juliana Berners, or the Duke of Newcastle, was induced to put pen to paper, on an amusement or art of the lighter order, he or she was regarded as a simple, or haply crackbrained enthusiast; and the book lay neglected in the manor-house library, until time had invested it with an artificial value for the antiquarian.

How striking the contrast presented by the actual condition of the press! Which is the art, instrument, invention, or occupation, that has not been made the basis of an essay or an article? There was always reason in the roasting of eggs: there is now philosophy in a dog-kennel, and literature in a fishing-rod. Nay, we recently met with a treatise on the art

of Wearing the Hat, in which it was proved to demonstration, that any variety of expression might be obtained by attending to the following plain rules or principles: That when the hat is pulled forward over the brows, it gives the wearer a look of determination or obstinacy; when thrown back, of careless unconcern or rakishness; when stuck on one side, of impudence: the compound effects to be produced by a judicious blending of the three.

If this goes on much longer, the eastern monarch offering a reward for a new pleasure, will be a faint type of the sovereigns of Albemarle Street and Paternoster Row offering a reward for a new subject. The writers will outnumber the readers; the public appetite will be palled; the golden goose will have been cut up and eaten: too many cooks spoil the broth, and too many book-makers will be the ruin of the book market.

Under such circumstances, it is no matter of surprise that books on field sports should have multiplied to an extent most embarrassing to critics like ourselves, who hold it a duty to grapple with every thing in the shape of a printed volume which is addressed to a large class of the community; and it was probably a lurking consciousness of comparative unfitness for the task, that induced our predecessors to give so discouraging a reception to the first country gentleman who put forth a regular avowed publication on the chase. Beckford's 'Thoughts on Hunting, in a Series of Familiar 'Letters to a Friend,'—an unassuming little book which appeared in 1780—was harshly treated in the *Monthly Review*, (a great authority in those days,) and made the occasion for a violent diatribe against the sport. Vain, however, were the reviewer's efforts—the sport was more ardently pursued than ever—the work has gone through four editions; and it has been followed by Thoughts, Hints, Observations, and Reflections, on Hunting, Shooting, Coursing, and Fishing, in all their ramifications and varieties.

We have selected the works named at the head of this article as containing the most modern notions and improvements, and also as best calculated, for other reasons, to serve as specimens of their class.

In 'The Sporting Scenes and Country Characters,' by Martingale, we have a series of brief descriptions, well seasoned with precepts, and occasionally enlivened by anecdotes, of every kind of rural amusement, from stag-hunting to rat-catching.

In Mr Blaine's 'Encyclopædia,' the entire science and history of the same topics are compressed. It is literally and faithfully what its name implies—a complete round or circle of sporting knowledge—a perfect manual for the amateur, who may turn to

it with equal confidence, whether he wishes to learn how to train a fox-hound in England, or to kill a giraffe in Africa.

The fame of 'Nimrod' is universally diffused. He has done for fox-hunting what the editor of the *Almanach des Gourmands* effected for gastronomy, and the veriest Cockney may derive unmingled gratification from his writings; for, independently of the descriptive powers displayed in them, they form one of the richest funds of racy anecdote we are acquainted with. This is in some measure to be attributed to the privilege tacitly accorded to him of indulging, to an unlimited extent, in personal allusion. When Mr Willis thought proper to enliven his pages with proper names, he was universally condemned. Miss Sedgewick has not escaped censure for printing her opinions of some of her English friends; but 'Nimrod' was cordially received by the chief sportsmen in the kingdom, though it was perfectly well known that he came for the express purpose of writing a description of their establishments—

'A chiel's amang ye takin' notes,
An' faith he'll prent it.'

Let us do him the justice to add, that he never abused their confidence. There are no covert sarcasms or indiscreet revealings in his 'Tours;' and we remember but a single instance in which the criticism is even slightly coloured by irritability or pique. In speaking of the York and Ainsty hounds, he has occasion to mention the huntsman, Mr Naylor, and delivers himself thus:

'In the field, though I had not much means of judging of him, I do not think highly of Naylor as a huntsman—certainly not so highly as he thinks of himself. I consider Naylor a huntsman of very average capacity, and particularly so for the time he has been with the hounds. However, "there is one glory of the sun, another of the moon, and another of the stars;" all men are not equal, and the best of us have only as much knowledge as it has pleased our Maker to give us, and no more. Jack Wilson, the head whipper-in, stands rather high with the country, being accounted rather better than common.

'Among other qualities, Naylor is considered a wag, and plumes himself upon now and then saying what he considers a good thing. Whilst he was at York, a gentleman rode up to him and addressed him thus:—"Now, Naylor, you must mind what you are at to-day. Nimrod will be out, and will have you in black and white." "Lord bless you, sir!" replied Naylor, "why, I have forgotten more than Nimrod will ever know." A sharp rebuke this; and all I have to say is, that I think I have read that wisdom vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up; but God help the man who knows only what Mr Naylor has forgotten. However, there is chaff and cockle in the best grain; so enough of this. Naylor is a good and faithful servant, a capital kennel huntsman, and therefore entitled to great praise; but we all pay the price of celebrity, and so must he.'

How often has one great man been thus prejudiced against another by the indiscretion of an acquaintance in repeating some hasty expression of contempt or indifference, uttered probably by the offending party, in the hope of weakening by anticipation the very judgment he affected to despise! and how curiously does our wounded self-love neutralize our noblest efforts at impartiality! Nimrod's candour in quoting the ground of quarrel is beyond all praise; but it is impossible not to see that he must have gone out in a very bad humour for appreciating Mr Naylor's performances; and we suspect that even Jack Wilson, the whipper-in, will fare the worse with posterity in consequence of the flippant observation of his chief. Nearly the same observation is reported to have fallen from the lips of old Sergeant Maynard a century and a half ago. 'Young man,' was his rebuke to a flippant competitor at the bar, 'I have forgotten more law than you ever 'knew.' In fact, the saying, *mutatis mutandis*, has been attributed to several distinguished characters beside the director of the 'York and Ainsty hounds.'

As to the rest upon our list—Colonel Hawker expounds the whole *rationale* of Shooting with clearness, fulness, and vivacity; whilst Mr Colquhoun, with his freshness of description and instructive minuteness of detail, bears us off to the mountains, prepared for every change of weather or variety of country that may turn up. The treatise on Shooting, by the author of 'The 'Oakleigh Sporting Code,' is written upon a very comprehensive plan, and beautifully illustrated. Its companion on Angling is one of the most interesting, instructive, and agreeable treatises on the 'gentle art' that exists in our language; and will probably be noticed at greater length in a future article.

It may be as well to state fairly at the outset, that we intend to deal with these books as Reviewers, not as sportsmen; for, to say the truth, we have misgivings whether our practical experience would prove sufficient to justify us in assuming the tone and bearing of the knowing ones. We have occasionally risked our lives in a *battue*, walked ourselves to a downright stand-still across a moor, and cantered across a country at 'Mr Stubbs' pace'—that master of fox-hounds, who seldom went faster than nine miles an hour, and never took a fence, yet almost invariably contrived to make his appearance at the end of the run. We are therefore very far from being pure theorists, and can understand, if not fully sympathize with, the enthusiasm which leads some of the authors before us to rank the reputation of a hard rider or a first-rate shot, amongst the noblest objects of youthful ambition; but the habitual tone of our minds leads us to value their books less for the practical knowledge they have accumulated for the tyro, and the inspiriting exhortations they address to him, than for the

traits of character, the illustrations of natural history, the curious subjects of general speculation, that abound in them; and perhaps our peculiar position in this respect may not prove a disadvantage upon the whole. It is a remarkable fact, that the best elementary books (Mrs Marcett's, for example) have been composed by persons who possessed little or no prior acquaintance with the subject-matter. The reason is plain. They are under no temptation to be pedantic—they occupy the same point of view as the general reader—they take nothing for granted—and their own fresh impressions afford an excellent test for ascertaining what is most likely to prove entertaining or instructive to the mass. Without, therefore, going quite the length of the late Mr Mill, the very able historian of British India, who contends that a man will write better about a country for having never seen it—we will venture to affirm, that a man will not write the worse about fox-hunting, (which, considering the space it occupies in these publications, must claim our chief attention,) for having devoted his leisure hours to other objects than the chase.

An unsophisticated observer, on his first visit to a hunting country, must instantly be struck by the magnificence of the establishments, as well as by the taste, inventive ingenuity, and scientific knowledge displayed in them—the kennels and stables built with far more regard to health and comfort than the dwelling-houses—the dogs and horses dieted according to the established principles of art—more pains taken with the education of a fox-hound than with that of a country gentleman fifty years ago, and as many delicate attentions lavished on a sick hunter by a nursing groom, as a lady of quality would receive from Sir Henry Halford or her waiting-maid. Then, how painfully would the sense of his own insignificance be forced upon him by the absorbing character of the pursuit—the complete devotion of all around him to the master passion—the entire subservience of thoughts, feelings, habits, senses, to the presiding influence or genius of the place! 'Pray, my lord,' said Nimrod to the present Duke of Cleveland, 'is not your kennel here very near the 'house? Does not the savour of the boiler sometimes find its 'way into the drawing-room?'—'It may,' replied his lordship, 'but we are all too well bred for fox-hunting to mind that.' Woe indeed to the wife, sister, or daughter, who betrays any feminine weakness in this respect. 'I was once present,' says Nimrod, 'when an anecdote was told of a gentleman having purchased a pack of fox-hounds; but, on their arrival at his kennel, his wife went into fits, in which she continued till the hounds were sent back again to their original owner.'—'If my wife had done so,' said Mr Corbet, 'I would never have kissed her again till she took off her nightcap, and cried Tally-ho.'

Lady Londonderry, it seems, partakes a little of the same prejudice, and she is thus censured by a sporting yeoman of the neighbourhood:

'Indeed, I am very angry with his lordship, and I told my lady so the other day. She can't bear the cry of dogs, she says. Oh, fie! her father was as good a sportsman as ever followed a hound. What! Sir Harry Vane Tempest's daughter not bear the cry of dogs! Oh, fie! But this comes of all your fine London work. It didn't use to be so. I am very angry at them. I don't think I shall ever go to dine at Wynyard Park again. The last time I was there, they put me into a room that smoked like a limekiln; but I should not have minded that if they didn't kill the foxes.'

We trust the following example will not be lost on such wives of fox-hunters as are fortunate (or, according to Mrs Gore, unfortunate) enough to be possessed of pin-money: A few years back, when the country was depressed, and rents came in slowly, Mr Ward (of Hampshire) told his lady he feared he must give up his hounds. Oh no! said she, don't do so, the times perhaps may mend. Going shortly afterwards to his bankers, he found the sum of a thousand pounds placed to his credit by 'a friend 'to fox-hunting.' This friend to fox-hunting was Mrs Ward, and the sum was paid out of her private purse.* Now for the application—'Hear this, ye married ladies, and do not forget the moral! If you wish to retain the affections of your husbands, 'encourage, but do not thwart his favourite pursuits. Your 'beauty may fade in his eye; your charms may pall upon the 'sense; but such conduct as this can only be forgotten in the 'grave.'

Far be it from us to detract from the merit of this act. It is really a very pleasing trait of affection and delicacy. But the ladies are hardly to be blamed for disliking fox-hunting, if we consider how completely its more ardent votaries contrive to unfit themselves for society. Although the times are gone when a bout of hard drinking was the inevitable appendix to a good run, the fatigue is overwhelming, and a man who has been in the saddle ten or twelve hours, is seldom qualified to appear to much advantage in the drawing-room—

'He also had a quality uncommon
To early risers after a long chase—
A quality agreeable to woman,
When her soft liquid words run on apace,
Who likes a listener, whether saint or sinner—
He did not fall asleep just after dinner.'

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* Nimrod's *Hunting Tours.*

Modern sportsmen cannot be accused of early rising, but they manage to crowd twice as much excitement and exhaustion into a given period as their progenitors.

The best, perhaps only, way by which the female members of the family can preserve their empire under such circumstances, is to take the field in their own proper persons; and there are no want of examples to justify the step, as one of Nimrod's graphic sketches will make clear. The grand drawing-room at Raby Castle is the scene:

'The door opened with an announcement of "Mr Hodgson, my lord," and in walked Tommy Hodgson (the groom) presenting a full front to his master. No soldier on parade could present a better. No gate-post was ever straighter; no Shakspeare's apothecary was leaner; and the succession of lines from the forehead to the chin, too plainly showed that age had traced his cruel way over Tommy's honest face. Not a word escaped him until the marquis took out his card (the list of hunters fit for work presented daily) out of his pocket, and then the dialogue began. It was a rare specimen of the laconic: Is *Moses* sound? Yes, my lord. I shall ride him—Also *Bergami*?—Yes, my lord. Dick, *Swing*?—Yes, my lord. Will, *Salopian*?—Yes, my lord. Lady Cleveland, *Raby*?—Yes, my lord. Edward, *the Parson*?—Yes, my lord. Lady Arabella, *the Duchess*?—Yes, my lord. George, *Obadiah*?—Yes, my lord. That's all?—Yes, my lord. (*Exit Tommy.*)'

Equally characteristic, though illustrative of another point, is the breakfast room scene:

'It so happened that we were all—and a pretty large party—seated at the breakfast table when Lord Darlington (the present Duke of Cleveland) made his appearance. Next to the usual enquiries after his lordship's health, the question was asked by two or three at once, have you heard how Will is? (the whipper-in, who had had a bad fall the day before.) "I have been to his bedside," said Lord D.; "he has had a restless night, nevertheless I hope he will do well; but he made me smile when he said he had no doubt but he should be able to go out with the hounds on Wednesday. *He also enquired after Lightning's eyes, and how Rufus and Mortimer had fed.*'"

Considering the Duke's acknowledged cultivation and accomplishments, he is one of the most remarkable living instances of the passion. During some years he hunted his own hounds regularly six days in the week. He had a change of clothes at all the principal inns within his hunt, to the nearest of which he always repaired after his sport was over; and putting himself into a chaise and four, ready dressed for the evening, a small field-piece at the lodge of his park announced his approach to the castle, and, by the time he arrived, dinner was upon the table.

The ruling passion 'strong in death' was never, we quite agree with Nimrod, more strongly exemplified than in Mr T.

Shafto, a distinguished follower of the Raby hounds. He was on his way to Ireland with a sporting friend, when the captain of the vessel came down to their cabin and informed them that all hope was over. Instead of giving vent to the ordinary exclamations of terror, he heaved a deep sigh, and thus apostrophized his companion in distress. '*I say Bob, no more Uckenby whin,*" (a favourite covert within the hunt.)

Were we set, however, to maintain the thesis, that man is naturally a hunting animal, we should not look for illustrations amongst the aristocracy, with whom want of occupation or excitement will afford a satisfactory solution of the problem. Our chief examples should be selected from amongst the lower orders; and we would appeal to Hastings the Cheltenham tailor, and Osbaldistone (not 'the squire,' but) the attorney's clerk, both commemorated by Mr Blaine. Of Hastings, he speaks as follows:

'This hero of a shopboard in Cheltenham is, or was, so passionately fond of the hounds, that he was in the habit of constantly starting on foot from the kennel to cover with Lord Segrave's hounds, quite regardless of distance; but what is still more extraordinary, from his fine wind and speed, as well as perfect knowledge of the country and the line which the foxes usually take, he has very seldom been known to be many minutes in making his appearance at the conclusion of the best runs. He has hunted thus five days a-week on foot with Lord Segrave, and has met the Duke of Beaufort's hounds on the sixth. On one occasion he walked from Cheltenham to Berkley, (twenty-six miles,) and found the hounds gone to Haywood, ten miles further, to which he proceeded: he was rather late, but saw a good run nevertheless! It appears, however, that the sporting tailor is not at home on horseback; otherwise opportunities must have occurred of enlisting himself in the service of the field. Indeed, we are told that Lord Segrave more than once offered him a good situation as earth-stopper; but his answer was in true unison with the love of the actual chase, that, "as he could not stop earths a-nights and hunt a-days too, he must decline the offer."'

Peregrine Langton, the uncle of Dr Johnson's well-known friend, Bennet Langton, lived genteelly, keeping two maids, two men in livery, a carriage, and three horses, on two hundred pounds a-year.* Osbaldistone, the attorney's clerk, mentioned by Mr Blaine, lived respectably in London, keeping himself, a family of half a dozen children, six couple of hounds, and two horses, on sixty—

'To explain this seeming impossibility,' says the authority on which Mr Blaine relies, 'it should be observed that, after the expiration of the office hours, Mr Osbaldistone acted as an accomptant for the butchers at Clare market, who paid him in offal; the choicest morsels of which he selected for himself and family, and with the rest he fed his hounds, which were

* See the details in Mr Croker's edition of *Boswell's Johnson*, vol. ii., Appendix.

kept in the garret. His horses were lodged in the cellar, and fed on grains from a neighbouring brew-house, and on damaged corn, with which he was supplied by a corn chandler, whose books he kept in order, once or twice a-week. In the season he hunted, and by giving a hare now and then to the farmers over whose grounds he sported, he secured their good-will and permission; and several gentlemen, struck with the extraordinary economical mode of his hunting arrangements, which were generally known, likewise winked at his going over their manors. This Nimrodian was the younger son of a gentleman of good family, but small fortune, in the north of England; and having imprudently married one of his father's servants, was turned out of doors with no other fortune than a southern hound big with pup, whose offspring from that time became a source of amusement to him.'

It is impossible not to be struck by the distinguished place accorded to the clergy of the Established Church in the annals of fox-hunting. Thus, in the Duke of Cleveland's published diary, we find this entry: 'I cannot omit to mention that the Rev. J. 'M., [the name at full length,] shone as conspicuously this day 'on his grey mare as in the pulpit, and was alone with the 'hounds over Ainderby moors at the last, near Thornhill's 'willow-bed.'

Nimrod pays this handsome tribute to the merits of another clerical hero: 'The vicar of P. is no humbug. He sings a 'hunting song to his parishioners, tells them a good story at his 'tithe-feast, and gives them the best his house affords. His 'invitation to Sir Bellingham and myself, for the next time the 'hounds came that way, was rather unique. "My claret," said 'he, "is of the finest vintage; and if you will drink enough of 'it, it will make your eyes look like boiled gooseberries!"' Probably this was the gentleman to whom a facetious friend, after witnessing his appearance in the pulpit, remarked, 'I like 'you better in bottle than in wood.'

The Craven country boasts, or boasted (for these are 'auld 'warld' stories, and the race is fast dying out) a first-rate specimen of the class in the Rev. F. F——.

'This gentleman resides (1822) in the village of Kentbury, about four miles from Hungerford, of which place he is rector; and proved himself so good a subject, and such a useful member of society, that in the time of our troubles, when fox-hunting, *as well as every other valuable institution in the country*, was in danger, he stepped manfully forth, and was invested by his sovereign with martial as well as clerical authority—having the command of a corps of Berks yeomanry. On being reviewed by the king (George III.) when on duty at Windsor, his majesty was pleased to observe, that Colonel Fowle was not only one of his best cavalry officers, but one of the best preachers, one of the best shots, and one of the best riders to hounds in his dominions. Who would not be proud of such a compliment from such a man?'*

* *Hunting Tour*, p. 138.

Blackstone states that it is to this day a branch of the king's prerogative, at the death of every Bishop, to have his kennel of hounds, or a compensation in lieu thereof. This proves that hunting was once recognised as a strictly episcopal amusement, and it is consequently no matter of surprise that a taste for it is not at once expelled by the mitre.

'It is well known,' says Nimrod, 'that (though before I was born) a certain high-bred dignitary of the church kept a pack of fox-hounds, and was one of the best sportsmen of his day. When, however, the mitre adorned his brow, the hounds were transferred to his noble brother, who continued them in great style; but the bishop did not attend them. Taking a ride, however, one day in a country in which he thought it *not unlikely* he might see something of them, he met the fox. The hounds were at fault; when, putting his finger under his wig, his lordship gave one of his beautiful view-halloos. "Hark, halloo!" said one of the field. The huntsman listened, and the halloo was repeated. "That will do," said he, knowing his old master's voice, "*That's gospel, by G—!*"'

Nimrod draws a just distinction between a clergyman who hunts, and a hunting clergyman; yet he does not give up the latter. 'In my travels through life, I have heard some sneers 'against hunting parsons; but my idea is this, a hunting parson 'makes friends, a shooting parson makes enemies. A clerical 'friend of mine being disappointed at the death of a relation, said 'he should give up hunting and sell his horses. "Do no such 'thing," said a certain noble relation very high in the sporting 'world, "stick to the brush, and it will get you a living." *And 'so it did.*'

Fielding's Parson Supple got a living by being always at hand to fetch Squire Weston's tobacco-box or get drunk with him; yet we should hardly recommend a young friend, fresh from ordination, to adopt this particular mode of obtaining preferment. The logic of the first proposition is also questionable. Does it follow that a non-hunting parson must be a shooting one?

The medical profession furnishes its quota of enthusiasts, and many highly honourable traits are recorded of them. The following for example:—A medical gentleman, by the name of Hansted, residing near Newbury, ordered his gardener to set a trap for some vermin that infested his garden. As ill luck would have it, a fox was found in it in the morning with his leg broken. On being taken to the doctor, he exclaimed, 'Why did you not 'call me up in the night, that I might have set the leg?' Better late than never: he did set the leg; the fox recovered; and was killed in due form, after a capital run.

We presume it is hardly necessary to state, that our southern

neighbours deny the orthodoxy of the rule of the chase, as laid down by Roderic Dhu:

> 'Though space and law the stag we lend,
> Ere hound we slip, or bow we bend;
> Whoever reck'd where, how, or when,
> The prowling fox was trapp'd and slain?'

A farmer within the limits of Mr Farquharson's hunt, being accused of killing a fox, was not allowed to dine at the farmer's ordinary until he had established his innocence.

There are two perfectly distinct principles on which fox-hunting is upheld by its votaries; independently of its use in clearing the country of vermin, which is rendered somewhat problematical by the fact just mentioned. The one is its levelling tendency. 'It is a sort of Saturnalian amusement (says Nimrod,) in which 'all ranks and privileges are set aside; and he that has the best 'horse and the best nerve, takes the precedence for the day. 'A butcher's boy, upon a pony, may throw the dirt in the face 'of the first duke in the kingdom. This, *though little thought of*, 'is one of the many advantages arising from a land of liberty.' The other was expounded by Sir Hussey (now Lord) Vivian, during the game-law debate: 'I own I am proud of sporting; 'and the greatest commander the world ever had, has declared 'that he found the men who followed the hounds brave and 'valiant soldiers.'

This doctrine was much more pointedly expressed by an old writer: 'Who is so likely to gain a rampart, or mount an in-'trenchment, as he whose long practice hath been scaling the 'fortifications of meadows and inclosures? who so proper to 'manage his horse with address and intrepidity in time of action, 'as he whose trade and occupation are leaping over five-bar gates, 'hedges, and stone-walls? Habit and experience qualify the 'fox-hunter for the sap or for the storm, to unkennel or to pur-'sue: long custom hath made him acquainted with all sorts of 'ground, with hills and valleys, morasses and deserts, streights 'and precipices; hath enabled him to excel in march or forage, 'in ambush or surprise, in attack or retreat. How common was 'it for champions like these to give terror to a squadron, or to 'make lanes among legions of Frenchmen! With what health 'and vigour did they then return home to the arms of their con-'sorts! What hopeful, rosy, jolly branches were seen round their 'tables! What martial heroes, inheritors of their virtues and their 'valour, did they leave to their country!'

Whatever weight might have been due to either or both of these lines of argument originally, it seems clear that modern fox-hunters will soon be driven to rest their case almost exclu-

sively upon the last; for the tendency of all the recent changes, or improvements as they are termed, undoubtedly has been to render the sport more and more inaccessible to the lower orders. It is all very fine to talk of a butcher's boy on a pony throwing dirt in the face of a duke, when it is a well-known acknowledged fact, that, to enable a man to see the whole of a good run, he ought to have two five hundred guinea hunters in the field. Our ancestors derived a great part of their gratification from seeing their dogs work, and 'slow but sure' was a high commendation for a hound. Now, speed is the grand requisite; and the height of a huntsman's ambition is not to exhibit his skill by a succession of knowing casts; or to show off the sagacity and mutual understanding of his pack, but to run his fox fifteen or sixteen miles, at the rate of twenty miles an hour, without a check. 'We have 'had a quick thing last week,' writes a Meltonian to his father; 'eight miles point blank, in twenty-six minutes. If I had not had 'a second horse posted (luckily) halfway, I could not have seen it.'

Another 'quick thing' is mentioned by Nimrod. He tells us that the horse he rode had just been winning hunter stakes—there were no impracticable fences in the way—and he only lost two or three minutes in getting round a wall; yet he never caught sight of the pack till he ascended a rising ground, from which he could just see them more than a mile a-head, running into their fox. When Shaw, the huntsman, came up, he pulled out his watch, and exclaimed, 'Beat two miles in twenty-two minutes by G—!'

When thus conducted, fox-hunting is little better than a steeple chase; and a noble earl, highly distinguished in the sporting world, once naïvely owned that he thought the hounds 'a great 'bore;' which reminds us of the remark of a well-known *habitué* of the opera—who attended it solely to gossip and pay visits—that it might be greatly improved by leaving out the singing. The hounds also seem to be of opinion, that, if nothing were wanted but a gallop across country, they could dispense with foxes; for Mr Corbet's pack, a very celebrated one, 'ran a cur 'dog an hour, *best pace*, and killed him.' Nimrod assures us that this was not at all discreditable to them.

It is probably with a view to the more essential change that the point of honour has been varied. The best man at present is he who goes best through the first part of the run; and in the regular hunting countries the successful competitor would as soon think of asking for the huntsman's scalp as for the brush. 'I once 'did see, and in one of the crack countries,' says Nimrod, 'a 'man ride over a fence into the middle of hounds, as they were 'in the act of worrying their fox; and on the owner of them 'asking him why he did so, he replied that he wanted the

'brush.' 'You shall have the brush, sir,' said the master of the pack, 'and let it serve you for the rest of your life. Take 'off that red coat when you get home, and never come a hunt-'ing again.'

To understand the degree of nerve required by a hard rider, it is necessary to bear in mind the nature of the country (Leicestershire) in which the chief performers have distinguished themselves. It abounds in brooks, and has the ordinary complement of rails, stiles, and gates; but the ox and bulfinch fences are its peculiar distinctions. The ox fence consists of, first, a wide ditch, then a sturdy blackthorn hedge, and, at least two yards beyond that, a strong rail, about four feet high. The bulfinch fence is a quickset hedge of perhaps fifty years' growth, with a ditch on one side or the other, and so high and strong that horses cannot clear it. The sportsman charging this at nearly full speed, succeeds in getting to the other side, when the bushes close after him and his horse, and there is no more appearance of their transit than if a bird had hopped through.* How he and his horse preserve their eyes, is a problem which the uninitiated are left to solve for themselves.

It must be admitted that as much contempt of danger may be shown in following hounds across obstacles of this kind, as in mounting a breach; and the publications before us, Nimrod's in particular, abound with instances of extraordinary coolness, dogged determination, and intrepidity. Who can doubt for a moment that the gentleman commemorated in the following narrative, had he chanced to serve under Picton or Ponsonby at Waterloo, would have been found in the thickest of the fray?—

'If I were asked who it was that had shown the greatest contempt for the consequence of a bad fall that ever came under my observation, I should have no hesitation in saying, it was a gentleman by the name of Stanhope, who was on a visit to Sir Bellingham Graham when he hunted the Atherstone country. On the Friday his horse fell with him and hurt his shoulder, but nothing was broken or displaced. The consequence was, he came out on the following Monday with his arm in a sling. We found a fox in the finest part of Sir Bellingham's Leicestershire country, and killed in fifteen minutes, during which Mr Stanhope was in a very good place. Having had the pleasure of meeting him a few evenings before at Sir Bellingham's, I asked him if he did not find it very awkward to ride with only one hand, when he assured me he found little difficulty with the horse he was then riding, as he was so very temperate, and had never given him a fall. "That is dangerous to boast of," said I to him; and here the conversation ended. We

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* *The Chase, The Turf, and The Road*, p. 22.

found another fox, and had a fine run of an hour and ten minutes, and killed. About the middle of it we came to a brook, which we all got well over with the exception of Stanhope, who unfortunately pitching on a turn in the bank, and disdaining to look, did not clear it, and his horse threw him with great violence on the opposite side. I saw him lying on the ground, apparently as dead as if he had been shot at Waterloo; and it was upwards of five minutes before he showed any signs of returning animation. On getting back to Sir Bellingham's house—having been blooded at Bosworth—all necessary measures were taken, and the doctor would fain have persuaded Mr Stanhope that some ribs were broken. He had a short husky cough, and two or three other directing symptoms which seldom mislead a skilful apothecary; but he resisted all such insinuations, and assured him he should be well in a few days; and the Quorn hounds coming within reach on the following Thursday, he went to meet them, still having his arm in a sling!

'In the course of this day's sport, some of the party, among whom was Mr Stanhope, got into a corner of a field, and were pounded. What is not very usual in this country, one of the hardest riders in England had dismounted, and was trying to pull off the top bar of a flight of rails, which did not otherwise appear practicable. "Let me try," said Mr Stanhope, "I am on a good one." The sequel was, he rode at it and got a tremendous fall. On seeing him lying on the ground, Sir Bellingham rode up to him, and said—"Now, I tell you what, Stanhope, you are a good one, but by G—d you shall ride no more to-day! Go to Leicester and put yourself into your carriage, and get to town as quick as you can, and get cured!" He took his friend's advice, and when he arrived there Mr Heaviside found that he had two ribs broken, and his breast-bone beaten in!! This, we may also say, is not a bad sort of man to breed from.'*

It would seem that Sir Bellingham was much more likely to give such advice than to follow it:

'As is the case with most hard-riding men, Sir Bellingham Graham has had some severe falls; but on two occasions he very narrowly escaped destruction. The following rare instance of his pluck, however, should not be lost to the sporting world:—He was killing his fox at the end of a sharp thing, when an ox fence presented itself. Three first-rate performers were going in the same line, but they would not have it. Sir Bellingham never turned his horse, and cleared all but the rail on the opposite side, which probably his weight would have broken; but unfortunately his horse alighted on one of the posts, and was turned over on his rider's chest. Strange as it may appear, Sir Bellingham remounted his horse, and rode on; but he had not proceeded many yards when he was observed by Sir Harry Goodricke to be in the act of falling to the ground, but which he was fortunate enough to prevent. From that

* Nimrod's *Hunting Tour.*

period—about twelve o'clock at noon till nine o'clock the next night—Sir Bellingham never knew what had happened to him; and as he lay under the haystack—whither his friends removed him at the time of the accident—every moment was expected to be his last. The pith of the story, however, is yet to come. He was bled three times the first day, and confined to his bed five. On the seventh, to the utter surprise, and indeed annoyance, of his friends, he was seen in his carriage at Scraptoff, merely, as he said, "to see his hounds throw off." The carriage not being able to get up to the spinney, Sir Bellingham mounted a quiet old horse, (placed there, no doubt, for the purpose,) muffled up in a rough great-coat and a shawl, and looked on. The fox was found; and, unfortunately for Sir Bellingham, took a short ring, but returned, and his hounds came to a check close to where he was sitting upon his horse. Will Beck, the huntsman *pro tempore*, not being up with his hounds, the baronet cast them and recovered his fox. In three fields they checked again, and Beck made a slow but by no means a brilliant cast. Sir Bellingham saw all this from the hill; and, no longer a looker-on, he cantered down to his pack, and hit off his fox again. Things still went on but awkwardly. Another error was observed; when Sir Bellingham—annoyed that a large field should be disappointed of their sport when there was a possibility of having it—taking a horn from a whipper-in (for he could not speak to them) got to work again.

'The hounds mended their pace: down went the shawl in the middle of a field. They improved upon it: down went the rough great-coat in another field. He then stuck to his hounds in a long hunting run of an hour and a half over a very strongly-fenced country, and had gotten his fox dead beat before him, when he was halloo'ed away by one of his own men to a fresh fox under the Newton hills.

'Now, what was to be done? The excitement that had carried him thus far was gone, and it was all but who-whoop. With every appearance of exhaustion, and a face as pale as if he were dead, he sat himself down on a bank, and faintly exclaimed, "How I am to get home, heaven only knows!"'

Mr Henry Kingscote was riding a horse with one eye. The eye inflamed in the course of the run, and the horse became incapable of seeing any but upright objects; so that, whenever the ditch was on his side of the fence, he was certain to be down, as his master soon became perfectly aware. He had eleven bad falls, yet got to the end of the run before the hounds had worried their fox.

Mr Assheton Smith (*the* Tom Smith of the sporting circles) was a perfect glutton in this line. It was computed that he had from sixty to one hundred falls a-year. He was once riding against Mr John White, who arrived first at the only practicable place in a fence, but being unable to clear it, got what is called well bulfinched, and stuck fast. 'Get on,' said Mr Smith. 'I can't,' said Mr White. 'Ram the spurs into him,' exclaimed Mr Smith, 'and pray get out of the way.' 'D—n

it,' said Mr White, 'if you are in such a hurry why don't you 'charge me?' Mr Smith did charge him, and sent him and his horse into the next field, when away they went again as if nothing had happened.

It seems that Mr Smith's horses are trained to stop at nothing, for once, when he was turning round in the act of encouraging his dogs, his gallant steed carried him into the middle of a deep pond. Like master like man—Jack Shirley, Mr Smith's whipper-in, was once seen galloping over a piece of broken ground, downhill, and with the horse's head quite loose, whilst busily engaged in putting a new lash to his whip, and holding a large open claspknife between his teeth!

One of Mr Lambton's whippers-in rode over a very high timber fence into a road, merely to turn hounds. Such was the force of the concussion, that the horse was unable to keep his legs, and fell floundering on his head. The rider, however, stuck to him, hanging at one time by his spurs, but he never ceased hallooing, 'Get away, get away, hounds!'

Another of these gentlemen had met with a good many falls in his time, but was never hurt in any of them: one unlucky day his horse fell with him, and rolling him (to borrow Nimrod's expression) as a cook would a pie-crust, nearly flattened all the prominences of his body. Getting up, and limping after his steed, he was heard muttering to himself—'Well, *now* I *be* hurt!'

A third described his horse as a dunghill brute, because, not content with tumbling, 'he lies on me for half an hour when he 'is down.'

A fourth had the following colloquy with Nimrod:—'Why, 'sir, I have been very roughly handled. I have broke three ribs 'on one side, and two on t'other; both collar bones; one thigh; '*and been scalped.* You remember Sir Watkins' Valentine?'—'To 'be sure, as vicious a brute as ever had a saddle on.'—'Well, 'sir, he tumbled me down just as we were coming away with a 'fox from Marchviel gorse, and kicked me on the head till the 'skin hung down all over my eyes and face; and do you know, 'sir, when I gets to Wrexham, I faints from loss of blood.'

As a remarkable instance of presence of mind, we may mention the manner in which Stephen, Mr Newton Fellowes' huntsman, extricated himself. Stephen charged the fence at the end of Mr Buller's park; but when his horse got upon the banks, he found that, instead of 'going in and out clever,' if he once got in he should never come out, as the drop into the road was tremendous, and the road was newly covered with stone. Dreadnought (the horse) was not to be daunted; but Stephen, exclaiming *no go*, caught hold of the bough of a tree which fortunately

hung over his head, and suffered his horse to leap from under him.

What greatly enhances the merit where the dandy genus are concerned, is the risk they run of spoiling their beauty by an accident.

'Billy Williamson was also out this day, and, I am sorry to add, met with a serious accident. We rode at a small fence into a road, when his horse fell, and threw him with much violence. Being close behind him, I was immediately aware that mischief had ensued; for on his horse and himself recovering their legs, one ran to the left, and the other to the right. There was something very frightful in the motions of Mr Williamson; he ran wildly down the road, rubbing his head with his hand, for the space of fifty yards, and then fell to the ground. Mr H—— and myself instantly approached him, when we found all the front teeth of his upper jaw gone, his mouth full of blood, and he complained much of his head. I understand he is all right again now, with a fresh set of ivories; but it is rather a cruel trick for the old dame to play so good-looking a young man, and just in the heyday of youth. I like, however, the way he spoke of the accident afterwards. "I would not," he said, "have taken a thousand pounds for my teeth; but I should not have cared so much for the loss of them, had the accident happened at the finish of a fine run."'*

We are credibly informed, that there was a considerable decrease in the number of female travellers by the Southampton railway for some time after a lady lost her nose; and historians have recorded, that Pompey's young patricians swerved and got disordered when Cæsar's veterans aimed at their faces. Perhaps it is the thought of Mr Williamson's mishap that makes so many of our young Meltonians rejoice in the commencement of a frost, and brighten up, instead of growing melancholy, when cover after cover has been tried without finding. It would be curious to know how many of them think they have done enough for honour, when their clever hack, superb hunter, and well-appointed groom, have caught the attention of the field.

It has been remarked, that nothing tends so much to make a field select as 'a good rasping brook,' like the Whissendine; for, if the horse falls, he generally falls backwards with his master under him; and the prospect of a good ducking is enough to cool the courage of all but the most ardent. It is, notwithstanding, by no means an uncommon occurrence for sportsmen to clear a brook five or six yards broad; and Mr Mytton, the most dare-devil rider of his day, once leaped one measuring more than seven yards—the space actually covered being nine yards.

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* Nimrod's *Hunting Tour.*

and a quarter. What makes this exploit the more extraordinary, it was performed in cold blood on his return from hunting. He afterwards backed the same horse, *Baronet*, to clear nine yards over hurdles; but he performed the task so often before the appointed time, that he refused it then, and lost his master the bet.

It stands recorded amongst the annals of Melton, that a wager of a hundred guineas was made between Lord Alvanley and Mr Maher, that each did not leap over a brook of six yards width, without disturbing the water. Both cleared the brook, but Lord Alvanley's horse threw back a bit of dirt into the water, and he thereby lost the bet. This is a curious exemplification of the verbal nicety to which the members of the Jockey Club, far exceeding special pleaders, restrict themselves. Like Mrs Battle at whist, they invariably insist on the rigour of the game.

Mr Blaine says, that he himself saw a huntsman of the late Sir William Rowley clear twenty-four feet across a stream.

If the horse leaps short, the rider stands little chance of sympathy. When 'the famous Dick Knight' hunted Northamptonshire, he rode over a wide and deep brook at the same time that a reverend gentleman was floating down it, having been landed (an odd mode of landing) in the middle. 'The gentleman swims like a cork,' said Dick, without ever thinking of assisting him.

The best bit in Nimrod's spirited sketch of a run at Melton, is the crossing of that far-famed brook the Whissendine, the Rubicon of the Cæsars of the chase:

'Yooi, over he goes!—halloos the squire (Mr Osbaldistone) as he perceives Marmion and Maida plunging into the stream, and Red Rose shaking herself on the opposite bank. Seven men out of thirteen take it in their stride; three stop short, their horses refusing the first time, but come well over the second; and three find themselves in the middle of it. The gallant "Frank Forester" is among the latter; and having been requested that morning to wear a friend's new red coat to take off the gloss and glare of the shop, he accomplishes the task to perfection in the bluish-black mud of the Whissendine, only then subsiding after a three days' flood. "Who is that under his horse in the brook?" enquires that good sportsman and fine rider, Mr Greene of Rolleston, whose noted old mare had just skimmed over the water like a swallow on a summer's evening.—"It's Middleton Biddulph," says one.—"Pardon me," cries Mr Middleton Biddulph; "Middleton Biddulph is here, and here he means to be!"—"Only Dick Christian," answers Lord Forester, "and it is nothing new to him."—"But he'll be drowned!" exclaims Lord Kinnaird.—"I shouldn't wonder," observes Mr William Coke; but the pace is too good to enquire."'*

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* *The Chase, the Turf, and the Road*, p. 56. The great mistake of

The Dick Christian, whose probable fate gave so little concern, is a celebrated rough-rider, who rides young horses with hounds, at the very moderate rate of fifteen shillings a-day. Walls, to common apprehensions, are still more dangerous than brooks; but Irish horses and riders face them with the most perfect indifference. At the great horse fairs of Ballinasloe, the priced horses; and Mr Blaine mentions an Irish half-bred parish pound, six feet in height, forms the trial leap for the high-mare that leaped a wall of seven feet high, built for the purpose, in the Phœnix Park. In 1792, an Irish horse, the property of Mr Bingham, cleared the wall of Hyde Park at a place where it was six feet and a half high on the inside, and eight without. This was a standing leap, and was performed twice, a few bricks being displaced the second time. Mr Mytton is said to have once leaped a gate seven feet in height, on a horse purchased of Nimrod for five hundred guineas. An anecdote related of this gentleman, leads to an inference that there is such a thing as Dutch courage in hunting as well as in fighting:

'In most other countries,' says Nimrod, 'if a man wishes to anticipate his friend's performance for the day, the question he would ask would be—What horse do you ride? Not so, however, in Shropshire. There are two or three of my friends in that sporting and most hospitable country, to whom the most likely question whereby to elicit the truth would be, not what horse do you ride to-day, but what have you had to drink? The fact is, the fences come very quick in Shropshire, and a little jumping-powder is often found useful; so, going into the public-house at Nescliffe, by way of a beginning, I put the following question to the landlord:—"How much brandy has Mr Mytton had this morning?"—"None, sir," was the reply; "I cannot swallow that," said I.—"It is true, I assure you," said Boniface. "What else has he had then?" I resumed.—"Some egged ale, sir."—Ah!" said I, "some of your Shropshire squires, like many others, want a little *egging* on, now and then?"'

In enumerating the dangers of fox-hunting, that of fording or swimming rivers well deserves a place. By a strange coincidence, three gentlemen were drowned on the same day in different parts of the country, whilst gallantly endeavouring to get to hounds—Mr Edwards, Mr Walbram, and the Rev. Marmaduke Theakstone. In speculating on the untimely fate of the latter, Nimrod is led into a curious error—

'Mr Theakstone, it is evident, was a swimmer, but there is every reason to believe that the weight of his clothes sank him at last; and, in

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this sketch is the designation given to the supposed provincial. Surely the high-bred members of the Melton Club are not in the habit of calling every well-mounted stranger, *Snob*.

the moment of alarm, he had not the presence of mind to relieve himself by floating on his back, or by any of those expedients which expert swimmers have recourse to when they find themselves exhausted. Perhaps, however, situated as he was, these expedients would not have availed him; for, taking into consideration that the clothes a man wears when hunting cannot be estimated at less than ten pounds when dry, it may be fairly concluded that when wet, with the addition of water in the boots, pockets, &c., this weight must be more than doubled. Conceive, then, a man swimming perhaps in dead water, with more than twenty-four pounds' dead weight hanging about him, all verging to t bottom, and opposing his efforts to sustain himself on the surface!'

Does this clever writer require to be informed that water cannot add to weight in water; or that the weight of a swimmer's clothes, over and above that of the water displaced by them, is the only additional burden they inflict upon him, though they may fatally check the free movement of his limbs? This little mistake as to the nature of specific gravity, however, in no respect affects the soundness of his advice when he comes to talk of the best mode of swimming a horse. He recommends the rider to quit the saddle, keep his body immersed, and hold fast by the mane.

Sir Walter Scott relates, that when he read the description of the hunt in the 'Lady of the Lake' to Laidlaw, the honest yeoman listened with intense interest and in deep silence, till they came to the part where the hounds plunge into the lake to follow Fitzjames; when he shook his head, and exclaimed, that the dogs must be irretrievably ruined by being allowed to take water after such a run. We once heard a criticism elicited much in the same manner. The passage was that, (in the 'Lay,') where Deloraine pushes his horse into the Aill.

> 'At the first plunge the horse sunk low,
> And the water broke over the saddle-bow;
> Above the foaming tide, I ween,
> Scarce half the charger's neck was seen.'

'Then it was all over with him,' exclaimed our friend; 'if the 'water broke over the saddle-bow, he must have lost his footing, 'and been swept down.' With all due deference, he might have been saved by the very circumstance which the poet mentions as an additional difficulty:

> 'For he was barded from counter to tail,
> And the rider was arm'd complete in mail.'

A horse thus mounted and accoutred, would stem a rapid stream with comparative facility.

The safest, though hardly the pleasantest, mode of crossing a river, is to follow the example of a Staffordshire gentleman when

hunting with the late Mr Meynell;—'the great Mr Meynell,' as he is still designated in the sporting world. He pulled off his coat and waistcoat before taking water. Lord Forester, who had got round by a bridge, asked a countryman whether he had seen the hounds, 'Oh, yes, I see'd 'em; but you will never see 'em no more; they have been gone this quarter of an hour.' 'Who was with them?' said his lordship. 'No one but the miller,' was the reply, 'and he was riding most 'nation hard, to be sure.' This proved to be Mr G. in his shirt.

Lord Byron makes Don Juan no mean performer:—

'And now in this new field, with some applause,
He clear'd hedge, ditch, and double fence and rail,
And never *craned*, and made but few *faux pas*,
And only fretted when the scent 'gan fail.
He broke, 'tis true, some statutes of the laws
Of hunting; for the sagest youth is frail;
Rode o'er the hounds, it may be, now and then,
And once o'er several country gentlemen.'

To the word *craned* is appended this note:

'To *crane* is, or was, an expression used to denote a gentleman's "stretching out his neck over a hedge—to look before he leaped;" a pause in his "vaulting ambition," which in the field doth occasion some delay and execration in those who may be immediately behind the equestrian sceptic. "Sir, if you don't choose to take the leap, let me!" was a phrase which generally sent the aspirant on again, and to good purpose; for, though "the horse and rider" might fall, they made a gap, through which, and over him and his steed, the field might follow.'

The late Lord Spencer was *craning* at a *rasper* which 'the celebrated Dick Knight' had just cleared. 'Come along, my lord,' said Dick, looking back; 'the more you look, the less you'll like it.' The late Lord Forester neglected the precaution, and found himself in the middle of a pond. 'Hold your tongue,' was his reproof to a countryman who was calling for help, 'we shall have it full in a minute.' Unless we are much mistaken, this scene has been the foundation of a sketch, representing an Irishman, who is made the hero, so placed that the next comer must infallibly alight upon his head.

As to the peccadilloes attributed to Don Juan, the most practised sportsmen are almost daily guilty of them. A friend of Nimrod accounts for having his arm in a sling by stating, that seventeen men had ridden over him; and (*horrescimus referentes*) we have heard that the Duke of Wellington, when hunting in Hampshire, saw no less than eight pair of glittering hoofs fly over him whilst he lay *perdu* in a ditch—no bad parallel to Blucher's mishap at Ligny.

Riding over dogs is deemed a much more serious offence; yet, considering the impatience and inexperience of the greater portion of the field, the wonder is that the pack are not decimated every time they throw off. The horsemen may possibly be induced to wait until five or six couple have settled upon the scent; but the rest must scramble after as they best may; and nothing more strongly illustrates the speed and spirit of a fox-hound than the style in which he threads the throng, and dashes onwards to overtake his comrades.

An old captain in the navy was once, at his particular request, taken by the late Lord Rivers to witness a coursing match. The moment a hare was found, he put his horse to full speed and endeavoured to ride her down—'What the deuce have you 'been about?'—exclaimed his friend, as the captain rejoined the party after a fruitless gallop. 'Trying to catch the hare, to be 'sure—what else are we here for?—and if all of you had done 'as I did, we should have had her before this time!'

Many is the red-coated horseman who might well be suspected of the same directly hostile intentions towards the fox. 'Pray, 'sir, do you think you can catch him yourself?'—said Mr Ward to one of these heroes.—'No, sir.'—'Then please to move out 'of the way, and let my hounds try.'

'Take care of the hounds, sir!' said Watty Wilkinson to a dandy.—'Oh! my horse never kicks.'—'Perhaps not, but he 'may tread on their tails.'

Mr Corbet was remarkable for the cutting politeness of his intimations. 'Killed the best hound in my pack, *that's* all,'—was his sole remark to the offender as he galloped past him. When another hound was ridden over, and he did not know by whom, he rode about the field with, 'They've killed me a 'favourite hound, sir: you don't happen to know who did it?'

A sort of ascending scale is given by Mr Beckford—a *hold hard* having proved ineffective. 'I beg, sir, you will stop your horse.'—'Pray, sir, stop.'—'God bless you, sir, stop!'—'God d——n 'your blood, sir, stop your horse!'

Mr Nicholl's famous retort is well known. A gentleman not liking such language, said—'I tell you what it is, Mr Nicholl, I 'don't come out here to be d——d.'—'Then go home and be 'd——d!'

When it is remembered that, according to Mr Beckford, hounds may be driven miles before the scent, by persons riding close upon them, a reasonable degree of warmth may be excused.

These books contain a great deal of advice as to the best mode of relieving or assisting the horse; and neither Mr Blaine nor

Nimrod entertains the slightest doubt that the animal may be prevented from falling, or partially lifted to his leap, by a judicious management of the bridle. A little book, however, has recently been published, in which it is confidently contended, that not merely hunting-men, but equestrians in general, have conceived a very exaggerated, if not entirely unfounded notion of a rider's capabilities in this respect; and as the speculation has attracted less notice than its ingenuity well merits, we will take the opportunity of extracting the pith of it. The author is Lieutenant-Colonel Greenwood, late of the Life-guards, confessedly one of the best riders and smartest cavalry officers in the service:—

'How often do we hear a man assert, that he has taken his horse up, between his hands and legs, and lifted him over a fence; that he has recovered his horse on the other side, or that his horse would have fallen with him forty times if he had not held him up! These are vulgar errors and mechanical impossibilities. Could ten men, with handspikes, lift the weight of a horse? Probably. Attach the weight to the thin rein of a lady bridle! Could a lady lift it with the left hand? I think not, though it is commonly supposed she could. A pull from a curb will, indeed, give the horse so much pain in the mouth that he will throw his head up; and this so flatters the hand that its prowess has saved him, that the rider exclaims, "It may be impossible, but it happens every day. Shall I not believe my own senses?" The answer is, No, not if it can be explained how the senses are deceived; otherwise we should still believe, as, till some few centuries ago the world did believe, that the diurnal motion was in the sun, and not in the earth. Otherwise we must subscribe to the philosophy of the Turk, who

> "Saw with his own eyes the moon was round,
> Was also certain that the earth was square,
> Because he'd journey'd fifty miles, and found
> No sign of its being circular any where."

'But these errors are not harmless errors. They induce an ambitious interference with the horse at the moment in which he should be left unconfused to the use of his own energies. If by pulling, and giving him pain in the mouth, you force him to throw up his head and neck, you prevent his seeing how to foot out any unsafe ground, or where to take off at a fence: and, in the case of stumbling, you prevent an action dictated alike by nature and philosophy. When an unmounted horse stumbles, nature teaches him to drop his head and neck; philosophy teaches us the reason of it. During the instant that his head and neck are dropping, the shoulders are relieved from their weight, and that is the instant that the horse makes his effort to recover himself. If, by giving him pain in his mouth, you force him to raise his head and neck instead of sinking them, his shoulders will still remain encumbered with the weight of them:—more than this, as action and reaction are equal and in opposite directions, the muscular power employed to raise the

head and neck will act to sink his knees. The mechanical impossibility of the rider assisting his horse when falling, may be demonstrated thus:—No motion can be given to a body without a foreign force or a foreign fulcrum. Your strength is not a foreign force, since it is employed entirely on the horse; nor can it be employed on the foreign fulcrum, the ground, through the medium of your reins. As much as you pull up, so much will you pull down. If a man in a boat uses an oar, he can accelerate or impede the motion of the boat, because his strength is employed, through the medium of the oar, on the water, which is a foreign fulcrum; but if he take hold of the chain at the head of the boat, his whole strength will not accelerate nor impede the motion of the boat, because there is neither foreign force nor fulcrum. His whole strength is employed within the boat, and as much as he pulls backward with his hands he pushes forward with his feet.

'All the arguments which I have heard adduced against the doctrine here laid down, would also go to prove that a horse cannot fall which has a bearing-rein and crupper; that is, whose head is tied to his tail.'*

He thus answers the obvious objection, that the back part of the animal may be used as a fulcrum to support the front:

'They indeed argue—surely if you throw back the weight of the shoulders over the croup of your horse, you relieve his forehand, and diminish the chance of his falling. This is rather to propose a new method of preventing a horse from falling, than to prove the advantage of pulling at the mouth while he is falling; for if it be of any advantage to throw back your weight, then the less you pull at the mouth the better; for the more you pull, the less you are at liberty to throw back your weight. But, in truth, it is of no advantage to throw back the weight when the stumble is made. If a position be previously taken up on the croup of a horse, the pressure will be less upon the forehand than if you were placed in a forward position. But during the time that the position is in the act of being shifted; that is, during the time that the horse is falling, the act of throwing your own weight backward produces an exactly equivalent pressure forward; in all respects the counterpart of your own motion backward, in intensity and duration. It is useless to dwell on this subject, or to adduce the familiar illustrations that it admits of. It is a simple proposition of mechanical equilibrium, and any one who is conversant with such subjects will assent to it.'

At the same time it is not denied that a horse may be lifted by the rider. On the contrary, the precise principle on which this apparent impossibility may be effected is explained; but it is clear, from the explanation, that not one rider out of a

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* *Hints on Horsemanship.* By an Officer in the Household Brigade of Cavalry. London, 1837.

hundred could or would save or lift his horse in the only manner in which the power in question could be applied.

'The question, whether a jockey can mechanically assist his horse, does not rest on the same footing. I believe he can. Thus, if a man sits astride a chair, with his feet off the ground, and clasps the chair with his legs, by the muscular exertion of his lower limbs he can jump the chair along. The muscular force is there employed on the foreign fulcrum, the ground, through the medium of the legs of the chair.

'His muscular action strikes the chair downward and backward, and if the chair be on ice it will recede; so would also the feet of a horse in attempting to stride forward. If the chair be on soft ground, it will sink; so would also a horse, in proportion to the force of the muscular stroke. But if the resistance of the ground be complete, the reaction, which is precisely equal, and in opposite direction to the action, will throw the body upward and forward; and, by clasping with his legs, he will draw the chair also with him. But he can only accomplish in this way a very little distance, with a very great exertion.

'If the jockey made this muscular exertion every time his horse struck with his hind feet, his strength would be employed on the foreign fulcrum, the ground, through the medium of his horse's bony frame. Thus, the jockey would contribute to the horizontal impulse of his own weight; and, exactly in proportion to the muscular power exerted by the jockey, the muscular system of the horse would be relieved. At the same time, no additional task is thrown on the bony frame of the horse; since, if the jockey had not used his muscular power on it in impelling his own weight, the muscular system of the horse must have been so employed on it. It is true, not much is done after all with a prodigious exertion; but if that little gain six inches in a hardly contested race, it may make the difference of its being lost or won. Thus, an easy race is no exertion to a jockey; but after a hardly contested one, he returns with his lips parched, his tongue sticking to the roof of his mouth, and every muscle quivering. Chifney, and perhaps one or two first-rate jockeys, may attempt this at the end of a race for the last four or five strokes, for no strength would stand it longer; but woe to the moderate jockey who attempts it at all! For without the nicest tact in timing the operation, the confusion, overbalancing, swerving, and shifting of legs resulting from it, would lose the best horse his race.'

The huntsman, we need hardly say, is far the most important person in the field; and many masters of fox-hounds, unwilling to delegate so high an authority, or abdicate so enviable a rank, have taken the entire duties of the office upon themselves. The present Duke of Cleveland hunted his own hounds for more than thirty years; and, with the view of keeping up his influence amongst them, regularly enacted the part of feeder too. This raises the question, whether the highest excellence in this department can ever be attained by a gentleman; and Nimrod,

with all his admiration for such artists as the Duke of Cleveland, Mr Ralph Lambton, Mr Nicholl, Mr Musters, and others, finds it no easy matter to make out the affirmative. John Kemble used to say, that he never saw an amateur actor who could earn above thirteen shillings a-week at Covent Garden or Drury Lane; and though the comparative inferiority is not so great in the walk we are considering, the true state of the matter was pretty strongly indicated in the remark made by a 'professional' on Mr Ralph Lambton: 'He hunts very well for a gentleman.' We much doubt whether the Duke of Cleveland ever had his hounds so completely under command as Sir Bellingham Graham's feeder:

'He throws open the door of the feeding-house, and stands at a certain distance from it himself. He draws a certain number of hounds, calling them by their names. He then turns his back upon the open doorway, and walks up and down the troughs, ordering back such hounds as he thinks have fed sufficiently. During this time not a hound stirs beyond the sill of the open door. One remarkable instance of discipline presented itself on this day. Vulcan, the crowning ornament of the dog-pack, was standing near the door, waiting for his name to be called. I happened to mention it, though rather in an under-tone; then in he came, and licked Sir Bellingham's hand; but though his head was close to the trough, and the grateful viands smoking under his nose, he never attempted to eat; but on his master saying to him, "Go back, Vulcan, you have no business here," he immediately retreated, and mixed with the hungry crowd.'

Another pack is mentioned, so completely under command, that, when the huntsman stands in front and calls out *bitches*, all the hounds of the female gender move to the front.

A good huntsman ought to know, not only the names and physiognomy, but the power and disposition, of each individual hound. Another essential requisite is a voice strong, clear, and melodious. To assist him as much as possible, care must be taken that the names of the hounds be such as can be spoken or sung out with facility. 'The naming of hounds,' says a scientific enquirer, 'is somewhat under metrical control; for it is not 'only confined to words of two and three syllables, but their 'quantity, or rather their time, must be consulted. For ex-'ample, a dactyle as Lucifer answers for the latter, but who 'could halloo to Aurora? A trochee or iambus is necessary for 'the former; the spondee dwelling too long on the tongue to be 'applied smartly to a hound.'*

Mr Blaine has given a list of four or five hundred names to

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Seventh Edition. Art. Hound.

choose from; and Nimrod thus justifies the use of the more sentimental and complimentary of the appellatives in ordinary use:

'There is Venus the goddess herself, and there is Beauty; and Rosamond, among the poets, is an appellative expressive of female beauty. It may be said, I degrade the characters of female beauty when I apply it to a dog; but I should deny the charge, and answer, that a fox-hound bitch displays it second only to a woman; for what is the basis of what we call beauty? Is it not shape and spirit, combined with an elegant carriage? Did not Æneas know Venus by her walk? Nothing can be more elegant than the gait of an English fox-hound, when cast in a perfect mould.'

If gentlemen will talk in this manner, they really must not be surprised if the ladies sometimes exhibit slight symptoms of instinctive jealousy. A whipper-in is mentioned, who, when two of his canine favourites were commended, made answer: 'Why, yes, sir, I always thought them two very genteel 'hounds!'

Naturalists may be interested in knowing that constant breeding 'in-and-in,' does not answer much better with fox-hounds than with Spanish grandees. Pedigree is highly prized; but an occasional admixture of plebeian, or, at any rate, foreign blood, is found advantageous to keep up the size and spirit of the race.

The whipper-in ranks next to the huntsman; and we shall close this topic with a short biographical sketch of one who has done most to elevate the vocation—the famous Tom Moody, the hero of the hunting song, whose career is thus related by Martingale:

'Tom Moody was a poor boy, the son of a poor widow. He was born at Brosely, in Shropshire, near the residence of Mr George Forester of Willey, who then hunted the Shropshire country. Tom, when a lad, was employed by a maltster of the name of Adams, who resided at Brosley, to carry out malt. Among the customers of this maltster was Mr Forester. One day, Tom—who little knew how much would hang upon the events of that day—had taken two sacks of malt upon the back of a horse to Willey, which he carefully delivered. In returning home, he came to a gate adjoining the park, and tried to leap his horse over it: he made many attempts, and failed; but—determined to accomplish his purpose, evincing, at the same time, the resolution and energy which distinguished his future career—he at length succeeded, and rode his horse clear over the gate. This extraordinary proceeding on the part of a mere boy, was accidentally witnessed by Mr Forester. He was struck with his courage and perseverance, and made immediate enquiries who the lad was. He was told that it was the maltster's boy, and that his name was Moody. Mr Forester, having marked him for his own, sent a messenger to ask Adams if he would part with the boy; and that he wanted to see him at Willey. The maltster complied; but

when his mother learned that Mr Forester wanted to see him, she was sorely afraid that Tom had been committing himself, and trembled for the consequences. The result was, that Tom was engaged as stable-boy; and from his attention to his business, his courage in riding, and that extreme good-nature and kindness which always accompanied him, he was eventually made whipper-in, and placed under the direction of John Sewell, the huntsman. He was delighted with his post; and performed his duties in a manner so satisfactory, not only to his master, but to every one who hunted with the hounds, that the fame of Tom Moody, as the best whipper-in in England, spread far and wide. And Tom was, undoubtedly, the best whipper-in that ever mounted a horse. Like him, no one could bring up the tail end of the pack from the closest, the most extensive cover; like him, no one could preserve that equanimity of temper and of bearing, which drew around him the hearts of all; like him, no one could sustain the long burst of a long chase; like him, no one could manage his horse in such a manner as to present circumstances that, however difficult may have been his position, however numerous the obstacles which presented themselves—there, at the death of the fox, with every hound well up, and without tiring his horse, was Tom Moody!

'Unfortunately, the brightest day is liable to be dimmed by some obscuring cloud. Tom Moody—the observed of all observers in the chase—respected by all who shared in the pursuit of the fox, for his uniform civility and good-nature, even when the chance of success seemed hopeless, and disappointment the unavoidable consequence—Tom Moody was addicted to deep drinking. Famed in all the country around, and respected by all who witnessed the display of his many good and superior qualities, his good-nature paved the way for this sad and daily growing evil. Tom, however much he might have drank, was himself again whenever he got astride his horse; and, under these circumstances, was never thrown, and never fell off. For some reason or other, he was induced to leave his post at Willey; and for two seasons engaged himself to Mr Corbet of Sunder, near Shrewsbury. At the expiration of that period, he returned to his old situation under Mr Forester, with whom he continued to live for the remainder of his days.

'Tom Moody stood about five feet eight inches high. He was a strong muscular man; and possessed extraordinary personal courage and untiring resolution. He was much marked with the smallpox; and had eyes as small and as quick as a ferret. He was a very superior horseman; and possessed a voice so shrill that his view-halloo could be heard at a mile's distance. Though addicted to liquor, he was the best-tempered fellow in the world, and uniformly civil and obliging to every body. He never reached, nor indeed did he wish to reach, the post of huntsman. He was never married, and could neither read nor write.'

The circumstances of his death are detailed in a letter from his old master. It is here printed with its original peculiarity of abbreviation:

'Dr Chambers,—On Tuesday last died poor Tommy Moody, (as good for Rough and Smooth) as ever enter'd Wildman's Wood. He died brave and honest, as he liv'd—Belov'd by all—Hat'd by none that ever knew him. I took his own orders as to his Will, Funeral, and every other thing that could be thought of. He died sensible, and fully collected as man ever did, and, in short, died Game at ye last—For when he could hardly swallow, ye poor old Lad took ye farewell Glass for success to Fox-Hunting, and his poor old Master (as he term'd it,) for ever. I am sole Executor, and ye Bulk of ye Fortune is left to me—*Six-and-twenty Shillings, real and bona fide Stirling Cash, free from all encumbrances, after every debt discharged to a Farthing.*—Noble deeds for Tom, you'll say. The poor old Ladys at the Ring of Bells are to have a knot each, for remembrance of ye poor old Lad.

'Salop papers will show you ye whole ceremony of his Burial; but for fear you should not see that paper, I send it to you, as under—

'*Sportsmen attend.*—On Tuesday 29th Inst., was buried at Barrow, near Wenlock, Salop, Thomas Moody, ye well-known whipper-in to G. Forester, Esqre. Fox-Hounds for 20 years.—He had every Sporting Honor paid to his Memory.—He was carried to ye grave by a proper number of Old Earth Stoppers, and attend'd by many other Sporting Friends, who heartily mourn'd for him.

'Directly after the Corpse, followed his old favourite Horse, (which he alway called his old soul,) thus accoutred—carrying his last Fox's Brush in ye front of his Bridle—with his Cap, Whip, Boots, Spurs, and Girdle, across his saddle. The ceremony being over—*he (by his own desire) had three clear, rattling view Halloos given him over his grave:* and thus ended ye Career of Poor Tom, who liv'd and died an honest Fellow, but, alas! a very wet one.

'I hope you and Family are well, and you'll believe me, much yours,

'Willey, 5th Decr 1796.' 'G. Forester.'

Fox-hunting has proved so fertile and seductive a topic, that it will be quite out of our power, at present, to take even a cursory view of the other sports which form the subject-matter of these books; and it strikes us that the best and fairest mode of employing the small remaining space allotted for this article, will be to devote it principally to two amongst the authors upon our list who have not yet been laid under contribution—Colonel Hawker and Mr Colquhoun. Even they, we fear, will read rather dull and tame after Nimrod; yet they are both writers of undoubted originality, and equally entitled to attention as authorities.

What we particularly admire in the Colonel, is the life, spirit, and dogged determination with which he sets to work, whether to try a gun, construct a punt, or refute a critic. There is a charm in the very captiousness and superciliousness with which he repels an imputation on his accuracy, (we dare not say vera-

city,) and an honest self-reliance in his dogmatism, which would make us afraid to differ from him, had we ever so strong an opinion of our own. How summarily, for example, does he settle a pragmatical gunmaker on the grand, the vital controversy regarding detonators—

'A well-known gunmaker (not Joe Manton) in presence of a well-known sportsman, offered to bet me fifty guineas that a detonator of equal size, &c., would beat a flint gun. I immediately took up the bet, told his clerk to book it, and offered to double it if he chose. He then fought off, and would not stand to what he proposed. Soon after the sportsman left the shop, and the gunmaker then said to me, "You are quite right; but if you had not taken me up I should have got an order for a brace of detonating guns." Let this then be a lesson to gunmakers not to be so ready in offering wagers to gentlemen. This was before the late improvements in barrels and the new mode of boring were adopted; for then every gunmaker knew that he was deceiving his customers, when he asserted that a detonator would shoot even equal to a flint gun.'

We do not presume to dispute the Colonel's conclusion; but we will venture to mention, for his benefit, a piece of advice given by Lord Mansfield to an officer of rank who had just received a colonial appointment involving judicial duties. 'Never 'state the grounds of your decisions. Your decisions, being 'founded on practical observation and good sense, will probably 'be right; your grounds, deficient as you are in regular train-'ing, will almost infallibly be wrong.' Just so, it may be quite true that a flint-gun will fire stronger, but it certainly is not true that the reason is because it fires quicker than a detonator; yet the Colonel coolly takes this for granted, and adduces a highly respectable name in confirmation of the theory.

The late Mr Egg, he says, made a droll, though a good, comparison on the ignition of detonating guns: 'If I were to kick 'a fellow out of my shop, would he go off as strong on his legs 'as if I allowed him to walk out?'

The comparison fails in an essential point. In the case of the man who walks out, no propelling force has been applied. Apply one, and we will not only take any bet Colonel Hawker may offer; but, unlike his friend the gunmaker, stand to it, that the kick which sends the man quickest, or rather fastest, through the door, will also send him farthest from the shop.

There is another passage which may justify a suspicion whether his judgment on this particular point has been warped by a lurking consciousness of the equalizing, levelling, democratic effects of detonators. We have heard railroads objected to, on

the ground that they deprive wealth and rank of the legitimate advantages resulting from britzskas and posters; lawyers of the old school complain that the *viginti annorum lucubrationes*—the hoarded learning of a life—has been rendered useless by the law-reforms of the last ten years; and navy captains are exceedingly afraid that their nautical science will be thrown away, and that the French will meet us on pretty equal terms, in consequence of the introduction of steam-vessels. Just so, the veteran sportsman can hardly suppress his indignation at seeing the art on which he prided himself superseded, and his vaunted superiority rendered little better than nominal, by a new-fangled invention nicknamed an improvement. The passage on which we found our inference, forms part of a lamentation over the decline of the gun-trade:

'As I before recorded, another celebrated man, old Egg, has been some time dead, and is succeeded by his son John, who has lately moved from the shop in the Colonnade to No. 20, Haymarket. Instead, however, of his "cutting up fat," as was expected, he died like a man of genius, or, in other words, with his balance on the shady side of his book! The gunmakers, in short, remain again as I left them, like the frogs without a king, and, as before, complaining bitterly about the dulness of the trade. But for this they have to thank their introduction of the detonating system, by which they got caught themselves in the very trap that was laid for their customers. When flint guns were the order of the day, few sporting gentlemen of distinction ever thought of using any thing but the gun of a first-rate maker; for the simple reason, that on the goodness of the work depended the quickness in firing, and consequently the filling of the bag; but nowadays, every common fellow, in a market town, can detonate an old musket, and make it shoot as quick as can be wished; *insomuch that all scientific calculations on shooting at moderate distances are now so simplified, that we every day meet with jackanape apprentice-boys that can shoot flying, and knock down their eight birds out of ten.*'

In addition to all his practical, mechanical, and scientific knowledge, Colonel Hawker is a sportsman of infinite resource. Thus, when you have no dog, or there is no scent, he recommends you to get two boys to drag the ground with a rope from ten to twenty yards long, kept down by a weight or stone at each end. 'This plan,' he adds, 'first struck me from the immense number of birds that have been sprung by the land-measurers after harvest, at a time when the best of sportsmen have left behind them a great deal of game.' Again, when the birds are wild, his plan is to fly a paper kite, regularly painted like a bird of prey, at about thirty yards above the ground in advance of the shooter.

We strongly recommend to the attention of all young, and some old sportsmen, the maxim with which he begins his instructions to tyros:—'Start with the determination of never 'suffering a gun, at any time, to be held for a moment, or even 'carried, so as to be likely to come in the direction of either 'man or beast.' We would also add, be careful, particularly in a *battue*, to distinguish between hats and pheasants, brown leather gaiters and hares; for we have known considerable inconvenience occasioned by carelessness in this particular. It is no secret that Captain W—— lost an eye through the mal-adroitness of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, who, when the gallant officer gave vent to a little natural irritation at the circumstance, used to complain that 'W—— made such a 'fuss about his eye.' There is a current anecdote, to the effect that a distinguished general, who had gone through the whole of the Peninsular campaigns without a scratch, once received two or three small shot in the legs during a shooting excursion. 'Who fired that shot?' 'I,' exclaimed the unconscious offender. 'Then hold up your hand.' The hand was held up; *bang* went the general's fowling-piece, and a sharp peppering (though at seventy yards' distance) about the wrist, gave the youngster a lesson which he is not very likely to forget.

After all, the most interesting chapters in the book are those devoted to wildfowl shooting. 'This amusement,' he says, 'is 'generally condemned as being only an employment for fishermen, because it sometimes interferes with ease and comfort; 'and *dandies* (who shoot as they hunt, merely for the sake of 'aping the Adonis at breakfast, or recounting their sport over 'the bottle) shiver at the idea of being posted for hours by the 'side of a river, or anchored half a night among the chilling 'winds in a creek.' The prospect, it must be avowed, is far from tempting; yet we can well fancy the trembling excitement with which the scientific punter approaches an army of widgeon encamped upon the Ooze; and the dancing buoyancy of spirits with which, after cutting a regular lane through them with his stanchion-gun, he collects the 'cripples,' and counts over the slain. What a picture of hardy endurance is the following:—

'They,' (the Hampshire gunners,) 'have of late years, therefore, adopted an entirely new mode of getting at the birds, for which that vast tract of Ooze near Lymington is better calculated than perhaps any other mud in the world. They start off generally in the afternoon, (provided the tide serves, so as to be low enough at the proper time,) keeping as close as possible to the shore, and going before the wind till they arrive at the leeward end of their beat; the whole track of which, for one night's

work, may be about five or six miles. They then go ashore, and either get into a pothouse, if they have a sixpence to spend, (which is not always the case,) or lounge about the shore till daylight disappears, and the birds begin to fly—having first put all in order, that is, drawn out their mould-shot, which they generally have in for the chance of geese "going down along," put in smaller shot, and regulated their gun so that it will bear about eighty yards when the punt is on the dry mud. No sooner are the widgeon pitched than off they set, in tarpaulin dresses, and looking more like chimney sweepers than gunners, crawling on their knees, and shoving their punt before them in the mud. No matter whether light or dark, few birds or many, *dang!* goes the gun; and no sooner have they picked up what few birds are readily to be found, or missed the fowl—which they frequently do, as the punt, by even a few periwinkles, might be thrown off the line of aim—they proceed again, thus travelling all night (by "launching" over the mud and rowing across the creeks) in a direct line, similar to the march of an army of coots.'

The Colonel's chief ground of quarrel with the critics, is for not believing that two or three hundred starlings, or fifty or sixty wildfowl, may be killed at a shot. 'As to those matters, it 'would be as unreasonable,' he reasonably observes, 'to expect 'the editor of a newspaper, who perhaps never saw a stanchion-'gun fired, to pronounce a fair judgment on the performance of 'a coast-gunner, as to expect that a coast-gunner, who perhaps 'can scarcely write his own name, would compose a leading 'article for a newspaper.' *Cuilibet in suâ arte credendum;* and we are quite willing to believe that the Colonel's stanchion-guns are effective enough to enable him to dispense with the long-bow; but we must, notwithstanding, risk a remark, which may be thought to verge on personality. What could induce him to prefix such a portrait of himself, with his neck bare, *à la Byron*, and a Spanish cloak for drapery? Let him leave such fopperies to the fashionable novelists or dandy poetasters; and if he is resolved upon presenting the world with a characteristic likeness, let us have him attired in his Russia duck coat, oil-skin cap, and water boots, as if about to start on an expedition across the Ooze.

Mr Colquhoun has chosen his ground well; a Scotchman's spirit warms at the bare mention of the moor and the loch; and were a Southern critic to exasperate him, we should expect him to turn round and apostrophize him like Rob Roy:—'My foot 'is on my native heath, and my name's Macgregor.' Grouse-shooting, of course, takes precedence, and, as practised by Mr Colquhoun, is a very different sort of thing from what the demi-cockney sportsmen on their carefully guarded moors may fancy

it. When birds are wild or scarce, an Indian on a trail may be the prototype. 'Every inequality of ground must be taken 'advantage of; the sportsman should crouch as much as he can, 'wearing a drab-coloured cap, which will often take him five or 'six yards nearer his game than the lowest-crowned hat he can 'procure. If possible, he should always advance from lower 'ground, walking up any cracks or hollows in the moss.' Ponies, we need hardly add, are entirely out of the question.

A Northamptonshire baronet, quoted by Nimrod, used to say, that it was a man's moral duty to preserve his health for the sake of fox-hunting. It is equally his moral duty to practise the virtue of abstinence, for the sake of grouse-shooting—

'There are a few rules which a man not accustomed to climb hills will find his account in observing, if he would escape the suppressed smile of derision which his flagging will be sure to excite from the sturdy hill-man who carries his bag:—One is, to eat a very light breakfast; another, to drink as little as possible, but especially no spirits and water. If you can hold out without drinking till your luncheon or dinner time, your thirst will never be very oppressive; but once begin, and the difficulty of passing a clear brook is increased tenfold. The provision basket should only consist of a cold fowl or a few sandwiches, and a bottle of table beer or light ale. When you again begin your exertions, make your attendant carry a bottle of strong tea, without cream or sugar, which will more effectually quench your thirst than a whole flask full of spirits and water to correspond. Should any object to this "tea-total" system, a little fruit may be no bad substitute. When I first took out a license, I thought the spirit-flask almost as indispensable as the powder-flask; but experience has since taught me, that nothing so effectually expends the remaining strength of the half worn-out sportsman as a few pulls at the liquor-flask, however diluted: he gains a temporary stimulus, which soon ends in complete exhaustion.'

The greatest attention is recommended to the training of your dogs. As Dandie Dinmont justly observes, 'education 'in beast and body should aye be minded;' and our author certainly seems to have been a highly successful canine instructor. Here is his character of his retriever:—

'He never gives a whimper, if ever so keen, and obeys every signal I make with the hand. He will watch my motions at a distance, when crawling after wildfowl, ready to rush forward the moment I have fired; and in no one instance has he spoiled my shot. I may mention a proof of his sagacity: Having a couple of long shots across a pretty broad stream, I stopped a mallard with each barrel, but both were only wounded. I sent him across for the birds: he first attempted to bring

them both, but one always struggled out of his mouth: he then laid down one, intending to bring the other, but whenever he attempted to cross to me, the bird left fluttered into the water: he immediately returned, laid down the first on the shore, and recovered the other; the first one fluttered away, but he instantly secured it, and, standing over them both, seemed to cogitate for a moment: then, although on any other occasion he never ruffles a feather, deliberately killed one, brought over the other, and then returned for the dead bird.'

This recital satisfactorily solves the question as to the reasoning faculties of the animal. Mere instinct would not account for such sagacity.

Dogs lead by a natural transition to cats, who have a section to themselves. It is stated that the genuine wild cat still exists in the Highlands, though it is no easy matter to distinguish it from the domestic truant—an equally fatal enemy to game. Mr Colquhoun relates that a friend of his, who had shot a large cat in a covert adjoining the cottage of an old woman, was carrying it too ostentatiously past her door. She rushed out in a fury, demanding 'how he dared to kill the best 'cat in a' the country.' He replied, that wandering cats were never of much use for mice. 'Mice! Wha's speakin' o' mice 'or rats aither? There was scarce a day she didna bring in a 'young hare, or a rabbit, or a paitrick. *Use!* It wad be some-'thin' to be prood o', if they ill-faured brutes o' dogs o' yours 'were half as usefu'!'

Great pains have been taken, and much expense incurred, to revive the old baronial sport of falconry; but it may be doubted whether the Duke of St Alban's, the hereditary Grand Falconer of England, has a retainer in his 'following,' capable of competing with a gamekeeper mentioned by Mr Colquhoun:—

'Early one morning, about the beginning of October, the keeper was on the stubble-field with a couple of peregrines on his fist, and followed by his son, a young lad, with a third bird and a brace of old steady dogs. The hawks were all hooded, and with bells at their feet; the ground was hunted with great caution, and soon the dogs came to a point. The keeper immediately took off the hood from one of the hawks, and threw it into the air. The bird kept flying round in circles, the bells jingling at its feet. The keeper then advanced rapidly towards the dog, and a covey of partridges rose; the hawk instantly stooped down, and for many hundred yards there was a race. At last he began to gain upon them, and when he drew near, made a sudden dash at one, which he seized in his claws, and flew to the ground. The keeper now walked up and secured the falcon, the partridge not being in any way torn or spoilt. Several points were afterwards got, and three more partridges killed.

When the hawk did not kill the bird, there was more difficulty in recovering it, but the keeper said he never lost one.'

A more gentlemanlike and ladylike amusement, it would be difficult to conceive. Eagles might be substituted for greyhounds, as well as the falcon for the gun, should any enterprising amateur feel inclined to institute a new order of sportsmanship. 'When two eagles,' says Mr Colquhoun, 'are in pursuit 'of a hare, they show great tact—it is exactly as if two well-'matched greyhounds were turning a hare—as one rises, the 'other descends, until poor puss is tired out; when one of them 'succeeds in catching her, he fixes a claw in her back, and 'holds by the ground with the other, striking all the time with 'his beak.'

We shall conclude with an extract from the treatise by the author of the 'Oakleigh Sporting Code;' in which we are presented with a short dialogue upon deer-stalking, in the manner of Mr Scrope:—

'*Forester.*—By Jove! we are upon them. Tread lightly, crouch closely, speak lowly, breathe softly, while we examine the situation of the herd with our glasses, and the hill-men go round to give the deer their wind and drive them to us.

'*Southron.*—Amongst so many scores of hinds how few harts! there are some large beasts, but not one good head. How can I bear off a trophy from such a herd? I would have the horns of my first hart "hung up like monuments"—memorials of what I saw and did in the North—to relieve the tedium of after hours of sluggish ease and inglorious repose. There is nothing here in the shape of horn that a cutler would give you half-a-crown for.

'*Forester.*—Look lower down the glen: there are at least three harts royal; one has a crowned, another a palmed top, and another—magnificent creature!—his horns are neither crowned, nor palmed, nor yet exactly forked, but irregular, as those of most old harts are. He is so much larger than the rest, that if we wound him, I think I can trace him by his slot, though he keep up with the herd. Now he turns this way. What horns! What a span!—the width between the horns is a sure indication of a well-grown animal. He has a perfect head, "beamed, branched, and summed," as they would have said in old times. He has brow-antlers, sur-antlers, royals, and croches—perfect!

'*Southron.*—He has brow, bay, and tray-antlers, and three or four points on the top of each beam. He is grey on the breast, face, haunches, and shoulder! May not that fine fellow be old enough to recollect the war-whoop of Culloden? Many a proud lord and stalwart forester has been laid low since he first browsed on the braes.

'*Forester.*—Move quietly, or those listening watchful hinds will betray us. Hinds must have been unknown to the ancients; or they would

never have invented such a non-descript as Argus, since a two-eyed hind would have answered their purpose as well.

'*Southron.*—What in the world are the men doing?—do you call this driving deer?—the men are going from them. I do not know how you measure distance in such a country as this, but I should say the men are a mile off the deer—the deer can neither see nor hear them—you are joking when you say they can smell them.

'*Forester.*—The deer must not see them: the men are now manœuvring to give them their wind, without being seen: on their doing so at the right place and time, the chance of our getting a shot depends. No quadruped has so acute a sense of smell as a deer. I will back him against a blood-hound. I have heard of a tame deer that was in the habit of going with a shepherd to the hills: whenever it happened that he went without it, the deer would trace him step by step, though he had five or six hours start of it. Observe how the glens converge to a point about half a mile beyond the deer—a false movement there will be fatal—none but experienced foresters can tell which way the currents pass there—the sentinel hinds on the left, prick their ears to listen, and raise their noses to catch the taint in the air—they suspect danger—the men have given them their wind at the wrong point—and now the whole herd are off, they have taken to the plain where they are safe. We must commence another cast.

'*Southron.*—Not for all the deer in the forest. How many miles have we walked, trotted, run, crawled, and swum already? and how high, as the geographers express it, have we been above the level of the sea? However this is glorious sport! the very possibility of obtaining a shot is enough. We will resume to-morrow.'

The best part by far of the volume, containing the last mentioned treatise, as may be also said of the immediately preceding one, consists of the portion devoted to Angling;—a delightful theme, fruitful of good reading, to which we probably shall return on a future occasion.

ART. IV.—*The Life, Journal, and Correspondence of* SAMUEL PEPYS, Esq., *Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II. Including a Narrative of his Voyage to Tangier, deciphered from the short-hand MSS. in the Bodleian Library.* By the Rev. JOHN SMITH, *A.M., Decipherer of 'Pepys's Memoirs.' Now first published from the originals.* 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1841.

IT is a good thing for the world, and a relief from those conventional hypocrisies of which most people are ashamed, even when they would be far more ashamed to break through them, that now and then there comes up some autobiographical gentleman who makes the universe his confidant, and carries the *nil humani alienum* down to a confession about his love of preferment, or a veal-pie, or his delight in setting up his coach. We do not mean such only as have written 'lives,' but men of autobiographical propensities, in whatever shape indulged. Montaigne was such a man. Boswell was another; and we have a remarkable one in the Diarist before us, who, if he does not give us a whole life, puts into the memorandums of some ten or a dozen years more about himself than whole lives have communicated. The regular autobiographers are apt to be of loftier pretensions, and less fondly communicative; but still they make curious and sometimes extraordinary disclosures. At one time, the writer is a philosopher, (Rousseau,) who shakes the thrones of Europe, and has stolen a bit of riband; and at another, a knight-errant out of season, (Lord Herbert,) who breaks the peace in order to preserve it, and thinks he has had a revelation against revelation. A still more summary Italian (Cellini) settles his differences with people by stabbing them; and as the contemporaries of such writers are sometimes almost as strange people as themselves, though not aware of it, this assassin, who made admirable goblets and wine-coolers, is pardoned by the Pope because he is too great a genius to be hung.

All autobiographers indeed, the very frankest, have more or less their concealments; for it would require the utmost extreme of impudence or simplicity to tell every thing; and we never met with one of whom it was to be expected, unless it was that great but mad genius Cardan, or the Quaker physician who favours us with his indigestions. One French lady (the heroical and unfortunate Madame Roland) may treat us as her tenderest friend, and startle us with a communication for which we cannot account; and another (Madame de Stahl—not de

Stael) exhibit a charming truth and self-knowledge beyond all other autobiographers; and yet from neither do we expect to hear all that gave them surprise or mortification. Still, nevertheless, the beauty of all such writing is, that concealment itself becomes a species of disclosure. The moment a man begins speaking of himself, however prudently he thinks he is going to do it, (and the remark of course does not apply the less to tongues more bewitching,) a discerning reader may be pretty sure of seeing into the real nature of his character and proceedings. Who doubts the bad temper and impracticableness of Rousseau, for all his attempts to disguise it? or the mere self-seeking of Alfieri? or the pious frauds, and more excusable weaknesses, of Madame de Genlis? (to whom, nevertheless, we believe the world and the present generation to be greatly indebted). If the autobiography tells the truth, there is no mistaking it; and if it falsifies, even in a truth-like manner, we may detect it in the particularity of its recitals, or in its affectation of ease and simplicity, or in the general impression. The writer betrays himself when he least suspects it, and for that very reason; and he always exhibits his greatest weakness, when he flatters himself he is at the top of his strength, or even when he is so; for he is then not only least on his guard, but has reached the limits of his understanding; and by his scorn and his final judgments, discloses to us the whole field of his ignorance beyond it.

As the perusal of autobiography, however, puts the reader in the state of a companion, it is far pleasantest, upon the whole, when it saves him the unsocial and hostile trouble of such detections; and like our old friend before us, is as truly candid about himself as others—thoroughly open, unsuspecting, and familiar—'pouring out all as plain' as 'old Montaigne' aforesaid, or 'downright Shippen.'

Let such a man tell us what he will—supposing he is not a dolt or out of his wits—we cannot help having, not only a portion of regard, but something of a respect for him, seeing his total freedom from the most injurious and alienating of vices, insincerity; and accordingly—though we laugh at Pepys with his cockney revels, and his beatitudes of lace and velvet, and his delight at having his head patted by Lord Clarendon, and his honest uproariousness, and his not knowing 'what to think,' between his transport with the court beauties and the harm he is afraid they will do the state—we feel that he ends in being a thoroughly honest man, and even a very clever one, and that we could have grown serious in his behalf, had his comfort or good name been put in jeopardy.

Till within these few years indeed, our old friend's name, as

far as it was remembered, was altogether of a serious and respectful description. There survived—in corners of the 'Gentleman's 'Magazine;' of naval antiquarian minds, and other such literary and official quarters—a staid and somewhat solemn notion of a certain Samuel Pepys, Esq., a patronizing gentleman and Admiralty patriot, who condescended to amuse his leisure with collecting curious books and old English ballads, and was the founder of the Pepysian library at Cambridge. Percy recorded him in his 'Reliques;' Cole and Nichols honoured him; Granger eulogized him; biographers of admirals trumpeted him; Jeremy Collier, in the Supplement to his Dictionary, pronounced him a philosopher of the 'severest morality;' and though the 'severest morality' was a bold saying, a great deal of the merit attributed to him by these writers was true.

But—in the classical shelves of Maudlin, not far from the story of Midas's barber and his reeds—there lay, ready to burst its cerements—a 'Diary!' The ghosts of the chambermaids of those days archly held their fingers upon their lips as they watched it. The great spirit of Clarendon felt a twinge of the conscience to think of it. The ancestors of Lord Braybroke and Mr Upcott were preparing the existence of those gentlemen, on purpose to edit it. And edited it was; and the 'staid and 'solemn,' the respectable but jovial Pepys welcomed, with shouts of good fellowship, to the laughing acquaintance of the world.

Every curious passage in that extraordinary publication, came on the reader with double effect, from an intimation given by the editor that it had been found 'absolutely necessary' to make numerous curtailments. He hung out no 'lights,' as Madame Dacier calls them. There were no stars, or other typographical symbols, indicating the passages omitted. The reader therefore concluded, that, rich in suggestion as the publication was, it had 'riches fineless' concealed. Every court anecdote was thought to contain still more than it told; and every female acquaintance of the poor author, unless he expressly said the contrary, supposed to be no better than she should be. We seemed on the borders of hearing, every instant, that all the maids of honour had sent for the doctor on one and the same evening; or that the court had had a ball in their nightgowns; or that the beds there had been half burnt, (for Lady Castlemaine once threatened to fire Whitehall;) or lastly, that Mr Pepys himself had been taken to the roundhouse in the dress of a tirewoman, with his wife's maid by his side as a boy from sea. The suppressed passages were naturally talked about in bookselling and editorial quarters, and now and then a story

transpired. The following conclusion of one of them has been much admired, as indicating the serious reflections which Pepys mixed up with his levities, and the strong sense he entertained of the merits of an absent wife. We cannot say what was the precise occasion; but it was evidently one in which he had carried his merry-makings to an unusual extent—probably to the disarrangement of all the lady's household economy; for he concludes an account of some pastime in which he had partaken, by a devout expression of penitence, in which he begs pardon of 'God and Mrs Pepys.'

Welcome, therefore, any thing new, however small it be, from the pen of Samuel Pepys—the most confiding of diarists, the most harmless of turncoats, the most wondering of *quidnuncs*, the fondest and most penitential of faithless husbands, the most admiring yet grieving of the beholders of the ladies of Charles II., the Sancho Panza of the most insipid of Quixotes, James II., who did bestow on him (in naval matters) the government of a certain 'island,' which, to say the truth, he administered to the surprise and edification of all who bantered him! Strange was it, assuredly, that for a space of ten years, and stopped only by a defect of eyesight, our Admiralty clerk had the spirit—after the labours, and the jests, and the news-tellings, and the eatings and drinkings, and the gallantries of each day—to write his most communicative diary every night before he went to bed, not seldom after midnight. And hardly less strange was it, nay stranger, that considering what he disclosed, both respecting himself and others, he ran, in the first place, the perpetual risk of its transpiration, especially in those searching times; and, in the second, bequeathed it to the reverend keeping of a college, to be dug up at any future day, to the wonder, the amusement, and not very probable respect, of the coming generations.

Three things have struck us in going through the old volumes again, before we digested the new ones; first, what a truly hard-working, and, latterly, thoroughly conscientious man our hero was, in spite of all his playgoings and his courtliness; second, what multitudes of 'respectable' men might write just such a diary if they had but one virtue more, in addition to the virtues they exhibit, and the faults they secrete; and third, (for it is impossible to be serious any long time together when considering Pepys,) what curious little circumstances conspired to give a look even of fabulous and novel-like interest to his adventures—not excepting the characteristical names of many of his acquaintances,—good as those in the Midsummer Night's Dream, or the pages of Fielding and Smollett. Thus, we have 'Muddiman 'the arch rogue,' and 'Pin the tailor,' and 'Tripp, who dances

'well,' and Truelock the gunsmith, and Drumbleby the pipe-maker, who makes flageolets 'to go low and soft,' and Mr Talents the chaplain, and Mr Gold the merchant, and Surgeon Pierce, and 'that jade' Mrs Knipp the actress, and 'Cousin 'Gumbleton' the 'good-humoured, fat young gentleman,' and Creed, who prepares himself for the return of the old religion. Considering what sort of man Pepys was, especially at the time of his intimacy with these people, it would not be difficult to fancy Tripp, and Knipp, and Pierce, and Pin, (unless indeed the tailor had too reverent a sense of his 'orders,') plotting to mystify him with a night-revel, as the fairies did Falstaff, and startling his fleshly conscience with retributive pinches. His own name, pronounced as it was in those days, is not the least amusing of these coincidences—and was singularly appropriate. The modern pronunciation, we believe, is Pepps—with a variation of Peppis. His contemporaries called him *Peeps!* *

We cannot avoid adding, that one of his grand-uncles had the very ludicrous, and what, with reference to the aspirations of the nephew, might be called the highly *avuncular* name of '*Apollo* 'Pepys!' But perhaps it was the scriptural name Apollos; for one of the three sisters of this gentleman was named Faith, and another Paulina.

We must suppress, however, the temptation of dwelling upon the former publication too long, and still more that of repeating some provoking passages which appeared in the notice of it in this Journal, (Vol. 43, p. 23.) It may be as well, nevertheless, in speaking of the new volumes, and by way of keeping before us an entire impression of the man, while closing our accounts with him, to devote a few sentences to the briefest possible summary of the events of his life. He was born in 1632, of a highly respectable family, the eldest branch of which has become ennobled in the person of the admirable lawyer, who lately obtained the esteem of all parties in his discharge of the office of Lord Chancellor. His father, however, being the youngest son of the youngest brother of a numerous race, was bred a tailor, (the supposed origin of our hero's beatific notions of a suit of clothes;) yet Samuel received a good education, first at Saint Paul's School, and then at Cambridge. At twenty-three, he married a girl of fifteen. He appears to have been a trooper (probably a city volunteer) under the commonwealth; gradually quitted that side

* On Tuesday last, Mr Peeps went to Windsor, having the confidence that he might kiss the king's hand."—*Memoirs, Appendix,* Vol. ii. p. 302.

in concert with his cousin and protector Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich; found himself aboard the English fleet with him one fine morning, going to Holland to fetch home the royal family; nearly knocked out his own right eye in helping to fire a salute; put on his new silk suit, July the 10th, and his black camlet cloak with silver buttons, July the 13th; obtained a place in the Admiralty, from which he rose higher and higher, till he did almost the whole real business in that quarter during the reigns of Charles and James; was sent to Tangier when that possession was destroyed, to advise with the commander of the squadron, and estimate the compensations to the householders; was arrested on a preposterous charge of treason, on the change in the government; retired, childless and a widower, to the house of a protégé at Clapham, full of those luxuries of books and *vertù* which he had always patronized; and died there of the consequences of luxurious and sedentary living, though at a good age, on the 26th of May 1703. He was for many years in parliament, (we wish he was there now, taking notes of his own party;) was fond of dining, play-going, fine clothes, fair ladies, practical jokes, old ballads, books of science, executions, and coaches; composed music, and played on the flageolet; was a Fellow, nay President, of the Royal Society, (one reason perhaps, in conjunction with his original Puritanism, why he could never take heartily to the author of Hudibras;) and last, not least, was Master of the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers; to whom he presented 'a richly-chased 'silver loving cup,' which his noble editor informs us is still constantly used at 'all their public festivals;' doubtless, with no mean justice to the memory of the draughts he took out of it. If we picture to ourselves Pepys practising his song of 'Beauty retire' the first thing in the morning; then breakfasting and going to his duties, working hard at them, fretting at corruptions, yet once and away helping to patch up one himself; then taking a turn in the Park, to see and be seen in his new camlet; loving the very impudence of Lady Castlemaine, yet shaking his head about her; talking with some gossip of the last doings at court; cheapening an old book on a stall, or giving his money away; then dining and going to the theatre, or to the house of some jovial friend, and playing 'High Jinks' till supper; then supping considerably, and again going to work, perhaps till one or two in the morning; and, finally, saying his prayers, and thinking his wife positively half as pretty as Miss Mercer, or my Lady herself,—if we take, we say, a dioramic view of him after this fashion, by way of specimen of his waking hours, we shall have a tolerably accurate sample of the stuff his life was made of, during

its best period, and till infirmity and his public consequence rendered him more thoughtful and dignified. The true entire man (to make a grand simile for our old acquaintance) is like the neighbouring planet, to be estimated neither when he waxes nor wanes, but when he is in mid career or the full development of his faculties, and shows his whole honest face to the world.

The two volumes before us, we are sorry to say, are not to be compared for a moment with those which have amused us with these recollections. We have seldom, in fact, met with a more disappointing publication. The editorship, it is true, as far as it goes, is of a much higher order than what the public have lately been accustomed to see. We believe it was in the hands of the late estimable Mr John Towell Rutt. But, for reasons which the bookseller has left unexplained, the publication has been very crudely and strangely managed. Thus, it commences with the omission of thirty-six pages, apparently of preface: the 'Life' (so called as if it were an entire life) occupies little more than twenty pages, and leaves off in its hero's prime, where the 'Correspondence' begins; and the whole 'Life, Journals, and Correspondence,' which was thus comprehensively advertised, as though it contained all that had been published under such titles, consists but of this morsel of memoir, a good set of explanatory notes, the Journal at Tangier, (forty pages,) a 'Journal in Spain,' (seventeen pages,) the Journal of the Voyage home, (ten pages,) and the gleanings of those fields of manuscript which had been so plentifully reaped by the editor of the 'Memoirs' *par excellence*. In the new volumes, Pepys, considered as a humourist and an original, is altogether in his decline. He is older, more learned, perhaps more respectable—certainly duller; and the Tangier Diary will no more do to be compared with the old one, than a rainy day in autumn with a merry summer. However, as there is really some curious matter, and as traits of him still break out, the book is not unworthy of notice. A letter in the first volume clears up a question respecting a posthumous work of Milton; and the Journal at Tangier contains some highly characteristic accounts of an adventurer, who afterwards obtained an infamous reputation in the service of James the Second. A new head of Pepys, as if to suit the graver reputation of his advancing life, supplies a frontispiece, from the portrait belonging to the Royal Society. It is seemingly a likeness; but not at all the festive-looking good fellow in the morning gown, who invited us, like a host, to 'fall to' upon our good fare in the quartos. Years and the Royal Society have taught him reserve and dignity. He does not wear so rakish a wig; nor is his face half-snoozing and half-chuckling with the recollections of last night's snap-

dragon and blindman's-buff. His eye looks as if it knew what belonged to a man of his condition; his whole countenance is a challenge to scrutiny. It seems to say, 'I am not at all the 'man I was, and you are not to expect it. I shall commit myself 'no further. I have not merely "two cloaks" now about me, 'and "every thing that is handsome;" I have thoughts, and dig-'nities—and am a personage not to be looked at in a spirit of 'lightness. My companions are no longer Tripp and Knipp, but 'Fellows of the Royal Society, and the great Doctor Wallis.' Probably—though we hope not (for the jollier picture would make the better jest)—it is the likeness to which his protégé Mr Hill refers (Vol. 1. p. 162) when he declares, that 'its posture 'is so stately and magnificent, and it hits so naturally his pro-'portion and *the noble air of his face*, that he remains immove-'able before it *hours together*.'

The Barbary port of Tangier seems to have been destined to exhibit our countrymen in foolish and failing lights. Addison's father, who was at one time chaplain to the garrison there, translated a silly account of it from the Spanish, in which the most ridiculous reports of Mandevile are repeated—about men whose feet served them for umbrellas, and people with dogs' and horses' heads, and no heads at all. The gallant and eccentric Lord Peterborough, during his voyage thither when a youth at sea, got into an unseemly squabble with the chaplain of his ship, in whose stead one Sunday morning he wanted to preach the sermon! And Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, then Lord Mulgrave, when he went there to fight the Moors for Charles the Second, was sent by the king in a leaky vessel—on purpose, according to the Tory writers, to drown him! His Majesty was angry at his having made love to the Princess Anne. Sir Walter Scott pronounces the attempt 'ungenerous,' and thinks that Mulgrave had 'no small reason' to complain. We strongly agree with the negative tenderness of the great novelist's objections; and rather wonder what he would have said of the business, had the king been William instead of Charles. Again, Tangier, as is well known, had been a Portuguese possession, and was part of the dowery of poor Catharine of Braganza. Charles, owing to his profligate expenditure, and his brother James, in pursuit of designs formidable at that time of day, managed it very badly between them, and made it a place for jobs; the nation, after granting vast sums of money to render the fortifications next to indestructible, became disgusted, and urged its abandonment; and at length Charles—who wanted the money that would have been further necessary to maintain it, in order to throw it away on his pleasures, and who was not

sorry to have its garrison back in England to help him to reign without parliaments—dispatched the Earl of Dartmouth to see to the work of its demolition. Pepys, who had long been on the Tangier Committee, went with Dartmouth for the purpose before mentioned, and was accompanied by Dr, afterwards the celebrated Sir William, Trumbull, as Joint Commissioner and Judge Advocate. These two gentlemen, exasperated by undomestic discomforts, official jealousies, and the unpleasant and not very profitable nature of the task, did not comfortably assort. Trumbull, who was anxious to get back—and did so as quickly as possible—said he had been beguiled into the business by false representations; while Pepys, not very consistently with some of his notices of the Doctor, complains that he (Pepys) did all the work, and taxes the other with avarice and want of courage! The future bold ambassador at the French court, and elegant friend of Dryden and Pope, certainly cuts a figure in the journal of our bustling friend, which does not tally with the usual estimate of his character; but accidental differences, especially if they touch upon points of self-love, may create the most angry prejudices between people otherwise not unsuited to each other; and if Trumbull had written a Diary of his own, and Pepys had seen it, the latter, for more reasons than one, might have thought fit to moderate his objections.

There are frequent mentions of Tangier in the Great Diary. Before quoting the Journal, we will extract a passage or two, by way of preface, and to show how business was transacted in those days.

'12th January 1663.—I found my Lord [Sandwich] within, and he and I went out through the garden towards the duke's chamber, to sit upon the Tangier matters; but a lady called to my lord out of my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, telling him that the king was there, and would speak with him. My lord could not tell what to say at the committee to excuse his absence, but that he was with the king; nor would suffer me to go into the privy garden, (which is now a thorough-passage and common,) but bid me to go through some other way, which I did; so that I see he is a servant of the king's pleasures too, as well as business.'

'19th.—To my Lord Chancellor's, where the king was to meet my Lord Treasurer and many great men, to settle the revenue of Tangier. I staid talking awhile there; but the king not coming, I walked to my brother's.'

'19th May 1664.—To a Committee of Tangier, where, God forgive me, how our report of my Lord Peterborough's accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords, *without one of them understanding it!*'

'5th May 1667.—I walked over the Park to Sir W. Coventry's. We talked of Tangier, of which he is ashamed; also that it should put the King [!] to this charge for no good in the world; and now a man

going over that is a good soldier, but a debauched man, which the place need not to have. And so used these words:—"That this place was to the King, *as my Lord Carnarvon says of wood*, that it is *an excrescence of the earth, provided by God for the payment of debts.*"'

Here we may see that the high tone of indifference to the people did not originate in the present times. Corn was defined, no doubt, in the same terms; and God as piously brought in to bear witness to their precision. The worst French revolutionists, who were just of a piece with these great Tory lords—counterparts of their pious determination to do what they liked with their timber, and to cut off heads as others 'grind faces'—held of course the opinion, that wood was provided by God to make guillotines.

'15th May 1668.—To a Committee for Tangier, where, God knows how, my Lord Bellasses' accounts passed understood by nobody but my Lord Ashly, who, I believe, was allowed to let them go as he pleased.'

'22d March 1669.—At it till noon, [the Tangier and other business,] here being several of my brethren with me, but doing nothing, but I all.'

Pepys was in his fifty-first year when he went on his voyage to this place; yet the cut of his waistcoat still had a corner reserved for it in his memorandums. He seems even to have kept the vessel waiting at Plymouth while it was in the tailor's hands.

'24th, *Friday*, August 1683.—Stayed for my doublet; the sleeves altered according to sea fashion.'

Being queasy and uncomfortable however, and always patriotic, he is very angry that any body else should be dilatory; and complains of the 'shameful want of discipline' in the other vessels, which were 'not ready to come out of Plymouth with their flags 'after my Lord's signals.'

'So, [continues he,] with a fair wind from Plymouth, we were fain to lie by for them, losing our way all the while. Hamilton in the Dragon, and Wheeler in the Tiger, *though shot at from my Lord*, not being under sail to come out to the last.'

And then follows one of the numerous passages in the *real* history of that time, which show how its only virtue, as it has been called—its naval—has been overrated. It is frightful to see in our author's Diary, of what a mass of corruption, with the exception of a very few individuals, the whole administration of the navy consisted; and how the leaders, both on sea and shore, bandied against one another the foulest charges of knavery, and even cowardice. We certainly do not take their mutual testimonies for granted, nor believe that 'cowards' in British vessels were at any time more than very rare phenomena; neither do we doubt that great fops, and very effeminate people in other

respects, may be truly brave, any more than that the bravest men—nay, whole crews of them—may be liable at times to their misgivings, or even their panics, when they do not very clearly see the way before them. But a court, positively dissolute, is assuredly not the best nursery for the kind of valour required at sea, where fortitude is as necessary as audacity, and glory seldom to be won by sudden incursions out of comfortable headquarters. It was the psalm-singing old seamen of the Commonwealth that first maintained the national honour during the reign of Charles the Second; and it was the shame of being outdone by it—as well, no doubt, as the general spirit of bravery, in spite of corruption—that kept it up in the persons of the young officers and court rakes who were set over their grizzled heads. James the Second, it must be allowed, while Duke of York, is not to be denied the honour of a real anxiety for the welfare of the naval service; but even he, according to his friend Pepys, had great moral defects; and the best part of the skill and industry attributed to him, is due to Pepys himself. It must never, indeed, be forgotten, that there was a right honest feeling in him, which was constantly at work for the good of the nation; and our navy, such as it is at this moment, owes, perhaps, a good half of its greatness to a couple of easy companions and lovers of old books—one of whom (Evelyn) may be said to have grown the timber to make its ships, while the other ensured strength and order to the crews that were to man them.

Yet our patriot will never let us be grave with him ten minutes together. Readers of our former article, or of the Diary itself, may remember the puzzle he was in about 'Hudibras,' whether to think it witty or otherwise; how he bought it, and sold it, and bought again, and tried to 'find out' the wit, and then wondered any man could quote it. He has by this time become a solid student in Butler, and speaks of reading 'two 'books' of it, as others do of Homer or Virgil. It seems even to have been a resource to him in misfortune.

'29th, *Wednesday.*—Read the two first books of Hudibras. Dr Trumbull being out of humour, we had no merry chat these two nights.'

On arriving at Tangier, he says—

'On shore with my Lord the first time; all the ships and the town firing guns. Met, and conducted in great state to the castle. After dinner see the ladies, mightily changed, [we suppose from what they were when they came on board.] The place an ordinary place, overseen by the Moors. Amazed to think how the king hath laid out all this money upon it. Good grapes and pomegranates from Spain. *At night, infinitely bit with chinchees,*' [mosquitoes.]

'18th, *Tuesday.*—Mightily out of order with being bit last night in face, &c.'

'19th, *Wednesday.*—I this day put on my first stuff suit, and left off socks, after many years.'

'21st, *Friday.*—Merry at supper with wine in saltpetre. Spanish onions mighty good.'

'23d, *Sunday.*—Shaved myself the first time since coming from England. . . To church; where the parson of the parish preached. Here I first observed, outside the church, lizards sticking on the windows, to bask in the sun. At noon, we had a great locust left on our table. This morning, in my chamber, was the most extraordinary spider I ever saw, at least ten times as big as an ordinary spider. With such things this country mightily abounds. *But above all that was most remarkable here,* I met the *governor's lady* in the pew; a lady I have long remarked for her beauty; but she is mightily altered, and they tell stories on her part, while her husband minds pleasures of the same kind on his. After sermon, I led her down to her chair.'

'25th, *Tuesday.*—Up betimes, being uneasy with the chinchees.'

'11th October, *Thursday.*—Up betimes to walk, particularly on the stages at the stockade. I ventured within, a little way, to see a boat making by the Moors, and some of our carpenters lent them. I would not venture too near; for I had been a good prize, and I see their sentries mighty close intent upon me.'

'12th, *Friday.*—First lay in drawers; and with that, and pinning my sleeves close, I was not to-night troubled with chinchees.'

'17th, *Wednesday.*—W. Hewer tells me of captains submitting to the meanest servility to Herbert when at Tangier, waiting his rising and going to bed, combing his periwig, putting on his coat, as the king is served, &c.; he living and keeping a house on shore, and his mistresses *visited and attended, one after another, as the king's are.* For commanders that value themselves above tarpaulins, to attend to these mean things, as Wheeler is particularly said to do!'

The governor whom Pepys found at Tangier was a personage qualified to excite all the astonishment, indignation, and disgust, of which his patriotic soul was susceptible;—no less than the infamous Colonel Kirke, the detestable instrument of Jacobite cruelty in the west of England. Burnet attributed Kirke's ferocity to the neighbourhood of the Moors at this place; but villains of his sort are not thus suddenly made; to say nothing of the doubtful Christian good-nature of thrusting off the vices of one's countrymen upon a poor set of Mahometans. Kirke must have been a man of a hard unfeeling nature from the first, and of a will aggravated by bad education. Pepys found him carrying out his natural principles in the highest style within the walls of Tangier; quite apart from any thing which the Moors could do to spoil such an innocent. Brute force was his law, and contempt of the many his gospel. The worst vices of Toryism, before or since, met in his person. He was as overbearing as an

apostate; as disloyal, whenever it suited him, as any *quondam* preacher of loyalty; rapacious and monopolizing, as the most selfish of the taxers of bread. He had a court about him at Tangier, which, in corruption, drinking, and profligacy, imitated on a smaller and worse scale, (if that were possible,) the reckless one at home; and though he was far better fitted to spoil the Moors than they him, it is not impossible that, in the heat and tyranny of his African government, he first got his hand thoroughly into that system of terror, which he afterwards worked with such infamy on his native soil. The horrible story of him, which Pomfret put into verse, is now disbelieved, though probably there was foundation of *some* sort, even for that. He was a man drunk (besides his wine) with a long run of disorderly and bullying success; and he had no shame to limit his will, and no imagination to conceive the feelings of others, except as giving it pungency. It is not easy, therefore, under such circumstances, to determine the bounds of any sort at which a fool without a heart would stop.

Pepys's accounts of him form the most curious portions of the present work, and show what sort of a man James must have knowingly selected for his instrument;—our voyager being deeply in the royal confidence, and in the habit of communicating to him whatever he saw. Imagine this unfortunate, but heartless and senseless prince, having the following narratives given him by Pepys the next year, when the latter returned to England, and then, the year after, employing the wretch against his own people. Almost all the instances, to be sure, are mild and small, compared with the things he did afterwards; but we see the miscreant in preparation.

'23d October, *Tuesday*.—While walking this morning up and down the mole and town, with my Lord and the Governor, Roberts the town apothecary came to Kirke, and told him of bad wine now selling to soldiers at threepence or three-halfpence a quart, so sour that it would kill the men. Kirke moved my Lord, and he yielded, that it should be staved. Of his own accord, Kirke went to see it done—presently came to us again, and brought in his hand a bottle of white wine, calling it vinegar, and gave it my lord to taste, as also I and others did. I was troubled to see the owner, Mr Cranborow, a modest man that kept a house of entertainment, come silently, with tears in his eyes, begging my Lord to excuse it—for the wine was good wine, and sold so cheap only to get something for it, he not knowing how to send it away—and therefore desired he might not be undone. Kirke, in sight of my lord, all the while ranted, and called him dog; and that all the merchants in the town were rogues like him, that would poison the men. My Lord calmly bade the man dispose otherwise of what he had, and not sell it to the soldiers. "Nay," says Kirke, "he must then gather it up

rom the ground, for I have staved it.' The man (whether he had ny not staved, I know not, withdrew weeping, and without any com- laint, to the making my heart ache. Captain Purnell told me, he knew ery well the wine Kirke staved, and stood on the man's chest in the ellar, when the wine about the room was too high for him to stand on he ground. The wine was better than my Lord hath on his table, or id give him and the rest of the officers the other day when he enter- ained them.'

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'This morning Dr Lawrence told me his own case with the Gover- or, which shows Kirke a very brute. Sheres also, to-day called me side on the mole, to tell me that Kirke owes £1500 among the in- abitants of the town, who can get no money from him, but curses, and 'Why do you trust me?' Nor dare they complain, for fear of his em- oying some or other to do them mischief, as, Sheres says, he hath me to two men that have been killed, as generally believed, by his ders. He caused a serjeant to be tied to a post, then beaten by him- lf as long as he could do it, then by another, and all for bidding a ser- ant of his go to his mistress, Mrs Collier.

'To show how little he makes of drunkenness, though he will beat fellow for having a dirty face or hand. I have seen, as he has been alking with me in the street, a soldier reel on him as drunk as a dog, this busy time too, when every body not on guard is at work. He th only laughed at him, and cried, "The fellow hath got a good orning's draught already!" and so let him go without one word of prehension. My Lord does also tell me of nine hundred false musters, hat, I think, was the number.) in two thousand seven hundred men. his I will enquire after more certainly.

'At supper, Dr Ken told my Lord and the company, (Mr Hughes, inister of the parish being by,) how Kirke hath put one Roberts on he parish to be reader, who will swear, drink, &c., as freely as any man in the town.'

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'Du Pas tells me of Kirke's having banished the Jews, without, or rather contrary to, express orders from England, only because of their denying him, or standing in the way of, his private profits. He made a poor Jew and his wife that came out of Spain to avoid the Inquisition, be carried back, swearing they should be burned; and they were carried into the Inquisition and burned. He says, that he hath certainly been told that Kirke used to receive money on both sides, in cases of diffe- rence in law, and he that gave most should carry the cause. When the Recorder hath sometimes told him such and such a thing was not ac- cording to the laws of England, he hath said openly in court, "But it was then according to the law of Tangier."'

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'Mr Sheres desires my speaking to my Lord, without naming my au- thor, that a Tuniseen hath brought a prize into this port, the profit of buying which (contrary, however, to the express order of the King and Lords, for governors to have nothing to do with trade) my Lord hath

given to Kirke, though solicited, as he told me, by several others to give them the buying it; whereas, indeed, he should have left the master to sell to whom he would. The Tuniseen demands fifteen hundred dollars—Kirke offers six hundred, and will neither give him more nor let him go away. The poor Tuniseen complains that he is ready to starve, having had nothing this week but bread and water.'

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'On Kirke's misgovernment, Captain Silver told my Lord, in my hearing, what a company of the king's subjects were in chains, and how long the chains were, when my Lord came hither, and commanded them to be set at liberty; and that this tyrannical severity of Kirke's made so many desert the place, and run to the Moors. He says, there hath been thirty or forty in those chains at a time. Silver hath got me, from the marshal of the town, who hath a great many of them, one of the very chains that the king's soldiers used to carry, and be made to work in.'

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'Kirke turned every thing to his own benefit, nothing being sold town but by him, or his licence, and with profit to him—he buying a the cattle of the Moors at nine pieces a head, and selling them to the butchers at twelve, ready money, they selling them to the people as dear as they could: this also, in the case of wax, against an express order in council, given, as they tell us, within a year.'

After reading of brutalities like these, the laugh occasioned by the absurdities of such a man as Pepys, is salutary to our common nature. Among the deficiencies which, during his residence at Tangier, he discovers in the navy, is the want of a prayer, not only for a good wind, but for *some* wind! He grieves that clergymen show no eagerness to go to sea for the purpose of remedying these things; and wonders that, undesirous as they perhaps might be supposed to be of a fresh breeze, they do not at least look to the getting up of a little air, west by north, and so to the prevention of calms.

'Our want of a prayer *for a good wind* does enough show how little our churchmen make it their business to go to sea; which may serve also to improve the description of the dangers and illness of a sea life; whereas they ought, the first, to look after the wonders,' &c. 'Here comes in the story of Harman's chaplain, asking what he should do to be *saved*.'

'We not only lack prayers at sea for a good wind, and what is yet as reasonable, thanks when we get it, witness our own case, but for *some* wind. In calms we not only suffer the evils that may attend not going forward to our port, but by ships being liable to be jogged together by the swell of the sea, without any power to resist it, they being ordinarily in a calm carried one upon another, the heads and tails lying divers ways, *like things distracted*.'

'26th, *Friday*.—Being a little ill, and troubled at so much loose company at table, (my Lord not being there,) I dined in my chamber; and Dr Ken [the chaplain, afterwards the famous Bishop of Bath and

Wells] came and dined with me. We had a great deal of good discourse on the viciousness of this place, *and its being time for Almighty God to destroy it!*'

'26th November, *Monday.*—Mightily frightened with my old swimming in the head at rising, and most of the morning, which makes me melancholy; I fear also my right foot being lame. But I hope in God both will go over, and that it is only the weather.'

'28th, *Wednesday.*—This day, *to clear my head of matters,* I wrote many letters to friends in England; among others, *a merry, roguish, yet mysterious one, to S. H.*'

In the beginning of the following March, the commission returned to England. Pepys, mean time, had paid a visit to Spain; but the twenty pages of Journal written there tell us nothing about the country; and the ten pages of Journal at sea are of as little importance about the voyage. We therefore proceed to the 'Correspondence,' which, for the greatest part, is of a like value. But there are some curious passages, and the Editor has not been idle in increasing their relish from other sources. A letter to the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, has an extract appended to it from the Harleian manuscripts, in which Pepys writes thus to a parliamentary commission:—

'Let me add, that in my endeavour after a full performance of my duty, I have neither made distinction of days, between those of rest and others, nor of hours between day and night, *being less acquainted, during the whole war, with the closing my day's work before midnight, than after it.* And that your Lordships may not conceive this to arise from any vain assumption of what may be grounded more upon the inability of others to disprove, than my own capacity to justify, such have ever been my apprehensions both of the duty and importance of my just attendance on his Majesty's service, that among the many thousands under whose observation my employment must have placed me, *I challenge any man to assign one day from my first admission to this service in July* 1660, *to the determination of the war, August* 1667, *(being a complete apprenticeship,) of which I am not, at this day, able upon oath to give an account of my particular manner of employing the same.*'—Vol. i. p. 125.

Here he alludes to the famous Journal. Suppose one of Pepys's enemies (and he had them) had taken him at his word, and called for it! and suppose his friend, Dr Wallis, called on to decipher it; and the memorandums, one after another, disclosing themselves to the delight or terror of the Committee! Suppose, besides the tailorings, and the turkey-pies, and the gallantries, and the roaring suppers, with 'faces smutted like 'devils,' and Miss Mercer dancing a jig in boy's clothes; their ears all opened wide to the information, that Monk was a 'thick-skulled fool,' and his Duchess a 'dirty drab,' and Lady Castlemaine 'abominable,' and divers of the Commis-

sioners themselves 'ninnies' and corruptionists, and Clarendon not exempt from the latter charge, nor the Duke himself;—he, and the King his brother, and all the court, 'debauched and mad,' the Duke and King getting 'maudlin drunk,' the King a silly speaker, and the flatteries of him 'beastly,' and Cromwell remembered more and more with respect! Charles Lamb—in one of those humours of tragical fancy with which he sometimes refreshed his ultra-humanity—expresses a regret that Guy Fawkes did not *succeed* in blowing up the House of Lords, the sensation was such a loss to history! The reading of Pepys's Journal would have been a blowing-up of the court, hardly less tremendous; only we fear that the poor journalist would have gone up alone in his glory; and that the court would have contrived to quash the business in silence and rage.

Our busy, curious, not always consistent, but always well-meaning and good-natured secretary, was acquainted with a great number of people—many of whom he assisted, and with all of whom he was ready to gossip, and interchange candid enquiries. The Mr John Gibbon, who writes to him, (vol. i. p. 168,) is evidently Gibbon the herald, ancestor of the historian, of whom the latter gives such an amusing account in his Memoirs. John was as good a Dominie Sampson in his way as Pepys's heart could desire. Sir Walter himself could not have devised a better epistle for his fictitious worthy, in style, subject, or logic, than is here furnished by the true one:—

'*Mr Gibbon to Pepys.*

'Good Sir, '*August* 27, 1675.

'I pray pardon me; I am sorry I appeared so abruptly before you. I'll assure you, a paper of the same nature with the enclosed was left for you at the public office some ten days since, as likewise for every one of the commissioners. But, sir, I am heartily glad of the miscarriage; for now I have an opportunity to request a favour by writing, that I could hardly have had confidence by word of mouth to have done; and in that I have much want of my friend Mr ——.

'Sir, a gentlewoman of my acquaintance told me, she had it for a great certainty from the family of the Montagus, that as you were one night playing late upon some musical instrument, together with your friends, there suddenly appeared a human feminine shape and vanished, and after that continued.

'Walking in the garden you espied the appearing person, demanded of her if, at such a time, she was not in such a place. She answered no; but she dreamed she was, and heard excellent music.

'Sir, satisfaction is to you my humble request. And if it be so, it confirms the opinions of the ancient Romans concerning their genii, and

confutes those of the Sadducees and Epicures.—Sir, your most humble servant,

'JOHN GIBBON.'

There is no answer from Pepys. But that Mr Gibbon would have derived no great 'satisfaction' from one, appears by an item in the Tangier Diary:—'At supper with my Lord. Discourse 'about spirits—Dr Ken asserting there were such, and I, with 'the rest, denying it.' The jolly materiality of which our supper-eater's nature was compounded, was not likely to find much ground for the sole of its feet in the world of spirits.

The next letter in the collection, from 'Mr Daniel Skin-'ner,' determines a question among the curious, as to who the 'Mr Skinner' was, to whom a manuscript parcel belonging to Milton had been directed, and how the parcel came into the hands of the State Paper Office. Anthony Wood assumed that it was Cyriack Skinner, to whom the poet has addressed two of his sonnets; but it is now clear that it was the Mr Daniel Skinner before us, and a very unworthy person he appears to have been for the honour of such a trust. The parcel consisted of Milton's unpublished Latin Treatise on Christian Doctrine; and a complete and corrected copy of all the Letters to Foreign Princes and States, written by him when he officiated as Latin Secretary. Skinner, who seems to have been one of the young men that Milton drew about him for purposes of training, had evidently had both these works put into his hands for publication; and after the poet's death he tried to make a penny of the Latin Letters with one of the Elzevirs, the well-known Dutch printers; while, at the same time, he was obtaining favours from the new Government. Sir Joseph Williamson, the busy Secretary of State, discerned the nature of the man through his fawning and protesting manners; and after contriving to get possession of the Manuscript Treatise, and to quash the republication of the Letters, withdrew the favours of Government, and left the double-dealing Mr Skinner to his fate. Skinner's letter to Pepys, now first published, is a canting but obvious enough account of the whole business; including an apology for the 'grand presumption' of having begged 'his worship' for a loan of 'ten pounds,' (a petition which Pepys had granted,) and a modest request, that the Navy Secretary would be pleased 'instantly to repair' to the Secretary of State, and absolve Mr Daniel Skinner from the guilt of having any thing more to do with Elzevir, or with any manuscript paper whatsoever. He says:—'Though I *happened* 'to be acquainted with Milton in his lifetime, (which out of 'mere love to learning I *procured*, and no other concerns ever 'passed betwixt us but a great desire and ambition of some of

'his learning,) I am, and ever was, so far from being in the 'least *tainted* with any of his principles, that I may boldly say 'none has greater honour and loyalty for his majesty, more 'veneration for the Church of England, and love for his country, 'than I have. Once more, I beg your worship, and with tears, 'instead of ink that might supply my pen, I implore that you 'would prevail with Sir Joseph,' &c. As if those who went to learn any thing of the great poet and republican, had gone to him with letters of recommendation from church and state, and would have made even a surreptitious profit of his works out of a love for Charles the Second! This base fellow, 'untaint-'ed' by Milton, was probably not unconnected with the more respectable Skinner whom the poet knew, and with the old puritan connexions of Pepys himself. There are some respectful letters from Pepys, dated a few years afterwards, to a 'Mrs Skinner,' and a subsequent letter to him from a 'Mrs Frances Skinner,' respecting an ungracious son of hers who behaved ill in his service; and for whom, with a somewhat energetic maternity, she expresses a wish that his employer had 'broken all his 'bones, limb from limb.'

We do not exactly know what brought Pepys to Scotland; but we find a letter written by him from Berwick, when on his return to England, bearing the date of May 1682; and as it contains some notices of national manners and demeanour, personal and political, we extract it for the benefit of the writers of our 'Pictorial History.'

'I mightily thank you for yours of the 6th under my Lady Peterborough's cover. By which, it appearing you had received mine of the 4th, your care would be over as to my particular safety, (and the misfortune of the Glocester,) I having herein told you of my purpose to reside on board the Catherine yacht. Nevertheless, I failed not, by the very first express the Duke sent upon his arrival at Edinburgh, to tell you more largely. This also I sent under Mr Froud's cover, hoping its coming to your hand for fuller satisfaction as to myself and other matters.

'The Duke being almost wholly taken up in settling public affairs before his leaving the kingdom, Mr Legg and I made the most of our time in visiting what was most considerable within reach, particularly Stirling, Linlithgow, Hamilton; and Glasgow, a very extraordinary town indeed for beauty and trade, much superior to any in Scotland. *The truth is, there is so universal a rooted nastiness hangs about the person of every Scot, (man and woman,) that renders the finest show they can make, nauseous, even among those of the first quality.*

'Nevertheless, the authority the Duke maintains with so much absoluteness, yet gentleness here, is a thing very considerable, rendering it morally impossible for any disquiet to arise in his Majesty's affairs in this kingdom. Truly, as their government seems founded on principles much more steady than those of ours, so their method of managing it in coun-

H. (his Royal Highness having been pleased to give me opportunity of being present with him two council-days, appears as less to exceed ours in the order, gravity, and method of their debates.

I mentioned the business of the Rocher to my Lady Peterborough, who was very ready to give her advice and assistance when there shall be occasion, of which she cannot make any judgment till she comes to London, and sees how the affairs are disposed of. But she tells me what is to be done must be by the hand of my Lady Hyde, and that it will cost some money, not much: but as her coming to town, she will be able to inform me more particularly, promising her assistance in all she could, if she found room for any: I not telling her for whom I desired the enquiry.

Pray give Sir Anthony Deane my most humble service, and my poor [illegible] whose pain under the disorders of her family through sickness, I well consider, praying God to shorten it by a return of health. Let Sir Anthony Deane know that I long to have an opportunity to acquaint the Duke fully (Mr Legg being present) with his controversy with the Commissioners of the Admiralty, who was infinitely pleased with the shameful ridiculous proceedings of those Commissioners, and the advantage Sir A. Deane has taken of it, and will necessarily receive from it. Mr Legg also is no less gratified, not only from the mean esteem he has of them, but the real value and consideration he expresses for him.

He gives you also his kind service, and though, in the main, I find him a favourer of a wet-dock, yet is he convinced abundantly of the ignorance of those gentlemen, both in relation to that and every thing else, and particularly the points you mention in your letter, which I have communicated to him.

I thank you for the news about the death of that insolent and mutinous lawyer, J——. The Duke showed me a copy of Herbert's articles with Algiers. I cannot imagine what the King will do about leaving our captives unredeemable.

Pray give my service and wishes of health to your mother, and all her family with her. The like for the ladies in Portugal Row, Mr Houblon, and his family.

The answer from the person to whom this letter was addressed, shows that his English friends were much delighted with his sarcasms against the Scotch: but we find no allusion to his encomiums upon their 'gravity in their debates.'

'Since mine of 13th instant, directed to Newcastle, under cover to Mr Legg, I have received yours of 19th from Berwick, which gives all your friends much satisfaction to understand the continuance of your health and safety, they all being under the same circumstances here, unless my Lady Mordaunt, who has had a very severe fit of the stone, rendering her incapable of coming out of her chamber for three or four days. Last night she was much better, and, with the other lady there, gives you their very humble service, as they do from Winchester Street, where I communicated your letter; but they are under some apprehension of your displeasure, in regard they have not particularly heard from your-

self, which, I presume, you will do from Newcastle, where you will find a letter from him signifying the great trouble that family lie under.

'*They are all very well pleased, and make themselves merry with the description you give of the Scotch people, believing you have much more to tell them on that point at your return.*

'Though you tell us their Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York passed Berwick with a fair wind on Wednesday the 17th instant, we hear no news of them as yet, though in hourly expectation.

'I hope your mentioning to my Lady Peterborough the business of the Rocker, may prove of some advantage when opportunity shall present, which I shall endeavour to learn and improve to the advantage of the person concerned.

'Sir A. Deane and my lady give their very humble service. The Commissioners, since his answer to the bill in Chancery, having given out as if they would prosecute him for alleging that which is not true; but it is like the rest of their proceedings, and will render them the more ridiculous should they attempt it.

'During the Commissioners of the Navy's being at Chatham, informing themselves concerning the business of the wet-dock, an unfortunate accident fell out. His Majesty's guardship, the Henry, was burned down to the water, by the carelessness of an old infirm man getting a candle and leaving it burning in his cabin when he went to sleep. There are various constructions; some would have it an effect of the Popish plot for destroying the navy; others, that have no regard to the Admiralty, lay the blame on them for discharging, out of good husbandry, the commanders of the guardships, who ought to keep good discipline on board, and directing the entry of a man so infirm on board the guardships, contrary to the standing rules of the navy; the decrepit old man by whom this misfortune happened appearing to be one, as I am informed, entered by their order. Notwithstanding which accident, Sir V. S. makes it a great argument for going on with the wet-dock, which remains still under consideration with the Navy Board.

There is nothing more worth extracting at any length; and we shall not repeat letters which have appeared before—such as the one from Dryden. The supplemental editor, however, who appears to have succeeded Mr Rutt, might have known that Dryden and Pepys were acquainted long before the time he conjectures. Several well-known particulars might also have been omitted in the notes, and some new ones easily put in their place by an enquirer into biography; but it is due to the publication to state, that the materials are well arranged throughout, and the chronology studiously attended to. Nor will the lovers of official history, and of the growth of our public foundations, read without interest some of the correspondence of James's admiral, Lord Dartmouth, and the instances of Pepys's anxiety to do every thing he could for the advancement of the naval and grammar schools of that excellent institution, Christ-Hospital; of the

former of which he may be said to have been the founder, though Charles got the honour of it.

We shall extract a few more short passages, however, before we take leave of Pepys. In his answer to the following letter, we grieve to say that we have caught him tripping; but the Montagues, however proud he had once been of the relationship, and in spite of what the earl had done for him on his entrance into life, were lavish of their own means, and had become rather awkward neighbours. Lord Sandwich gambled, and was otherwise careless and expensive.

'*Lord Hinchingbroke to Mr Pepys.*

'SIR, '*December* 9, 1667.

'There being a letter of exchange come, of about £250, 8s., payable to the Spanish ambassador within four or five days, my father having writ very earnestly [from Spain, where he was English ambassador] that it may be punctually paid, and Mr Moore having not any way to procure it, makes me take the liberty of troubling you, to desire your assistance in it. If you can with any convenience do it, you will do a great kindness to my father and me, who am, dear cousin, your most affectionate cousin and humble servant, 'HINCHINGBROKE.'

'*Mr Pepys to Lord Hinchingbroke.*

'MY LORD,

'My condition is such, and hath been ever since the credit of the king's assignments was broke by the failure of the bankers, that I have not been able these six months to raise a farthing for answering my most urgent occasions.

'I am heartily afflicted for this difficulty that is upon your lordship; and if upon my endeavours with the bankers I can procure any money, I will not fail to give your lordship it; being very desirous of the preservation of my Lord's credit, as well as for all his other concernments. Your lordship's obedient servant, 'S. PEPYS.'

Now, though Pepys might not have been able to 'raise a far-'thing' within these 'six months' after any of the customary modes, he, not two months before, had raised nearly fourteen hundred pounds in gold out of the ground; to wit, dug up so much which he had buried during his 'fright' about public affairs and the Dutch. Lord Hinchingbroke's letter, however, is endorsed by Pepys, 'Dec. 19, 1667.—£60 this day lent my Lord 'of Sandwich,' (he pretended to be all that while getting it of the bankers;) and next year he lends the noble earl six hundred pounds. These little prudent stratagems did not hinder him from being really generous. He might have died rich, but was not so; and he was liberal of his aid to many during his life.

Mr James Houblon to Pepys.—'Lawyers have laboured to perplex titles [to estates] as much as some interested divines have our religion; so that our title to heaven is made out to be as difficult a matter as that we have to our lands.'

Pepys (in the country) to Mr Hewer in town.—'There is also in the same drawer a collection of my Lord of Rochester's poems, written before his penitence, in a style I thought unfit to mix with my other books. However, pray let it remain there; for, as he is past writing any more so bad in one sense, so I despair of any man surviving him to write so good in another!'

Sir Robert Southwell to Pepys.—'I am here among my children—at least an innocent scene of life—and I endeavour to explain to them the difference between right and wrong. My next care is to contrive for the health which I lost *by sitting many years at the sack-bottle;* so that to keep myself in idleness and in motion is a great part of my discipline.'

Dr Robert Wood to Pepys respecting the building of ships.—'I reckon that naval excels land architecture, in the same proportion as a living moving animal a dull plant! Palaces themselves are only like better sorts of trees, which, how beautiful or stately soever, remain but as prisoners, chained during life to the spot they stand on; whereas the very spirits that inform and move ships, *are of the highest degree of animals*, viz. rational creatures; *I mean seamen.*'

Sir John Wyborne to Pepys, from Bombay.—'Sir, I have sent you *a very grave walking-cane*, which I beg you to accept, having nothing else I could venture to send.'

With this most reasonable opinion we close our accounts with the amusing sage of the Admiralty. Many official patriots have, doubtless, existed since his time, and thousands, nay, millions of respectable men of all sorts gone to their long account, more or less grave in public, and frail to their consciences; but when shall we meet with such another as he was, pleased, like a child, with his new coach, and candid about his hat? Who will own, as he did, that, having made a present by way of douceur, he is glad, considering no harm is done, of having it back? Who will acknowledge his superstitions, his 'frights,' his ignorances, his not liking to be seen in public with men out of favour? or who so honestly divide his thoughts about the public good, and even his relations of the most tragical events, with mentions of a new coat from the tailor, and fond records of the beauty-spots on his wife's face?

ART. V.—*Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III.; from 1696 to 1708. Addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury, by* JAMES VERNON, Esq., *Secretary of State.* Now first published from the Originals. Edited by G. P. R. JAMES, Esq. Three vols. 8vo. London: 1841.

THIS correspondence is a proper supplement to the *Shrewsbury Papers*. It was noticed as such by Archdeacon Coxe, in his preface to that valuable collection. As such, accordingly, whenever it was published, it should have been entrusted to some editor of the same plodding race. Instead of which, it is now brought out in three smart octavos, on the credit of Mr James, and will at first sight be naturally mistaken for one of the novels of the year.

A man of imagination, who improvizes works of fiction faster than an amanuensis can take them down, is not likely to make a good literary drudge. Nobody, one should think, who cared about the rearing of his chickens, would knowingly put under a thrush or linnet the eggs of a barn-door fowl. The consequence in the present case is what might have been expected. Mr James has been above his work, and his readers are worse off considerably than the readers of the *Shrewsbury Papers*, whom Mr Hallam, however, has thought it right to warn against trusting to any part of the volume, except the letters themselves.

For instance, we ought to have been referred to the archives of the Duke of Buccleuch, as the rightful place of deposit for these letters.* Instead of which, Mr James leaves us in the dark (or, what is pretty much the same thing, remits us to internal evidence) on the preliminary question of their authenticity.

With regard to the next question—whether the public have here all the letters?—the case is still worse; for two opposite

* The present publication is from a manifestly imperfect manuscript. The original correspondence descended to the Duchess of Buccleuch, the representative of the Duke of Shrewsbury. She placed it, in the handsomest manner, at the disposal of Mr Coxe. He has given a full account of it in his preface to the *Shrewsbury Papers*, and has printed a few of the letters in that collection. As Mr James has had recourse to the *Shrewsbury Papers*, for the purpose of incorporating in the present publication some of the letters which he found there, it is most extraordinary that he should have preferred working on an imperfect MS., rather than apply to the Duke of Buccleuch for permission to con-

opinions are laid before us, between which we are left to choose. One in the introduction, another in a note to the third volume, page 282.

In addition to a variety of blanks, obscurities, and misreadings, the correction of which would require a sight of the original manuscripts, there are sundry inaccuracies in Mr James's text, which a little ordinary information would have prevented.

Sir J. Lyttleton, we are told, on being named Speaker, '*exe-cuted himself* pretty laboriously, and is rather thought to have 'overdone it.' Mr James would have printed *excused himself*, if he had been aware that it was at that time the established custom for the Speaker of the House of Commons, upon his appointment, to disable himself by all manner of foolish protestations of insufficiency. This ridiculous representation of mock modesty was put an end to, in 1774, by Sir Fletcher Norton. Had it not been for the interposition of the most impudent man that England, or perhaps any other country ever saw, the usage would probably have come down to our own day, as part and parcel of the law of Parliament. The Speakership was then a very different office from what it is at present. To take three of William's Speakers:—Trevor was Master of the Rolls; Lyttleton was in the Treasury; Harley, Secretary of State, and leader of the House of Commons.

Two mistakes are worth mentioning. They occur in a letter giving an account of a debate arising out of the attainder of Sir John Fenwick. Mr Pulteney, speaking in support of the attainder, began with a commendation of the Duke of Shrewsbury, 'perhaps a little unseasonably. Upon this Mr Howe, who lets 'nothing slip, owned his commendations were just, but very 'unnecessary; and applied the story of one who was eulogizing 'upon the praises of Hercules, and was answered, *quis vitâ 'perevit?*' If Mr James's MS. were the original it professes to be, we are sure that, upon turning to it, he would find there a better reading—'*quis vituperavit?*'

The other passage sets up the credit of a disputed anecdote,

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sult the original correspondence; the extent of which alone—it being three quarto volumes—deterred Mr Coxe from printing it.

The MS. used by Mr James is as incorrect as it is incomplete. It has been very ill transcribed, either from a broken set of duplicate originals preserved by Mr Vernon; or from only a part of the Buccleuch originals, surreptitiously obtained. In either case, the public has reason to be dissatisfied with the course that has been taken; while, on the latter supposition, the Duke of Buccleuch has to complain, not only of a breach of courtesy, but a breach of law.

full of the bitter truths of those wretched times. Ralph, and after him the late Mr Wallace, had thought it worth their while to bring the story into question in their disagreeable histories, with no other object than—an object at least as dear to Ralph as that of truth—the throwing suspicion upon Burnet. Sir Edward Seymour expressed his belief (as well he might) in more or less of the disclosures by which Sir John Fenwick compromised the fidelity of several persons who had been most forward in the Revolution. 'Men might alter their sentiments,' he said, 'and 'he instanced the Lord Sandwich, Lord Manchester, Lord 'Anglesey, Lord Shaftesbury, and General Monk, that turned 'upon the government they had served, and brought in that 'they had opposed.' Colonel Mordaunt in reply, 'played upon 'him for quoting Cæsar about saving *the* guilty persons rather 'than one innocent should suffer, and said a brother plotter 'spoke that in favour of Cethegus.' Let Mr James turn again to his original; and we have no doubt that, instead of the word *the*, he will find it written *ten*.

Some knowledge of contemporary persons and events is a necessary accomplishment in an editor of this kind of correspondence. Surely names so familiar as those of Monsieur Jurieu, and of Jack Howe, 'the famous parliament orator of those 'times,' as Ralph calls him, ought to have been proof against the embarrassment of a little bad writing or bad spelling, (pp. 53 and 73.) A hundred and fifty years ago, the contradictory orthography of proper names was so far from being peculiar to the MS. of the Vernon letters, that many distinguished characters would have had a very indifferent assurance of their identity, were it to have depended upon the uniformity of their own spelling of their own names; much more on their names being always spelt in the same way by other people.

There are words which fall through from one generation to another. But that of 'Makebates' (p. 435,) surely has not already become so far obsolete that a modern editor need stumble at it. A similar uncertainty is expressed concerning the words '*save themselves*' in the following passage:—'The Lords are 'mustering up a strength to throw out the Poll Bill, for the sake 'of a clause that abridges them from *saving themselves*, though 'it has passed otherwise in other bills.' Mr James's uncertainty may be probably accounted for by his historical incredulity of the possibility of such a fact. The fact, however, strange as it may now read, belonged to those transition times. It appears from Dalrymple, that the Lords a few years before, in 1689, threw out an additional Poll Bill on this same impolitic objection.

If the general want of appropriate preparation and acquire-

ment be a good ground of dissatisfaction with an editor, still less can be said in excuse of the inattention which enables him to forget in a later volume what he had transcribed in a preceding one. Mr James observes in one of his few notes, (February 1702,) that 'it is curious to see the first idea of the separation of the 'American colonies of European states from the mother coun-'tries started by an English secretary of state.' The composition of what are called historical romances, appears to be slippery practice; for the very passage, to which this note is appended, proves that the idea was not started, but was only adopted by Vernon. 'We hear lately,' he says, 'of an extraordinary 'piece of news from the West Indies, and wish it may prove 'true. It is said that Montezuma, viceroy of *Mexico*, would 'not suffer their plate to come into the hands of the French, 'and the orders from Spain would not be obeyed while they 'were looked upon to be under the influence of France.' Our policy at this time was to break the Spanish succession, by encouraging these colonies to throw off all dependence on the house of Bourbon, and submit themselves to Austria. Three years before, however, Admiral Benbow had prepared his government for the possibility of there being something like a scramble for the Indies on the death of the King of Spain. In June 1699, Mr Vernon wrote—'Admiral Benbow was lately at Cartha-'gena, where he found the Spaniards very much unconcerned 'whether the king recovered or not. Upon his death they hoped 'to be under the power of one that would protect them, and 'openly avowed their inclination to France. These are gene-'rally their sentiments in the kingdom of Peru. But in *Mexico* 'it may happen otherwise; the Indians there are very earnest 'with the Countess of Montezuma, who is descended of their 'race, that she would take upon her the title of queen, which 'she seems willing to accept; but the Conde, her husband, re-'fuses it as yet—though it is thought, if the King of Spain dies, 'he will set up for himself.' What is really curious in these transactions, is the fact, first—that in a connexion so loose as to have been matter of discussion on this occasion, another hundred years should have dragged on before it was finally dissolved; and next—that Mexico should at last have had to proclaim its independence, upon the same grounds of separation which it had raised at first—its objection to the transfer of the Spanish monarchy into the hands of France.

But to come to the Letters. They are the respectful correspondence of a subordinate official in town to his political patron in the country, at a most interesting epoch; and in an age when newspapers had not as yet destroyed the trade of political intel-

ligencers. They begin with the attainder of Sir John Fenwick in 1696—a subject of intense anxiety to Shewsbury, from his having been implicated by the prisoner—and extend with interruptions into the reign of Anne. Of course, Mr Vernon, Lord Shrewsbury, and their personal affairs, take up a disproportionate space in the present canvass: crowding it with people and circumstances, such as would not appear at all in any regular historical piece describing the reign of William. The letters are, in consequence, essentially dull; being full of minute details, about which nobody now alive can care to be informed. On the other hand, many particulars of interest are recorded in them, the memory of which would never have been preserved in any more formal manner; while, from their being a contemporary narrative, an air of life and of reality is thrown over the whole, which it would be utterly impossible for a modern history to retain.

We look back upon 1688, and see there only the glorious Revolution and its magnificent results. To come down from the heights of history, and pass into the background, as it appears in the confidential communications of contemporaries, is a test to which few public transactions can be submitted without considerable loss. Of those, the Revolution of 1688 is certainly not one. That the experiment should have been exposed for a time to continued risks, and that our great deliverer should have to run the gauntlet of many dangers and many mortifications, might be easily understood beforehand. But it is necessary that we should dwell awhile among the private memoirs of the times, before we can understand and believe what was the nature of the risks by which so great a cause was mainly put in jeopardy; and what were the motives for the most poignant mortifications which its champion had to endure. We often lament (and justly) the excesses of party spirit at the present day. But if any thing can put us in good-humour with ourselves, and enable us to face with a stout heart and cheerful countenance our own troubles and vexations, it must be the reading of such accounts as are contained in Vernon's letters, of what was done and suffered by our forefathers, from the same cause, with full as little reason. It is comforting to see the quantity of faction which a free people may swallow without being poisoned by it.

Our first and deepest impression, is the misery of having any thing to do with politics at such a period. The next is, the difficulty of believing that these stimulants—though they may not be poisons, either quick or slow—can ever be converted into wholesome food. The supple Sunderland complained to Mr Vernon, that 'he led the life of a dog.' The steady Somers, while yet Chancellor, declared to him, that he had met with such

hard treatment, that he 'thought it better to live in Poland than 'in this country.' No wonder then, after his impeachment, that the Ex-Chancellor should write to Shrewsbury:—'Never 'man was wearier of a place than I have been of this country 'for many years, nor has any one reckoned you happier than I 'have, for being out of the reach and hearing of all the malice, 'and baseness, and violence, that men are practising upon one 'another.'

Mr Vernon, Shrewsbury, and the Prince of Orange, must have been thought very fortunate in their several degrees. The Revolution found the first a clerk in the Secretary of State's office; in the course of a few years it made him Secretary himself. Shrewsbury boasts in his *Diary* that he had been offered almost all the great places in the kingdom. He owed this not less to his early zeal in the Revolution, than to a popularity so general, that William used to call him the 'king of hearts.' The Prince of Orange won for himself the only earthly crown which the Dutch republican could consistently consider to be worth the trouble of putting and keeping on. What comfort did their advancement bring them?

The Secretary from the first deprecated his elevation, in words as heavily laden with ludicrous and humiliating sorrow, as if Pepys himself had held his pen. 'I have scarce eat or slept since, and I 'know not how to go backwards or forwards.' 'I had better do 'as Temple did, fill my pockets with stones, and leap overboard, 'under the bridge.' Exclamations like these, are among his most magnanimous and comfortable reflections. Thanks to a patron whom all sides were anxious to propitiate, he got out of the scrape at last, better than he expected. But the years of apprehension and degradation through which he floundered on, must have been quite intolerable. In 1689, he had to contend with the suspicions of the King and Shrewsbury, who surmised 'he could be true to nobody.' In 1698, the more ardent Whigs watched every motion of their new secretary. 'I remember Mr 'Harley would now and then take the humour of sitting by me 'in jest, and said he did it to blast my reputation. I did not 'think he was so near speaking the truth.' In 1702, he crouched in terror under the triumphant Tories—'the unforgiving party 'now predominant,' to whom he had made himself too obnoxious to be continued in. 'It has been my ill fate, or management, 'to please neither party; but I think I shall please myself, if I 'can at last find a country retreat where I may be forgotten. I 'have no forgiveness to ask: and if I did, I question whether 'it is a plant that grows in our country.'

Shrewsbury's fate was worse; for his ability, reputation, and

means of happiness were much greater. It is, at first sight, difficult to conceive how a man who entered upon public life, and at last left it with so much spirit and *eclat*, should have lost an intervening quarter of a century in running into shallows and getting off again. In 1688 and 1714—that is, at the Revolution and the accession of the House of Hanover—he was 'the resolute 'Shrewsbury' of Burke. During most part of the interval between, not a glimpse is to be seen of any of his nobler qualities; but only 'that strange feebleness of soul' which, Mr Hallam truly says, hung like a spell upon them. Montagu's words were softer than his meaning, when he told him, towards the close of their connexion, that if he had less fine silver in his temperament, he would have been better fitted for public use. Much was owing to personal defects—to the infirmities of body and of mind, which he himself was constantly pleading, and the last of which broke out so much more shamefully than his worst enemies could have expected, in 1710. Three or four years before, he had given Marlborough his proxy with this remarkable declaration: 'If any thing could give me a tolerable 'opinion of my own judgment in these matters, it would be 'the reflection, that in any parliament I have had the honour 'to sit with you, I cannot recollect that we ever differed.' Nevertheless, being taken at his word, (when he declared, that he would have nothing to do with office,) he became disgusted, and joined, on this memorable occasion, in the intrigues of Harley against the principles and friendships of his former life. A considerable part of his early disquietude in public life, may probably be put down to a secret consciousness of the unjustifiable communications with the exiled family, into which he had been betrayed by his infamous mother, or some of her Jacobite connexions. After all these deductions, we are, however, still disposed to adopt his own solution of the problem as the nearest approximation to the truth; and to attribute the principal share in the obliquities of his course to the violence and the iniquity of the times. Such was the account he gave the King in 1697. 'Between ill health, spleen, and 'the disgusts I have received, and may reasonably expect to 'meet hereafter, from the villanous attempts of some, who, by 'false witnesses, and all other base means, are contriving the 'ruin of my reputation, I confess I have taken so violent an 'aversion to public business, that the very thoughts of continu-'ing longer in it, is what I am not able to bear.' His letters to Somers at the time, are, if possible, stronger: 'I had much 'rather not live at all.' On the impeachment of his old colleague, he sent home from Rome, where he had retired, still

more violent protestations. 'I wonder that a man can be found 'in England who has bread, that will be concerned in public 'business. Had I a son, I would sooner breed him a cobbler 'than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman.' This was so much the same opinion which Somers had before expressed, that Somers might reasonably compliment him, for the degree in which he had acted up to it, with being 'one of the wisest men 'he ever knew.'

Their royal master was still more hardly dealt with. The hardships of which we principally complain, are, first, the extent to which a treasonable correspondence with King James was entered into against him, almost immediately, by persons as deeply pledged to the Revolution as himself; and next, the utter want of consideration for him, or for the public, which was manifested by both parties—Whigs, we are sorry to say, as well as Tories—in their successive opposition to his government. The position of William the Third was sufficiently distinct and positive, and the declarations which had been made on all sides were sufficiently explicit, to authorize the supposition, that he, at least, would have been relieved from the common curse of sovereignty, and might have known at once his enemies from his friends. Yet, never did there live a prince who had greater reason to exclaim, that he could protect himself against his enemies, if God would protect him against his friends. On the first appearance of discontent with his government, intriguers of every class prepared themselves for a second Restoration; and their impatience seems to have been in proportion to the degree in which they were compromised before. With what a heavy heart must William have struck from off the Council Books, in 1692, the names of Shrewsbury and Marlborough!—the men of all others apparently most irretrievably committed to the interests of the Revolution. His principal servants were far from being content with Sir Michael Wharton's maxim—not to disoblige two kings at the same time; or with the policy of the unjust Steward—only to betray when they were about to be dismissed. They systematically sought to make themselves friends on both sides of the water—at Saint Germains as well as Kensington; and this they did, before the sovereign whom they had freely chosen can be reasonably considered as having given them any just occasion of offence. The secrets of this traitorous correspondence have been since laid open. With much of it, doubtless, William was, at the time, as well acquainted as with the scandalous corruption proved in Parliament upon so many persons in the highest station. The consequence was, he did not know which way to turn. It is a striking instance of the effrontery of the

age, that Trevor, Speaker of the House of Commons, retained the office of Master of the Rolls for years after he had been expelled from the House for receiving bribes. The Duke of Leeds, in the same way, was continued President of the Council; although his impeachment for a similar piece of infamy had gone off only by the absconding of a principal witness, his own servant. Considering therefore the persons from whom he had to choose, it is quite intelligible, in his despair of bettering himself, that the King should have restored Marlborough and Shrewsbury—to what it would assuredly be ridiculous to call his confidence, but—to the first offices of the state. Having done so, he naturally strove, by all the arts of politic kindness, to make future treachery, on their part, more and more impossible. We believe their treachery stopped at the peace of Ryswick: at least Shrewsbury's. But he trusted them as little as he could help. Under these circumstances, the partiality which he showed for Portland and his other faithful countrymen, was not vulgar favouritism. It was a preference which, however offensive by the comparison, and improperly manifested in some instances—as in the lavishness of his grants—was thoroughly deserved. Under these circumstances, too, it is only fair by all parties to presume, that the secresy with which the peace of Ryswick and the Partition Treaty were negotiated, originated neither in habitual reserve nor in love of power, so much as in a politic repugnance to communicate such critical information to persons whom he felt obliged at once to suspect and to employ. Shrewsbury was deeply mortified at this secresy: the more so as he must have surmised the grounds of it, and have felt that they were just. Similar apprehensions must have aggravated the pain which the King would naturally feel upon the dismissal of his guards. The King, in his address to the House of Commons, had the sense to compliment his English subjects who had served in the late war on their zeal and valour. Nevertheless, as Marlborough had answered to King James, some time before, for his influence over the army, King William had reason not only to feel indignant at the unkindness of sending away the men 'who 'had brought about a deliverance, which, to speak plainly, we 'had neither sense nor courage to achieve for ourselves;' but had reason to feel alarmed at the impolicy of sending away that portion of the army which would have been proof against the arts of Marlborough on any second treachery. There was no knowing how soon they might be wanted back again; for, a few months later, the danger appeared to Vernon to be French invasion, not Jacobite rebellion. 'I reckon, whenever the Prince of 'Wales comes hither, it will be by so strong a hand from France

'as will subdue this nation for themselves; and make him the 'pretence only for obtaining an easier conquest.' Even Bolingbroke was ashamed, in after life, of those who had disarmed the kingdom upon this occasion. The impossibility of governing the nation to the satisfaction of either party, must have been another unexpected trial. This will not appear to an Englishman of the present day so unnatural and incredible a scandal as the last; but it was as essentially unreasonable and unjust. The balance of parties, and their extreme jealousy, so perpetually interfered with the composition and the conduct of the King's government, that nothing more materially affected his daily peace. Under the difficulties by which his domestic administration was disturbed, it is some relief that he was in this respect not himself to blame. He put himself on the people to the best of his judgment and belief. Had he pursued a contrary course, his difficulties would have been far greater; besides being subject to the observation, that, but for his exclusive partialities, they might have been avoided.

The star of England was in fortunate conjunction with that of Holland and of Europe, when the Prince of Orange was invited over. By saving one, he was better able to save all. So vast was the part he acted, that even Hume allows it would be difficult to find any person whose actions have more eminently contributed to the general interests of mankind. 'A hero without 'vanity or passion,' not so much Dutch or English as European, his ample mind filled with and set upon the noblest ends—he was ill qualified to brook the indignities, or contend against the obstacles, which were to encompass his path as King of England.

But the honeymoon of the new establishment was not over, before all parties were equally disgusted with each other. As early as January 1689, the sailors and the soldiers deserted in great numbers. A third even of the reduced army had disappeared; and the rest were represented as being equally disaffected. By January next (the last month of his first short parliament) he had discovered, that all the loyalty he could reckon upon from any portion of his new subjects, depended on their expectation of effecting their respective objects through his means. While the Whig bill for excluding the late Tory regulators from corporations was under discussion in the Commons, he wrote to Portland, (1690)—'Je trouve que les gens commen-'cent à être fort en peine de mon voyage à Irlande; surtout les 'Wigs, qui ont peur de me perdre trop avant qu'ils n'ayent 'fait avec moi ce qu'ils veulent; car pour leur amitié vous 'saves ce qu'il y à conter là dessus en ce pais ici.' Queen Mary's simple and affecting letters, written to him that same

summer during his glorious campaign in Ireland, are in the same spirit. She resented, like a wife who lived on her husband's love and honour, the attempts that were constantly making to put him into party bondage, and deprive him of his due authority. And she was still more painfully disappointed with the nation at large. The nation appeared to regard their sovereign as the captain of so many foreign mercenaries, hired for their temporary protection; and to conclude, that, having paid him very handsomely, they had earned the right of grumbling at him and abusing him. 'When it 'was first known that you intended to come back,—'twas then 'said, What, leave Ireland unconquered! the work unfinished! 'Now, upon your not coming, 'tis wondered whose council this 'is, and why leave us thus to ourselves in danger. Thus, people 'are never satisfied; but I must not begin upon the subject which 'would take up volumes, and, as much as I was prepared, sur-'prises me to a degree that is beyond expression. Nothing 'touches people's hearts here enough to make them agree: that 'would be too much happiness. Mr Harbord, on his return from 'Holland, pleased me extremely to hear how much people love 'me there; when I think of that, and see what folk do here, it 'grieves me too much, for Holland has really spoiled me in be-'ing so kind to me—that they are so to you is no wonder. I 'wish to God it was the same here! But I ask your pardon for 'this. If I once begin upon this subject I can never have done (*sic*) 'to put it out of my head.' Both King and people became more and more dissatisfied every succeeding year. With the death of the Queen (the anniversary of which day he solemnly observed during the remainder of his life, and no husband had ever greater reason) the gloom thickened upon him. The foreigner felt himself alone. Plots multiplied. Parliamentary opposition gradually assumed a more offensive form. The debate on the dismissal of the Dutch guards was inflamed with the cry against foreigners. 'You will easily judge,' says the King writing to Lord Galway, 'on whom this reflects.' On the disagreement between the Lords and Commons upon the resumption of the Irish grants, the Tory speakers (by whom Mr Vernon says the whole debate was managed) inveighed against the grantees as 'foreigners who had not the bowels of Englishmen, but would 'be contented to see this country destroyed when they are not 'to get their wills of it.' On the further settlement of the crown, as soon as the House of Hanover began to be 'much 'spoken of,' the objection was, 'What? must we have more fo-'reigners?' which Vernon observes, with his ordinary matter-of-fact simplicity, 'is not very obliging to the King.' The Electress showed her sense in demurring at first to the prospect of a

succession under which the first man of the age was breaking down. In a letter written on her way to a conference at Loo upon the subject, she remarks, 'It seems to me, that in England 'there are so many factions that one cannot be secure of any thing.'

William's constitution began to give way under the demands which had been made at one time on his strength, and latterly on his spirits. It is painful to read notice after notice like the following:—'The King neither eats nor sleeps as well as he used 'to do; he cannot overcome himself under what he thinks a hard 'usage,' (1698.) 'I may add that the King is under a load of 'thoughtfulness, which perhaps may have an ill influence on his 'health,' (1700.) 'I wished him at Loo, that he might be a 'little eased of the cares and chagrins he met with here. To 'that he answered, he should grow like the Duke of Shrews-'bury, and never be at quiet for thinking of what may be trouble-'some or vexatious hereafter.'

Nothing is more discouraging to a generous nature than undeserved unpopularity. There were not bribes and offices and supremacy for all; and the King was incapable of trying the only other measures by which the contending factions could have been brought to order. Washington could not have raised up a political structure from such base materials. Cromwell, indeed, might and would, after his own fashion. But the Prince of Orange, having become the first magistrate of England by the voice of a free Parliament, laboured on in the same spirit. Instead of clearing the House of Commons by a file of soldiers, he either addressed it in such language as the deliverance which he had wrought out for it entitled him to assume, or parted with it in silence when he could not trust himself to express his feelings. His repeated experiments to sound the shifting currents of public opinion,—his frequent dissolutions (six in twelve years,) his unremitted communications with the leading statesmen on both sides, and his earnest endeavours to unite in his counsels persons whose co-operation must have been understood to be a public guarantee for equal justice to all parties,—are ample evidence, both of the deference which he felt for the principles of a representative government, and also of the insurmountable difficulties with which he had to contend. The King's despair at times was such, that Somers observes, in the autumn of 1698, he had resolutely declined speaking of his business to any in his service all the preceding winter: and 'would in no sort declare himself before his 'leaving England, *perhaps upon a good reason*, to see first which 'faction would have the majority in a new Parliament.' What

a condition to be reduced to, and by whom! What follows in April 1699 is worse. 'The behaviour of the Tories this session, 'has convinced the King (as he says very often and very plainly) 'that he himself is aimed at; and not ministers or party, other-'wise than in order to prejudice him.' The Tories proceeded still more passionately the next session, led on by Harley, against the Irish grants. We may take, as a specimen of their manners, the boast of Sir John Packington, knight of the shire for Worcestershire—that they had brought the King's nose to the grindstone, and, in another session, they would make him leap over a stick. Nevertheless, the King had sufficient self-command to choose the lesser of two evils. Though under some imputation of duplicity, on account of his contemporary negotiation with the Whigs, he yielded to the ascendency of the Tories, and transferred the administration shortly afterwards into their hands. He could not have afforded a more painful proof of the sincerity of what he had said to Vernon, within a few weeks of his humiliation on the Irish grants. 'He had nothing unreasonable to demand, but 'should leave it to the nation to provide for their own safety, as 'they might think fit themselves: but he should be glad to see 'them at peace with one another; and, if that could not be ob-'tained, he thought it very hard that he must suffer on all sides,' (June 1700.)

The whole reign of William the Third, from first to last, was a series of dilemmas and mortifications of this description. On addressing the States of the United Provinces in 1691, he called God to witness that he had accepted the crown of the three kingdoms, not out of any extravagant ambition, since gold or silver could never dazzle his eyes, but for the good of those kingdoms, and to be better able to assist his allies; and that he would sacrifice all that he had in the world for the good of the United Provinces. We believe him. Therefore, when, on three several occasions, his stoical nature was so far moved as to threaten to withdraw from England, and leave to her unworthy factions the ungrateful country which had but half adopted him, we cannot question, but that for the sake of Holland, his allies, and Europe, he would have executed his threat.

It must be admitted that the Revolution appears to have added very little to the happiness of those who were most concerned in it; or indeed to any body who had at that time the misfortune to be engaged in public life. This did not arise from the disturbance given to the Revolution by a few ultras of extreme opinions—by Republicans on one side, or by Jacobites on the other. The fact would be explained almost as imperfectly by imputing it to errors on the part of the government. In distin-

guishing between a commonwealth and a monarchy, the King might exaggerate the prerogatives necessary to the latter. He stood out too stoutly for as much of the traditional authority of the Crown as had not been excepted to in the Bill of Rights. He exceeded even that authority on more than one occasion;—as in keeping up, in 1698, more troops than Parliament had sanctioned, and in concluding the peace of Ryswick and the Partition Treaty on his own individual responsibility. His grants of Irish forfeitures to his mistress, Lady Orkney, (Lord Jersey's sister,) and to his Dutch officers and favourites, before the subject had been considered in Parliament, were grants of what belonged to him by law. But unluckily they were made in violation of a promise he had given as far back as 1690, in answer to an address. These were undoubtedly great errors: and they were made the most of by his enemies, on better grounds than the censure of his foreign policy, and the reproach that he thought too much of foreign interests and too little of those of England. To the ignorance and injustice of these latter charges, Bolingbroke lived long enough to bear testimony, on the experience of a statesman, and with the impartiality of a convert. Whatever might be his errors, it is not the less true that his personal unpopularity and his political vexations no more originated in them, than in the parts of his character and conduct for which we now admire him most—his manly love of civil and religious freedom. They were, however, vulnerable points, to be struck at by all persons, who on other accounts, from time to time, were bent upon lowering his influence and embarrassing his government. These persons—first one and then the other—were unfortunately neither more nor less than the bulk of the two great parties, into which, then as now, the English nation was divided. After reading the wretched history of their ambitions and intrigues, their patched-up quarrels or implacable animosities, nobody can believe that, if all the causes of dissatisfaction which we have just mentioned had been removed, the waters of bitterness would have subsided a single inch. The characteristic misfortune of this reign lay in the near equality of two parties who were unwilling to act together, and were yet strong enough to prevent each other from being able to act alone.

Under these circumstances, no rational doubt can be entertained of the propriety and fairness of the general policy on which the King acted. His first object was, to unite the representatives of both parties in the service of the state; his next, to trust the management of affairs to such persons as, by the best conjecture he could make of so changeable a body, would be most likely to collect around them a majority in the House of

Commons—giving in both cases the turn of the scale, and something more, in favour of the Whigs, his first and natural supporters.

To govern all *for* all, ought to be the principle of every government. Moreover, admitting that to govern all *by* all can never be more than an approximation, every degree by which the approximation is advanced must always rank among the most honourable distinctions of a constitutional government. The Prince of Orange had been raised to the English throne by a most extraordinary combination of events and parties. In him, therefore, it would have been the height of madness, as well as of injustice, to have governed the nation for or by a less proportion than the whole, to the extent of a single human being, beyond what by possibility he could help. This would be true, even supposing that the Whigs had been more strongly attached to his person, and more uniformly loyal to his government, than was unfortunately the case; for the Tories were the bulk of the nation in property as well as numbers. Many had been as ready as the Whigs themselves to give in their adhesion; most of them, if not all, were equally in earnest in their hostility to King James. Once King, he was bound to remember that he was not the King of Whigs or Tories, but the King of England. It became from that moment his duty, as well as interest, to build up his government upon a basis as broad as the principles on which it had been founded; and to recognize no disqualification for employment under it in any diversity of opinions within those limits. By the theory of their creed, the Whigs care more for the popular part of the constitution than for the monarchical, and more for Protestantism than for the Church of England. Tories the reverse. But the Revolution was a new point of departure; and the maintenance of its common principles, on the part of all who faithfully accepted it, presented, one might have thought, a cause sufficiently critical and paramount, to have merged in it all minor differences—for a season, if not for ever. What Shrewsbury had wished, if not expected, appears in a very early letter. He protests in it against the choice that the King was about to make, while he admits that it was necessary that he should make one. At the same time, he evidently assumes that the necessity was a necessity which might have been avoided, if no difficulties had been raised but such as belonged to the nature of the case.

'Dec. 1689.—I think your Majesty does not suspect me to be so violently biassed to either of these parties, as not to see the faults of both, and the dangers that may likely ensue in joining with each of them. I wish you could have established your party upon the moderate and honest-principled men of both factions; but, as there be a necessity of declaring,

I shall make no difficulty to own my sense that your Majesty and the government are much more safe depending upon the Whigs, whose designs, if any against, are improbable and remoter, than with the Tories, who many of them, questionless, would bring in King James, and the very best of them, I doubt, have a regency still in their heads; for though I agree these to be the properest instruments to carry the prerogative high, yet I fear they have so unreasonable a veneration for monarchy, as not altogether to approve the foundation your's is built upon.'

The important questions upon these occasions is—who is to blame in the first instance? The supposed necessity of governing this great country by one or other of the parties, (a necessity in which the King and Shrewsbury seem agreed,) arose from their divisions. The first question, therefore, in the present case is, upon whom the discredit lies of having kept up the division between them, after their differences had been really extinguished by their conduct and events. Bolingbroke, a witness beyond exception, after speaking elsewhere of the Whigs and Tories as the spurious offspring of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, attributes to the Tories the whole blame of breaking up the coalition by which the new settlement had been established. 'Had they owned 'candidly and fairly that their principles, as well as those of 'the Whigs, were carried too high in the former disputes of 'parties, and that these principles could not be true, since they 'found themselves actually in a situation wherein it was not 'possible to act agreeably to them without manifest absurdity, 'the distinction, as well as difference, of Whig and Tory had 'been at an end. But contrary measures produced a contrary 'effect. They kept up the appearances, and they could keep 'up no more, of a Whig and a Tory party, and with these ap-'pearances a great part of the old animosity. The two names 'were sounded about the nation; and men, who saw the same 'ensigns flying, were not wise enough to perceive, or not honest 'enough to own, that the same cause was no longer concerned, 'but listed themselves on either side, as their prejudices at first, 'and their inclinations, or other motives which arose in the pro-'gress of their contests, directed them afterwards;—Whigs 'very often under the Tory standard, Tories very often under 'the Whig standard.' It is no answer, in the point of view which we are now taking, to say that these opinions were speculations only, which had been contradicted in practice, and would be so again. That is true. In 1702, Hodges and Bolingbroke brought in a bill abjuring the Pretender, with a compulsory clause for recognizing William as 'rightful and lawful King'—words, in 1690 and 1696, so intolerable to the Tories. To the same effect it will be seen that the Tories were even beforehand with the Whigs in naming the House of Hanover for the suc-

cession. In case William called the Tories to office in 1690, from any expectation (as is intimated above by Shrewsbury) that they would deal more tenderly with his prerogatives, he lived to be thoroughly undeceived by them. If Whigs in office have been found acting like Tories, Tories out of office went to work as warmly as any Whigs. Witness their share in the Treason Bill, in the Place Bill, in the Triennial Bill, and in the Restraints on the Prerogative which were introduced by Harley into the Act of Settlement. But these contradictions between their principles and their practice, so far from justifying their maintaining themselves as a separate party, out of a doctrinal reverence for abstract principles, makes their conduct only the more factious and absurd. The greater the absurdity of reviving differences of this kind, it followed naturally, and almost necessarily, that consistent Whigs felt themselves on their side so much the more obliged to find out each other and hold together. From being nothing more at first than the representatives of a party formed in opposition to the ruinous misgovernment of Charles II., they were in this manner gradually forced to strengthen themselves, whatever way they could, against an inveterate party animosity, so unnecessarily, and, if it had been founded on any principle, so disloyally devised. The progress of society enabled them to recruit, in a little larger circle than before, from among the dissenters and the monied interest—both of them new creations and especial friends of the new establishment.

The Whigs seldom have been good courtiers; and we sincerely hope they never will think of learning to practise the arts of courtiership at the expense of those great and popular principles of liberty and political amelioration, upon their steady adherence to, and maintenance of which, their permanent influence; and chances of power to do good, essentially depend. At the period under consideration, though they depended principally on the countenance of the King, yet some of the measures which they had recourse to, both from public principle and in self-defence, gave umbrage to him. He had early taken alarm that they meant to leave him no option but that of being their party leader. On this account, as early as in 1689, he appears to have discountenanced the Bill for depriving for a time the charter-mongers of Charles the Second of their votes. And this was done by him simply because the effect of the measure might have been to put him more than he wished under the tutelage of the Whigs; by restoring to them the political influence in corporations, of which they had been deprived, by a mixture of violence and artifice, in the preceding reign. The same feeling was at the bottom of his compliment to

Shrewsbury, on his resignation in 1697. The King acknowledged that he had always preferred moderate ways, and had desired to bring others to them; but said, he could give him twenty instances when people's obstinacy had been too hard for him. The jealousy of a 'design to engross him, which he would hardly give 'way to,' took a more positive form at the close of this year, on the refusal of the Whigs to act with Sunderland, whose loss he thought irreparable, and on their giving him no latitude of choice for the seals but Wharton. Besides being disagreeable to him, Wharton was so odious to the other side, 'that many of them did 'not stick at declaring, they should think themselves put out of 'protection when they saw that done.' Shrewsbury vainly warned them 'not to alienate the King, by doing any thing to confirm 'the opinion which some had laboured to give him, that the 'Whigs have a natural sourness, which makes them not to be 'lived with.' They were too triumphant at the time to submit to a mixture of different interests, in which Sunderland was to be prominent, after having borne the shock, and found themselves, as they fondly imagined, the prevailing side. Montagu, in reply, urged the necessity of their standing still more closely and peremptorily by each other. 'Our circumstances are such, that I think 'the nation had long ago been ruined, but for the unalterable 'friendship and union that has been maintained between some 'of us. If you will allow yourself to be made the corner-'stone, we will raise such a structure as shall not easily be 'destroyed.'

At the very time they were carrying the negotiation with so high a hand, the Whigs were mouldering away, unless they could obtain fresh cement and support. The King was in the greatest want of somebody he might be free with, and would see nobody but Somers. Somers was necessarily much occupied with his other business; but his sense of the extreme destitution in which the King was left was such, that he appealed to Shrewsbury in words which would not brook denial. 'I cannot but say that it is utterly impossible for him to trans-'act any longer with our party unless you have health enough to 'relieve us.' Vernon added in a letter, (which Mr James omits,) 'the public stand now in as great need of your helping 'hand as ever it did, when you ventured so much for the saving 'it.'* Within a year or two the political wheel went round.

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* Mr James, in his only important note, (3d vol., p. 142,) says, there is *clear proof* that the Duke of Shrewsbury had, in October 1700, become thoroughly disgusted with the general conduct of the Whigs; and

'Some men are humbled who were insolent, and others are 'ready to take their places and behaviour.' Such, in the summer of 1700, is Sunderland's description of the reversed condition of the two parties, whose see-saw was the harrow under which William had to live. The King might well call it, being ground between two millstones. The aspect in which Vernon looked at them was only a little different: 'I am so charitable (says he, speaking of the Tories) 'as to believe that some of them 'intend to preserve the constitution; but they would do it in 'their own way, and have the merit of it.' This was a stretch of moderation, on which he would not have ventured with a more ardent Whig than Shrewsbury; or provocations and pretences had by this time so multiplied on both sides, and both sides had put themselves so equally in the wrong, that active fidelity to a party could only be maintained by treading under foot the first principles, not merely of charity, but justice. The effect of the previous impracticability of the Whigs, had been their being thrown aside altogether, and remaining so until 1704; when it was made a matter of exultation by the aspiring and exclusive Montagu, that they were able to bring in again their scattered party under the colours of Marlborough and

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it is intimated, that the King was probably influenced by his parting counsels in the Tory changes which he was about adopting. Shrewsbury must have been mortified at the mismanagement of the Whigs, and displeased at their insurmountable dislike of Sunderland. This is clear without any specific evidence. But we know of no clear proof of general disgust. It must have come on between July and October. For (July 1700) Vernon tells him, 'His Majesty could hardly believe you were so 'attached to a party.' As to the King being guided by his advice, though Shrewsbury was of opinion (August 27) that no new parliament should be called under existing circumstances, the King nevertheless called one at the desire of the Tories. His correspondence, while abroad, is inconsistent with the supposition that he had conceived a general disgust with the party. Previous to the dissolution of 1705, Somers observes it had been asked, if the Duke of Shrewsbury's interest would go wrong now, as it did in the last elections. 'I took the liberty to say, (he adds,) I did 'not know the fact was so; but I durst answer that if it was so, that 'it was not by your direction.' The last elections here referred to, were those which took place upon the Tory reaction on Queen Anne's accession. On that occasion, Somers, in the true spirit of one of King William's old ministers, remarks, 'that the court had felt severely enough 'what it was to have one party so great an overbalance for the other, '(thought it was their own party,) and would have felt it much more 'without the assistance of the House of Lords, to stem some of their 'extravagances.'

Godolphin—Whigs a good deal below proof. The more we learn of England at this season, the more strange does it appear that the spring-head of those party influences, which have been transmitted to the present age, should be traced home to a period in which there was every thing to disgrace, and nothing to recommend them; for this crisis was the commencement of that great Whig connexion, to which Burke refers in his 'Defence of Party,' as having governed England at one of the most fortunate periods in its history, in the reign of Anne. It began, as it has continued, not a system absolutely good in itself, but of excellent service to the public, in the character of a barrier against greater evils. At first, as a check on extravagant Toryism; at present, as an intermediate party between two extremes. Modern Tories (wiser in their generation than those of Bolingbroke) have accepted Mr Hallam's distinction—that the difference between them and their opponents, is the difference between Melioration and Conservatism. Accordingly, they have discreetly endeavoured to disencumber themselves of their ancient name. The new designation is more properly chosen, as pointing to a permanent distinction, than the terms which Bolingbroke sought to substitute, when he proposed classifying his contemporaries into constitutionalists and anti-constitutionalists, or into a court and country party.

There was no excuse, or next to none, for the sullenness which the Whigs displayed, and for the clouds which at times they interposed between their party and the King. They had no right, for instance, while nominally ministers, 'to grow out of 'humour, and resolve to sit still, if not worse;' or to return such an impertinent answer as was made by Lord Orford to the King's assurance—the Whigs need not be apprehensive of being displaced—that 'he did not know he had any Whigs remaining in 'his service,' (May 1700.) However they might question the prudence or straightforwardness of his political tactics, when he endeavoured to fill his sail from every wind, they could never doubt that it was always substantially his purpose to give them every advantage consistent with the principles of a constitutional government. That he found the House of Lords Tory, and left it Whig, is a proof of the permanent policy of the court; especially when it is recollected that, with slight oscillations, the contemporary change that was taking place in the politics of the House of Commons was just the other way. At a later period, Bolingbroke assumes it to be matter of history that the Whigs had been nursed into new strength, as well as applied to new uses, by King William. It was the universal conviction of the Tories at the time, (not the less sincere because the fact was a necessary conse-

quence of their conduct,) that, before the King would put the government in their hands, they must first make him sensible of their power. In the Convention Parliament itself, the result of the corporation bill—of the incorporated bills of indemnity, and of pains and penalties—and of the settlement of the Princess Anne's revenue—proclaimed their strength.* This done, they lost not a moment in bringing their parliamentary majority into the market. From the tavern where they were commemorating their triumphs, they sent off Sir John Lowther to the King, with an assurance of speedy and effectual supplies. Now, if supplies were not the only circumstance in his connexion with England on which the King set any value, they were so much the most important—with reference to the great objects of his life—that, whatever party could make him sure upon that point, might undoubtedly, in return, expect that they might make sure of their being adopted by him. Nevertheless, on this occasion, the King took no more authority from the Whigs than he could help. In the council which he left Queen Mary, on his going into Ireland in 1690, out of nine members he gave the Tory ministry a bare majority. So in 1700, having in April discarded Somers, (a natural consequence of the previous resignation of all of his colleagues except poor Vernon,) he left the Whigs, notwithstanding, with a preponderance in the commission of lords-justices when he went abroad in June. Besides which, he interposed the utmost limit of delay before he completed his Tory Cabinet, and summoned a new parliament. On both occasions, as well as afterwards, in September 1701, it is evident from Queen Mary's letters, and from the letters contained in the Hardwick papers, in the Shrewsbury papers, and in the present volumes,

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* Wharton, or whoever was the writer of the anonymous Whig remonstrance found in William's cabinet, was very unfortunate in appealing to this measure as a test of the strength of the two parties, (Dalrymple.) 'The design was to make the princess independent 'of your Majesty, that she might be the head of a party against you. 'This was laboured by the Tories and High Churchmen, and carried for 'you by the honest old Whig interest. Thereby you saw the number of 'your friends, and that, if you take right measures, you can carry any 'thing in this House of Commons." The letter is dated December 25. On the 30th of that very month the King thought it prudent to comply with an opposite address from the House of Commons; and grant the princess her revenue. He displaced those of his servants who had taken her part. But, accepting the address as a test of the preponderance of the Tories in the House, he gave them a preponderance in the government also, and dissolved the parliament in compliance with their wishes.

that the King maintained uninterrupted communications with the Whig leaders, and looked to restoring them on the earliest opportunity. This was done to a greater degree than is compatible with our present notions, or with that entire openness and candour* in which we should have been pleased to see, that William was as superior to his contemporaries as in other things. It must be admitted, however, (and in the last instance especially,) that there was intrigue enough to give colour to the latter of the two inventions, which, on Anne's accession, were industriously spread among the Tory party. In the first place, 'that it was a formed design of the Whigs to put 'the Queen by her right, and that there was a project of that 'kind found among the King's papers; in the next, that never 'men had such a deliverance as theirs was by the King's death— 'that their ruin was resolved, and would have been put in exe- 'cution within a month.'—(March 1702.)

During the whole of the reign of William, the Whigs were never a day without being in need of all possible encouragement from the sovereign to enable them to keep their ground with the public. The moment the tide turned in the House of Commons in 1693, the King re-admitted them partially into the government. Next year he put it into their hands entirely; and there he kept them until the autumn of 1696, when he was obliged to re-admit the Tories. This he did only by degrees; since, in

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* William's peculiar position, and the baseness of the times, which induced him to play off one party against the other, led him into closetings with favourites, and into simultaneous negotiations with rival leaders, so very like double dealing, that even at this distance, our sympathy with the end he had in view cannot overcome our disapprobation of the means. The Whigs suffered from it in their turn, and were as much mortified. For instance, a person must have implicit faith in the King's truth and rectitude before he can reconcile his declarations to the Whigs in the spring of both 1699 and 1700, with the Tory government, into which he was then gradually sliding. We explain them by believing that these declarations spoke his real wishes, and that he hoped to find means of stopping on the inclined plane upon which the force of circumstances had placed him. Even the winding Sunderland, who was suspected of having carried backwards and forwards more under-hand intrigues between the King and both parties than any other person, was at last wearied out (June 1700,) and wrote the king an answer, which Vernon delivered to him in council—'declaring, by the grace of God, he 'would meddle no more; the King had nothing to do but to refer every 'thing to his council, and act above board by the advice of those who 'are entitled to give it; and if he has those about him who are not fit 'for their trusts, it is his fault that they are not better chosen.'

[illegible] matters with the Whigs, [illegible] as a ministry until the fol- [illegible] comprehend how he was enabled [illegible] government for so long a [illegible] Parliaments which followed the [illegible] their own people—Tre- [illegible] successor into the chair, with only [illegible] Parliament of [illegible] Vernon, (Dec. [illegible] Sir Thomas Lyttleton [illegible] was sent by Harley after- [illegible] and other official persons [illegible] by the King's particular [illegible] competitor was brought [illegible] was the reason for leaving the [illegible] it certainly was not for [illegible] Sir Edward Seymour or any of [illegible] was wanted for other purposes. Within [illegible] Parliament, he* brought in the [illegible] Shrewsbury joined the cry for [illegible] the Whigs might well be afraid of [illegible] the King of going to a division on this question; [illegible] would have been to fix people in a party [illegible] They set up the Rose Club again [illegible] of retrieving themselves; but six weeks [illegible] when Vernon exclaims, 'We are a dispersed, [illegible] Two or three months later, he had disco- [illegible] in opposition is a great weight.' A [illegible] but Harley was equally confident of his [illegible] whether it a new Parliament or the same again. It ap- [illegible] by a remarkable conversation which he held about this time with Vernon, (on his part more threatening than insinuat- ing, yet enough of both,) that he must all along have exercised a considerable restraint upon the more violent Tories during the reign of William, as well as afterwards in the reign of Anne. Vernon told him, (on his suggesting the making Harcourt Solicitor-General,) that he always understood it to be his opinion that the Whigs should not be made desperate. Harley went so far as to declare that he was of no party. These sentiments, pro- fessed in such a quarter, must have greatly facilitated William's scheme of governing, by balancing different interests against

* Not Harvey, as Mr James prints it. It is mentioned twenty pages afterwards, that 'Harvey, a lawyer,' was among those who declared their dislike of so small a number of troops.

each other; or, where that was impracticable, by a temporary change of hands. In this manner, if the Whigs, on the one hand, were more than once made discontented, they were never made desperate. On the other, the Tories were so far kept in play, that they could never feel themselves a proscribed body. This may have been one of the principal minor reasons why the first Jacobite insurrection was reserved for the accession of the House of Hanover, when a contrary policy was taken up.

Marlborough and Godolphin brought about, in the reign of Anne, a more positive coalition between the bulk of Whigs and Tories than William had been ever able to accomplish, or probably had ever seriously proposed. It was soon broken up under circumstances more resembling the passions and intrigues of an Oriental than of a European court. By the time that the House of Hanover succeeded to the throne, the parties were more widely separated by mutual injuries than before; and the Whigs had been left to appear especially (not to say exclusively) identified in interest with the succession. The consequence was, that, so far from any body supposing a coalition to be possible, it was thought too late to return to the divided cabinets and mitigated predominance, by means of which the government of King William had been carried on. Two things, however, which had made this practicable under him, were now wanting. These were, first, William's great abilities and active participation in affairs; next, a general impression in his time that ministers were discharged from responsibility by the personal interposition of the sovereign.* Otherwise, for the extent to which the

* It appears by the difficulty made by Vernon, December 1696, and by Sir Stephen Fox, August 1698, with regard to two royal warrants, that the notion of an official responsibility from 'countersigning' already prevailed; so soon had a form, introduced for no other purpose than that of protecting the sovereign against imprudent grants, been applied, by the change in the constitution, to a higher use. Sir Joseph Williamson was still in official existence, and his letter will be found in Pepys's additional correspondence, (vol. ii. p. 221,) noticed in the preceding article, inclosing Charles the First's original despatch upon the subject. Upon one of the attacks on Somers, November 1699, the following discussion is reported, with Vernon's commentary on it:—'Mr Montagu happened to say, that he 'would guess what they aimed at. It was one whose virtue had raised him 'so much envy, but they would find that what he had a hand in was order-'ed by his Majesty in council; but Sir Edward Seymour answered, that 'was what they had most reason to complain of. I suppose the meaning 'of it is, that the King is not permitted to be advised but on one side; 'perhaps the conclusion will be, to have a larger bottom, and to make 'people more easy one to another.' Vernon would seem to have had

virulence of faction precluded public men from co-operating in the public service, the reign of William will bear comparison with any reign in English history. This Bolingbroke frankly enough admits, when he says elsewhere, that he acted in the reign of William, as far as he was concerned in it, and should have acted in the earlier part of it, just the same as he acted afterwards in that of Anne. 'The two parties were in truth 'become factions in the strictest sense of the word. I was of 'one; and I own the guilt, which no man of the other would 'have a good grace to deny.'

The cause of the Whigs was in those times, as it has always been, an uphill cause; depending for success upon their making the most of whatever opportunities a change of circumstances or the obstinacy of their adversaries might throw in their way, but never having margin enough to allow of their committing a mistake with impunity. 'You may observe,' (says Bolingbroke in one of his private letters,) 'what a difference there is between 'the true strength of this nation and the fictitious one of the 'Whigs. How much time, how many lucky incidents, how 'many strains of power, how much money, must go to create a 'majority of the latter; on the other hand, take but off the opin-'ion that the crown is another way inclined, and the church in-'terest rises with redoubled force, and by its natural genuine 'strength.' The great interests of the nation were against them. It is not necessary therefore, in order to explain the weakness of the Whigs, to revert to the supposition that they then repeated the mistake which they are charged with having committed towards the end of the reign of Charles the Second;—that of having wilfully gone off, in the spirit of their policy, from a broad to a narrow bottom, from the nation to a part of it, from its settled habits of thinking to its accidental passions. Harley's insinuation, that their want of reputation and management could alone account for the triumphs of the country party over the court, is still further from the truth. He said, in the conversation above referred to, 'the King's business must miscarry while blasted men had the 'conduct of it, whose avarice and oppressions would never be 'borne; there was such a weight in a court, that if things were 'not grossly mismanaged, they would never lose a question.' That there had been at that precise moment gross mismanagement, is very true, and is mainly to be attributed to two errors on

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no idea that the complaint could be directed against all personal responsibility being evaded by the manner in which the transaction took place. This ground of complaint was, however, soon provided for in the Act of Settlement.

the part of the King himself. He reduced his ministry so low in strength and spirits by overdoing his system of neutrality, that the government became a double government or no government at all; and then, at the moment they were at their weakest, he put them upon unpopular and impracticable measures. But this alleged mismanagement covers only a small space of the period to be accounted for; and for even that period, as well as for the remainder, we must have recourse to more general causes; namely, to those assigned by Bolingbroke, and to those contained in the distinction between melioration and conservation, by which Mr Hallam has characterized the two parties. Truths, especially political, make their way slowly; their application still more so—even when the novelties are nothing more than the adaptation of ancient institutions to corresponding changes in society. As civilization proceeds, the party in advance is in a minority at every progressive stage. This must be so, always and every where. But it is the case in England much more than in any other place; witness our proverbial *cantilena* on the wisdom of our ancestors. The exception will be particular periods only; of which the crisis brought on by delayed reforms is one. A crisis of this kind is the shortlived millennium of Reformers or *Meliorationists*, too fortunate if it is not a saturnalia; which, being over, things return to their former state, and the old cycle—the long saturnian rule of the Conservatist—returns. It will be more leaden than ever, should that creed be acted on which proscribes Open Questions, and announces that Conservative administrations are to recommend no measures except with a certainty of success. In other words, a good stationary government is to be always wanting more time to make up its mind on important subjects—is to initiate nothing until it cannot help itself;—that is, until public opinion, by the removal of prejudice, and by the giving way of interest, is in a state no longer to be resisted.

With one or two exceptions, however, the Whigs of that day exposed their influence to little hazard by experimental legislation. They had only one public object—maintaining the Revolution. All besides was given up to party politics. The honour of attempting to raise the ecclesiastical legislation of England to a level with the principles on which the King had been brought up in Holland, was, we fear, almost exclusively his own. He was obliged to be content with a grudging and contemptuous toleration of dissent. The Whigs co-operated heartily* for the

* There is no semblance of probability in Swift's story, that Somers had frankly (if that means seriously) told him, that the necessity, brought

union with Scotland. But the time was not yet come. In the constitutional restraints upon the influence of the Crown, contemplated by the Triennial Bill, the Place Bill, and the Treason Bill, parties got so mixed up, that the most that can be said of them is, that they took their share in these measures—more in the Triennial Bill, less in the Treason Bill. Somers opposed the last. Besides the offensiveness of its immediate application, it introduced anomalies into the criminal law, which have since been partially removed;—removed, in part, by excepting one species of treason from the act—in part, by putting the proceedings in the case of other felonies, to a certain extent, into conformity with its provisions. From a notice (Dec. 1704) that, as the Tories had succeeded in debauching so many of their party, the Whigs would give no more opposition to Place Bills, it may be inferred that the principal opposition to those self-denying ordinances had been before among the Whigs.

The distinguishing merit of the legislative administration of the Revolution-Whigs was in Finance. The finances of the country were never so low and hopeless as in 1696. The ordinary resources of revenue were exhausted. The public servants did not know where to look for their next quarter's salary. The King was bent upon a compulsory clause for bringing in of plate; and the Exchequer was as thankful as any private bankrupt for the smallest contribution. Sir Edward Seymour * lent it L.10,000 in money, and offered to furnish L.10,000 in cattle to the victuallers. The honour of weathering this crisis has always been attributed to Montagu; and, in consequence of the means which he employed, Burke entitles him 'the father† of 'public credit.' This makes it the more surprising that, within two years, Harley, as leader of the opposition, should have acquired the complete control over the management of the finances

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about by the wrong management of Lord Godolphin, in having given the Scots leave to arm themselves, was the only cause of the Union at last. Although Somers acknowledged the inconvenience of the Scotch Act of Security, he never can have called it the only cause of the Union, except in idle talk, and by way of falling in with Swift's high-church humour.

* Public men treated William very familiarly, sometimes cavalierly. Among others, Seymour, when the Tory leader waited upon the King to take leave in the summer of 1700, the King, alluding to his recent opposition, said, he hoped they should meet better friends the next Parliament. 'Sir Edward answered as a prince, "Sir, I don't doubt it."'

† Swift, denouncing this creation of the funds and of a monied interest, names Bishop Burnet as 'the reputed author of so detestable 'a project.'

in the House of Commons. He is mentioned as moving the committees of ways and means, &c., while Montagu still continued to retain the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Montagu did not resign the chancellorship to Mr Smith until the summer of 1699; when he retreated, in anticipation of their defeat, to the auditorship, to the great dissatisfaction of his party. Harley, at the time that he took this ascendency, let it be supposed that he was himself indifferent to office. 'Some think he would 'not meddle with any employment whatsoever, or, if he would, 'he would not put himself under my Lord Chancellor or Mr 'Montagu, who are still called the ministers, though there are 'none that I see who take upon them any management. I hope 'they will recover again out of their consternation, and the other 'gentlemen do not appear so united as to make a fixed party.' In May, the succeeding year, Vernon remarks, 'What your 'Grace observes of the behaviour of the Whigs, that even while 'they were discountenanced the success of affairs in Parliament 'was in a great measure owing to them, since it was in their 'power to obstruct them if they would, may of late too be said 'of the Tory party, particularly of Mr Harley, who for these 'two years past has given what turn he pleased to the taxes, and 'could have made things worse than they were.' Yet Montagu continued to be regarded as the great champion of the party in the House of Commons; and the King was assuring him at this very time of his favour, and acknowledging that he had done him very acceptable service. Some of the most interesting notices in these volumes relate to Harley. They give a very high idea of his ability in business; but abound in intimations* of those moral qualities which made Bolingbroke declare in later life, that he abhorred him to that degree, that he preferred banishment or death to the necessity of providing for their common safety in concert with him!

There is a great deal of multifarious information, important or amusing, up and down these volumes, besides that vivid picture of party politics to which our attention has principally been directed. Of that picture we have given only the general outline; the reader must go to the Letters themselves for the infinite diversity of its details. The union with Scotland was more than once rejected, with all the false and contemptuous pretences which the wealthy squires of England could object to their poor and

* 'I can't but say that the little gentleman who is gone off the stage, 'was capable of filling the whole world with suspicions.'—February 1708.

(what was in their eyes even worse) their Presbyterian neighbours. On a bill for appointing commissioners to treat of a union being sent from the House of Lords in March 1699, the Commons, by an evident majority of two to one, would not vouchsafe it a second reading. 'It was so impracticable, that the two king-'doms ought not to be amused with it.' Mr Howe said, 'It 'looked like an artifice to bring thirty or forty Scotchmen into 'the House, to supply the places of so many revenue officers that 'were to be dismissed.' A year later, in one of the Darien debates, two other leading Tories, Sir Edward Seymour and Sir Christopher Musgrave, took the opportunity of protesting against a union. 'Sir Edward compared it to a countryman 'that had a wife proposed to him without a fortune, and gave 'this reason for refusing it, that, if he married a beggar, he 'should have a louse for a portion. This the Scotch have heard, 'and are very angry at it.'

A little more obstinacy on the part of the Lords, in standing out against the resumption of Irish grants, (which would have been the case unless the King had interposed with the Archbishop and others,) and the State would probably have foundered in one of those collisions to which legislative bodies of co-ordinate authority are necessarily exposed. The contest (April 1700) is very dramatically described—'When we had the dismal 'news that the Lords had adhered to their amendments, it 'struck us all with consternation, and I believe there was not 'one man in the House that did not think the nation ruined.' A little more steadiness in the Tories, in abiding by their first impressions on the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Whigs might have been put into opposition with the House of Hanover;—their linking and blending in with which was the sole foundation of their future fortunes. (August 1700.)—'People 'begin to open themselves, whether the House of Hanover shall 'be taken into the settlement of the Crown, and, by what I can 'find, we shall make it a party business. It is supposed the 'Tories are for it, and therefore the Whigs must not approve it. 'I hear it said already that the bringing in the House of Hanover 'is a project from Althorpe. If prejudices against persons are to 'destroy the nature of things, I don't know where that will carry 'us.' The Whigs were at first exclusively bent upon re-marrying the King. With reference to the project being odious as coming from Althorpe, it appears by the Shrewsbury papers, (p. 533,) that not only Lord Somers and Lord Shrewsbury, but even Lord Orford and Montagu, would have got over their prejudices against Lord Sunderland. But the *tail* which followed them, as usually happens in such cases, was too strong for them. These pre-

judices disabled the party at this critical period. At the time they were but too natural, considering his former character. But we have now the means of knowing, through the Shrewsbury papers, and the present correspondence, that in these latter transactions, as far as regarded party politics, they were certainly unfounded.

Party spirit made its way even to the sick-room and the death-bed. Millington and Radcliffe, the Whig and Tory doctors, attended Queen Mary: they disagreed: the Whigs, of course, maintained that she had been killed by Radcliffe; the Tories by Millington. They afterwards attended King William, and disagreed again of course. One of their consultations is reported by Vernon. Radcliffe was wrong as to the time of the King's death, having told some of his confidants it would take place within three months. But he was in the right as to the cause, when it took place, nearly two years afterwards;—deperition of the lungs. Millington had advised garlic. 'Radcliffe says, that 'will destroy lungs so weak as the king's; and Millington thinks 'the king's lungs the soundest part about him. The first says 'the king will be worse for going to sea; and the other says he 'will be better for going to Loo: both those opinions may be 'well enough consistent. But Millington, happening to say 'that Dr Hatton ought to be called to the consultation, he being 'the king's first physician, and long acquainted with his consti-'tution, Radcliffe, as if he were frightened at the name, flung 'out of the room in a passion, and so they broke up, resolving 'on nothing.' So much for the consultations of King William's doctors. From what we have seen, we may be pretty sure that his cabinet councils often ended in the same fashion.

Next to Somers, Chief-Justice Holt was the most eminent lawyer of the age—indeed the most eminent person in it, except their common master. The pretensions recently put forward on the ground of privilege of Parliament, give additional interest to any contemporary record of his successive contests with both Houses. It is fortunate that the natural jealousy which the two Houses entertain of each other, offers in these cases some security to the public, if not against the making, yet certainly against the successful asserting, of unwarrantable claims. Holt, in the Banbury case, was protected by the Commons against the Lords; as afterwards, in the Aylesbury case, by the Lords against the Commons. 'My 'Lord Chief-Justice and Justice Eyre kept to their point, not to 'inform the House of the reasons of their judgment in Lord Ban-'bury's case. If the judgments they gave showed a weakness in 'them, it might be a reason to the King for displacing them; or, if 'they were guilty of corruption, there was another way of pro-

'viding against them; and, if their judgments were disliked, they 'might be reversed by writ of error. But they could not sub- 'mit to be schooled and catechised for all that they delivered 'upon the bench, where they were entrusted with the execution 'of the laws, and the dispensing of justice, and acted upon their 'oaths. All concluded, if they should be sent to the Tower, it 'must end the sessions too, since the House of Commons would 'not bear it. He is very indifferent what resolutions they take, 'and thinks he has been so ill-used already, that he is weary of 'the place.'—(February 1698.)

The Aylesbury case was in this respect a repetition of Lord Banbury's; only that the oppressors and protectors of the independence of courts of justice had changed sides. 'The Lords 'have prepared a long representation of the Aylesbury case, in 'which my Lord Chief-Justice Holt's argument will be inserted 'at length, which he spoke in the House of Lords, in defence of 'himself, for giving that judgment. It is said upon it, that he 'now leads the House of Commons in triumph, as he did for- 'merly the House of Lords. The Commons will not have time 'to reply to them now; but, perhaps, they will not forget them 'when they meet again, which makes it very problematical 'whether, in this state, there should be a new parliament or not; 'and how animosities that are arisen so high can be composed.' —(March 1704.) On these discreditable and perilous collisions, we will only add that Lord Somers (in Swift's judgment, 'the 'greatest man of the robe he ever knew') had no sympathy with the superstition, that the public has any interest in leaving the sphere of parliamentary privilege indefinite and obscure. The dangers which Somers had seen arise from this very cause, were sufficient to make a man of a hundredth part of his prudence, 'lament that the prerogative of the crown, or the privileges of 'parliament, should ever be liable to dispute in any single branch 'of either.'

The Tory Bill, demanding a qualification in land for both Borough and County members, was a much more barefaced party measure than the bill against corporation regulators; since there was no pretence that there was any previous injustice to be counteracted by it, and since it was equally directed towards a party object—that of disqualifying the new monied interest, in which the strength of the Whigs principally lay. The Tories had, during the reigns of William and of Anne, a much greater dread of the competition of the monied interest than their successors have at present of the manufacturing.

'The Bill of Elections is driven on furiously by those who aim at making sure of the next parliament, now they despair of this. The

landed gentlemen show a fondness for this bill, and would not hear of a clause to qualify men by their personal estate. Mr Cowper, the lawyer, has yet further provoked them by saying, that an active man who employed L.5000 in trade, was every whit as fit to be a member there, as a country gentleman of L.200 a-year, who spent all his time in hawking and hunting, and was over head and ears in debt. My Lord Norreys answered him, that he was one of those country gentlemen, but thought himself as fit to sit there as those who were used to take money for their opinion. Mr Howe overslipped himself, and happened to open the design further than he should have done,—saying this bill was but the first step to a good parliament, and he hoped they should advance it a little further hereafter. So that it is visibly intended they will qualify their members hereafter, that the choice shall lie in a very narrow compass, and we are to have a senate of patricians. I know not whether the Lords will not think themselves concerned to look after it.'—(November 1696.)

These volumes contain several curious particulars concerning the Place Bills of that period, the experiment for voting by Ballot in the House of Commons, the different proceedings connected with the attainder of Sir John Fenwick, with a good deal about Pope's scrivener and city knight—Duncombe, the purchaser of Helmsley—and no small sprinkling of the fictions and stratagems of Lord Peterborough. But we cannot at present advert to these passages.

We must not, however, take leave of so careless and irregular a publication, without venturing to express a wish that the Duke of Buccleuch may complete the act of liberality which was begun by the late Duchess, and take measures for publishing the Vernon Correspondence in a more authentic shape.

ART. V.—*Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Bengal.* Compiled from Original Papers, by the Rev. G. R. GLEIG, M.A. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1841.

THIS book seems to have been manufactured in pursuance of a contract, by which the representatives of Warren Hastings, on the one part, bound themselves to furnish papers, and Mr Gleig, on the other part, bound himself to furnish praise. It is but just to say that the covenants on both sides have been most faithfully kept; and the result is before us in the form of three big bad volumes, full of undigested correspondence and undiscerning panegyric.

If it were worth while to examine this performance in detail, we could easily make a long article by merely pointing out inaccurate statements, inelegant expressions, and immoral doctrines. But it would be idle to waste criticism on a bookmaker; and, whatever credit Mr Gleig may have justly earned by former works, it is as a bookmaker, and nothing more, that he now comes before us. More eminent men than Mr Gleig have written nearly as ill as he, when they have stooped to similar drudgery. It would be unjust to estimate Goldsmith by the Vicar of Wakefield, or Scott by the Life of Napoleon. Mr Gleig is neither a Goldsmith nor a Scott; but it would be unjust to deny that he is capable of something better than these Memoirs. It would also, we hope and believe, be unjust to charge any Christian minister with the guilt of deliberately maintaining some propositions which we find in this book. It is not too much to say, that Mr Gleig has written several passages, which bear the same relation to the 'Prince' of Machiavelli that the 'Prince' of Machiavelli bears to the 'Whole Duty of Man,' and which would excite amazement in a den of robbers, or on board of a schooner of pirates. But we are willing to attribute these offences to haste, to thoughtlessness, and to that disease of the understanding which may be called the *Furor Biographicus*, and which is to writers of lives what the *goître* is to an Alpine shepherd, or dirt-eating to a Negro slave.

We are inclined to think that we shall best meet the wishes of our readers, if, instead of dwelling on the faults of this book, we attempt to give, in a way necessarily hasty and imperfect, our own view of the life and character of Mr Hastings. Our feeling towards him is not exactly that of the House of Commons which impeached him in 1787; neither is it that of the House of Commons which uncovered and stood up to receive

him in 1813. He had great qualities, and he rendered great services to the state. But to represent him as a man of stainless virtue, is to make him ridiculous; and from regard for his memory, if from no other feeling, his friends would have done well to lend no countenance to such puerile adulation. We believe that, if he were now living, he would have sufficient judgment and sufficient greatness of mind to wish to be shown as he was. He must have known that there were dark spots on his fame. He might also have felt with pride, that the splendour of his fame would bear many spots. He would have preferred, we are confident, even the severity of Mr Mill to the puffing of Mr Gleig. He would have wished posterity to have a likeness of him, though an unfavourable likeness, rather than a daub at once insipid and unnatural, resembling neither him nor any body else. 'Paint me as I am,' said Oliver Cromwell, while sitting to young Lely. 'If you leave out the scars and wrinkles, I will not pay you 'a shilling.' Even in such a trifle, the great Protector showed both his good sense and his magnanimity. He did not wish all that was characteristic in his countenance to be lost, in the vain attempt to give him the regular features and smooth blooming cheeks of the curl-pated minions of James the First. He was content that his face should go forth marked with all the blemishes which had been put on it by time, by war, by sleepless nights, by anxiety, perhaps by remorse; but with valour, policy, authority, and public care, written in all its princely lines. If men truly great knew their own interest, it is thus that they would wish their minds to be portrayed.

Warren Hastings sprang from an ancient and illustrious race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea-king, whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British channel; and who, after many fierce and doubtful struggles, yielded at last to the valour and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendour of the line of Hastings, needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet of Pembroke. From another branch sprang the renowned Chamberlain, the faithful adherent of the White Rose, whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to poets and to historians. His family received from the Tudors the earldom of Huntingdon; which, after long dispossession, was regained in our time by a series of events scarcely paralleled in romance.

The lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock, indeed, prospered less than some of the younger shoots. But the Daylesford family, though not ennobled, was

wealthy and highly considered, till, about two hundred years ago, it was overwhelmed in the great ruin of the civil war. The Hastings of that time was a zealous cavalier. He raised money on his lands, sent his plate to the mint at Oxford, joined the royal army, and, after spending half his property in the cause of King Charles, was glad to ransom himself by making over most of the remaining half to Speaker Lenthal. The old seat at Daylesford still remained in the family; but it could no longer be kept up; and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London.

Before the transfer took place, the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented his second son to the rectory of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood. The living was of little value; and the situation of the poor clergyman, after the sale of the estate, was deplorable. He was constantly engaged in lawsuits about his tithes with the new lord of the manor, and was at length utterly ruined. His eldest son, Howard, a well-conducted young man, obtained a place in the Customs. The second son, Pynaston, an idle worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and went to the West Indies, where he died, leaving to the care of his unfortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune.

Warren, the son of Pynaston, was born on the 6th of December 1732. His mother died a few days later, and he was left dependent on his distressed grandfather. The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry. Nor did any thing in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The very ploughmen observed, and long remembered, how kindly little Warren took to his book. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his progenitors—of their splendid housekeeping, their loyalty, and their valour. On one bright summer day, the boy, then just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rivulet which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Isis. There, as threescore and ten years later he told the tale, rose in his mind a scheme which, through all the turns of his eventful career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate which had belonged to his fathers. He would be Hastings of Daylesford.

This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable force of will, which was the most striking peculiarity of his character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford. And when his long public life, so singularly chequered with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, had at length closed for ever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die.

When he was eight years old, his uncle, Howard, determined to take charge of him, and to give him a liberal education. The boy went up to London, and was sent to a school at Newington, where he was well taught but ill fed. He always attributed the smallness of his stature to the hard and scanty fare of this seminary. At ten he was removed to Westminster school, then flourishing under the care of Dr Nichols. Vinny Bourne, as his pupils affectionately called him, was one of the masters. Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, were among the students. With Cowper, Hastings formed a friendship which neither the lapse of time, nor a wide dissimilarity of opinions and pursuits, could wholly dissolve. It does not appear that they ever met after they had grown to manhood. But many years later, when the voices of a crowd of great orators were crying for vengeance on the oppressor of India, the shy and secluded poet could image to himself Hastings the Governor-General, only as the Hastings with whom he had rowed on the Thames and played in the cloister; and refused to believe that so good-tempered a fellow could have done any thing very wrong. His own life had been spent in praying, musing, and rhyming among the water-lilies of the Ouse. He had preserved in no common measure the innocence of childhood. His spirit had indeed been severely tried, but not by temptations which impelled him to any gross violation of the rules of social morality. He had never been attacked by combinations of powerful and deadly enemies. He had never been compelled to make a choice between innocence and greatness, between crime and ruin. Firmly as he held in theory the doctrine of human depravity, his habits were such, that he was unable to conceive how far from the path of right, even kind and noble natures may be hurried by the rage of conflict and the lust of dominion.

Hastings had another associate at Westminster, of whom we shall have occasion to make frequent mention—Elijah Impey. We know little about their school days. But we think we may safely venture to guess that, whenever Hastings wished to play

any trick more than usually naughty, he hired Impey with a tart or a ball to act as fag in the worst part of the prank.

Warren was distinguished among his comrades as an excellent swimmer, boatman, and scholar. At fourteen he was first in the examination for the foundation. His name in gilded letters on the walls of the dormitory, still attests his victory over many older competitors. He stayed two years longer at the school, and was looking forward to a studentship at Christ Church, when an event happened which changed the whole course of his life. Howard Hastings died, bequeathing his nephew to the care of a friend and distant relation, named Chiswick. This gentleman, though he did not absolutely refuse the charge, was desirous to rid himself of it as soon as possible. Dr Nichols made strong remonstrances against the cruelty of interrupting the studies of a youth who seemed likely to be one of the first scholars of the age. He even offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. But Mr Chiswick was inflexible. He thought the years which had already been wasted on hexameters and pentameters quite sufficient. He had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune, or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to any body. Warren was accordingly removed from Westminster school, and placed for a few months at a commercial academy, to study arithmetic and book-keeping. In January 1750, a few days after he had completed his seventeenth year, he sailed for Bengal, and arrived at his destination in the October following.

He was immediately placed at a desk in the Secretary's office at Calcutta, and laboured there during two years. Fort William was then a purely commercial settlement. In the south of India the encroaching policy of Dupleix had transformed the servants of the English company, against their will, into diplomatists and generals. The war of the succession was raging in the Carnatic; and the tide had been suddenly turned against the French by the genius of young Robert Clive. But in Bengal, the European settlers, at peace with the natives and with each other, were wholly occupied with Ledgers and Bills of lading.

After two years passed in keeping accounts at Calcutta, Hastings was sent up the country to Cossimbazar, a town which lies on the Hoogly, about a mile from Moorshedabad, and which then bore to Moorshedabad a relation, if we may compare small things with great, such as the city of London

bears to Westminster. Moorshedabad was the abode of the prince who, by an authority ostensibly derived from the Mogul, but really independent, ruled the three great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. At Moorshedabad were the court, the haram, and the public offices. Cossimbazar was a port and a place of trade, renowned for the quantity and excellence of the silks which were sold in its marts, and constantly receiving and sending forth fleets of richly laden barges. At this important point, the Company had established a small factory subordinate to that of Fort William. Here, during several years, Hastings was employed in making bargains for stuffs with native brokers. While he was thus engaged, Surajah Dowlah succeeded to the government, and declared war against the English. The defenceless settlement of Cossimbazar, lying close to the tyrant's capital, was instantly seized. Hastings was sent a prisoner to Moorshedabad; but, in consequence of the humane intervention of the servants of the Dutch Company, was treated with indulgence. Meanwhile the Nabob marched on Calcutta; the governor and the commandant fled; the town and citadel were taken, and most of the English prisoners perished in the Black-hole.

In these events originated the greatness of Warren Hastings. The fugitive governor and his companions had taken refuge on the dreary islet of Fulda, near the mouth of the Hoogly. They were naturally desirous to obtain full information respecting the proceedings of the Nabob; and no person seemed so likely to furnish it as Hastings, who was a prisoner at large in the immediate neighbourhood of the court. He thus became a diplomatic agent, and soon established a high character for ability and resolution. The treason which at a later period was fatal to Surajah Dowlah, was already in progress; and Hastings was admitted to the deliberations of the conspirators. But the time for striking had not arrived. It was necessary to postpone the execution of the design; and Hastings, who was now in extreme peril, fled to Fulda.

Soon after his arrival at Fulda, the expedition from Madras, commanded by Clive, appeared in the Hoogly. Warren, young, intrepid, and excited probably by the example of the Commander of the Forces, who, having like himself been a mercantile agent of the Company, had been turned by public calamities into a soldier, determined to serve in the ranks. During the early operations of the war he carried a musket. But the quick eye of Clive soon perceived that the head of the young volunteer would be more useful than his arm. When, after the battle of Plassey, Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Hastings was ap-

pointed to reside at the court of the new prince as agent for the Company. He remained at Moorshedabad till the year 1761, when he became a member of Council, and was consequently forced to reside at Calcutta. This was during the interval between Clive's first and second administration—an interval which has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain, not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government. Mr Vansittart, the Governor, was at the head of a new and anomalous empire. On the one side was a band of English functionaries, daring, intelligent, eager to be rich. On the other side was a great native population, helpless, timid, accustomed to crouch under oppression. To keep the stronger race from preying on the weaker, was an undertaking which tasked to the utmost the talents and energy of Clive. Vansittart, with fair intentions, was a feeble and inefficient ruler. The master caste, as was natural, broke loose from all restraint; and then was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilization without its mercy. To all other despotism there is a check: imperfect indeed, and liable to gross abuse, but still sufficient to preserve society from the last extreme of misery. A time comes when the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance; when fear itself begets a sort of courage; when a convulsive burst of popular rage and despair warns tyrants not to presume too far on the patience of mankind. But against misgovernment such as then afflicted Bengal, it was impossible to struggle. The superior intelligence and energy of the dominant class made their power irresistible. A war of Bengalees against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, of men against demons. The only protection which the conquered could find was in the moderation, the clemency, the enlarged policy of the conquerors. That protection, at a later period, they found. But at first, English power came among them unaccompanied by English morality. There was an interval between the time at which they became our subjects, and the time at which we began to reflect that we were bound to discharge towards them the duties of rulers. During that interval, the business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring out of the natives a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds as speedily as possible, that he might return home before his constitution had suffered from the heat, to marry a peer's daughter, to buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall, and to give balls in St James's Square. Of the conduct of Hastings at this time, little is known; but the little that is known, and the circumstance that little is known, must be considered as honourable to him. He

could not protect the natives: all that he could do was, to abstain from plundering and oppressing them; and this he appears to have done. It is certain that at this time he continued poor; and it is equally certain, that by cruelty and dishonesty he might easily have become rich. It is certain that he was never charged with having borne a share in the abuses which then prevailed; and it is almost equally certain that, if he had borne a share in those abuses, the able and bitter enemies who afterwards persecuted him, would not have failed to discover and to proclaim his guilt. The keen, severe, and even malevolent scrutiny to which his whole public life was subjected—a scrutiny unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of mankind—is in one respect, advantageous to his reputation. It brought many lamentable blemishes to light; but it entitles him to be considered pure from every blemish which has not been brought to light.

The truth is that the temptations to which so many English functionaries yielded in the time of Mr Vansittart, were not temptations addressed to the ruling passions of Warren Hastings. He was not squeamish in pecuniary transactions; but he was neither sordid nor rapacious. He was far too enlightened a man to look on a great empire merely as a bucanier would look on a galleon. Had his heart been much worse than it was, his understanding would have preserved him from that extremity of baseness. He was an unscrupulous, perhaps an unprincipled statesman; but still he was a statesman, and not a freebooter.

In 1764, Hastings returned to England. He had realized only a very moderate fortune; and that moderate fortune was soon reduced to nothing, partly by his praiseworthy liberality, and partly by his mismanagement. Towards his relations he appears to have acted very generously. The greater part of his savings he left in Bengal, hoping probably to obtain the high usury of India. But high usury and bad security generally go together; and Hastings lost both interest and principal.

He remained four years in England. Of his life at this time very little is known. But it has been asserted, and is highly probable, that liberal studies, and the society of men of letters occupied a great part of his time. It is to be remembered to his honour, that in days when the languages of the East were regarded by other servants of the Company merely as the means of communicating with weavers and money-changers, his enlarged and accomplished mind sought in Asiatic learning for new forms of intellectual enjoyment, and for new views of government and society. Perhaps, like most persons who have paid much attention to departments of knowledge which lie out of the common track, he was inclined to overrate the value of his favourite studies. He

conceived that the cultivation of Persian literature might with advantage be made a part of the liberal education of an English gentleman; and he drew up a plan with that view. It is said that the University of Oxford, in which Oriental learning had never, since the revival of letters, been wholly neglected, was to be the seat of the institution which he contemplated. An endowment was expected from the munificence of the Company; and professors thoroughly competent to interpret Hafiz and Ferdusi were to be engaged in the East. Hastings called on Johnson, with the hope, as it should seem, of interesting in his project a man who enjoyed the highest literary reputation, and who was particularly connected with Oxford. The interview appears to have left on Johnson's mind a most favourable impression of the talents and attainments of his visiter. Long after, when Hastings was ruling the immense population of British India, the old philosopher wrote to him, and referred in the most courtly terms, though with great dignity, to their short but agreeable intercourse.

Hastings soon began to look again towards India. He had little to attach him to England; and his pecuniary embarrassments were great. He solicited his old masters the Directors for employment. They acceded to his request, with high compliments both to his abilities and to his integrity, and appointed him a Member of Council at Madras. It would be unjust not to mention, that though forced to borrow money for his outfit, he did not withdraw any portion of the sum which he had appropriated to the relief of his distressed relations. In the spring of 1769 he embarked on board of the 'Duke of Grafton,' and commenced a voyage distinguished by incidents which might furnish matter for a novel.

Among the passengers in the 'Duke of Grafton' was a German of the name of Imhoff. He called himself a baron, but he was in distressed circumstances; and was going out to Madras as a portrait painter, in the hope of picking up some of the pagodas which were then lightly got and as lightly spent by the English in India. The baron was accompanied by his wife, a native, we have somewhere read, of Archangel. This young woman, who, born under the Arctic circle, was destined to play the part of a Queen under the tropic of Cancer, had an agreeable person, a cultivated mind, and manners in the highest degree engaging. She despised her husband heartily, and, as the story which we have to tell sufficiently proves, not without reason. She was interested by the conversation and flattered by the attentions of Hastings. The situation was indeed perilous. No place is so propitious to the formation either of close friendships, or of deadly

enmities as an Indiaman. There are very few people who do not find a voyage which lasts several months insupportably dull. Any thing is welcome which may break that long monotony—a sail, a shark, an albatross, a man overboard. Most passengers find some resource in eating twice as many meals as on land. But the great devices for killing the time are, quarrelling, and flirting. The facilities for both these exciting pursuits are great. The inmates of the ship are thrown together far more than in any country-seat or boarding-house. None can escape from the rest except by imprisoning himself in a cell in which he can hardly turn. All food, all exercise, is taken in company. Ceremony is to a great extent banished. It is every day in the power of a mischievous person to inflict innumerable annoyances; it is every day in the power of an amiable person to confer little services. It not seldom happens that serious distress and danger call forth in genuine beauty and deformity heroic virtues and abject vices, which, in the ordinary intercourse of good society, might remain during many years unknown even to intimate associates. Under such circumstances met Warren Hastings and the Baroness Imhoff; two persons whose accomplishments would have attracted notice in any court of Europe. The gentleman had no domestic ties. The lady was tied to a husband for whom she had no regard, and who had no regard for his own honour. An attachment sprang up, which was soon strengthened by events such as could hardly have occurred on land. Hastings fell ill. The baroness nursed him with womanly tenderness, gave him his medicines with her own hand, and even sate up in his cabin while he slept. Long before the 'Duke of Grafton' reached Madras, Hastings was in love. But his love was of a most characteristic description. Like his hatred, like his ambition, like all his passions, it was strong, but not impetuous. It was calm, deep, earnest, patient of delay, unconquerable by time. Imhoff was called into council by his wife and his wife's lover. It was arranged that the baroness should institute a suit for a divorce in the courts of Franconia; that the baron should afford every facility to the proceeding; and that, during the years which might elapse before the sentence should be pronounced, they should continue to live together. It was also agreed that Hastings should bestow some very substantial marks of gratitude on the complaisant husband; and should, when the marriage was dissolved, make the lady his wife, and adopt the children whom she had already born to Imhoff.

We are not inclined to judge either Hastings or the baroness severely. There was undoubtedly much to extenuate their fault. But we can by no means concur with the Rev. Mr Gleig, who

carries his partiality to so injudicious an extreme, as to describe the conduct of Imhoff—conduct the baseness of which is the best excuse for the lovers—as 'wise and judicious.'

At Madras, Hastings found the trade of the Company in a very disorganized state. His own tastes would have led him rather to political than to commercial pursuits; but he knew that the favour of his employers depended chiefly on their dividends, and their dividends depended chiefly on the investment. He therefore, with great judgment, determined to apply his vigorous mind for a time to this department of business; which had been much neglected, since the servants of the Company had ceased to be clerks, and had become warriors and negotiators.

In a very few months he effected an important reform. The Directors notified to him their high approbation, and were so much pleased with his conduct, that they determined to place him at the head of the government of Bengal. Early in 1772 he quitted Fort St George for his new post. The Imhoffs, who were still man and wife, accompanied him, and lived at Calcutta 'on the same wise and judicious plan' (we quote the words of Mr Gleig) which they had already followed during more than two years.

When Hastings took his seat at the head of the council-board, Bengal was still governed according to the system which Clive had devised—a system which was, perhaps, skilfully contrived for the purpose of facilitating and concealing a great revolution, but which, when that revolution was complete and irrevocable, could produce nothing but inconvenience. There were two governments, the real and the ostensible. The supreme power belonged to the Company, and was in truth the most despotic power that can be conceived. The only restraint on the English masters of the country was that which their own justice and humanity imposed on them. There was no constitutional check on their will, and resistance to them was utterly hopeless.

But though thus absolute in reality, the English had not yet assumed the style of sovereignty. They held their territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi; they raised their revenues as collectors appointed by the imperial commission; their public seal was inscribed with the imperial titles; and their mint struck only the imperial coin.

There was still a nabob of Bengal, who stood to the English rulers of his country in the same relation in which Augustulus stood to Odoacer, or the last Merovingians to Charles Martel and Pepin. He lived at Moorshedabad, surrounded by princely magnificence. He was approached with the outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments; but in

the government of the country he had less real share than the youngest writer or cadet in the Company's service.

The English council which represented the Company at Calcutta, was constituted on a very different plan from that which has since been adopted. At present the Governor is, as to all executive measures, absolute. He can declare war, conclude peace, appoint public functionaries or remove them, in opposition to the unanimous sense of those who sit with him in council. They are, indeed, entitled to know all that is done, to discuss all that is done, to advise, to remonstrate, to send home protests. But it is with the governor that the supreme power resides, and on him that the whole responsibility rests. This system, which was introduced by Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr Burke, we conceive to be on the whole the best that was ever devised for the government of a country where no materials can be found for a representative constitution. In the time of Hastings the governor had only one vote in council, and, in case of an equal division, a casting vote. It therefore happened not unfrequently that he was overruled on the gravest questions; and it was possible that he might be wholly excluded, for years together, from the real direction of public affairs.

The English functionaries at Fort William had as yet paid little or no attention to the internal government of Bengal. The only branch of politics with which they much busied themselves was negotiation with the native princes. The police, the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue, they almost entirely neglected. We may remark that the phraseology of the Company's servants still bears the traces of this state of things. To this day they always use the word 'political' as synonymous with 'diplomatic.' We could name a gentleman still living, who was described by the highest authority as an invaluable public servant, eminently fit to be at the head of the departments of finance, revenue, and justice, but unfortunately quite ignorant of all political business.

The internal government of Bengal the English rulers delegated to a great native minister, who was stationed at Moorshedabad. All military affairs, and, with the exception of what pertains to mere ceremonial, all foreign affairs, were withdrawn from his control; but the other departments of the administration were entirely confided to him. His own stipend amounted to near a hundred thousand pounds sterling a-year. The civil list of the nabobs, amounting to more than three hundred thousand pounds a-year, passed through the minister's hands, and

was, to a great extent, at his disposal. The collection of the revenue, the superintendence of the household of the prince, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were left to this high functionary; and for the exercise of his immense power he was responsible to none but the British masters of the country.

A situation so important, lucrative, and splendid, was naturally an object of ambition to the ablest and most powerful natives. Clive had found it difficult to decide between conflicting pretensions. Two candidates stood out prominently from the crowd, each of them the representative of a race and of a religion.

The one was Mahommed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of Persian extraction, able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them. In England, he might perhaps have been regarded as a corrupt and greedy politician. But tried by the lower standard of Indian morality, he might be considered as a man of integrity and honour.

His competitor was a Hindoo Brahmin, whose name has, by a terrible and melancholy event, been inseparably associated with that of Warren Hastings—the Maharajah Nuncomar. This man had played an important part in all the revolutions which, since the time of Surajah Dowlah, had taken place in Bengal. To the consideration which in that country belongs to high and pure caste, he added the weight which is derived from wealth, talents, and experience. Of his moral character it is difficult to give a notion to those who are acquainted with human nature only as it appears in our island. What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalees. The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity, are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness, for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak, are more familiar to this subtle race than to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal, or to the Jew of the dark ages. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek

song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities, or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purposes, yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which is often wanting in his masters. To inevitable evils he is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. An European warrior who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah, will shriek under the surgeon's knife, and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death. But the Bengalee who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonoured, without having the spirit to strike one blow, has yet been known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sydney.

In Nuncomar, the national character was strongly and with exaggeration personified. The Company's servants had repeatedly detected him in the most criminal intrigues. On one occasion he brought a false charge against another Hindoo, and tried to substantiate it by producing forged documents. On another occasion it was discovered that, while professing the strongest attachment to the English, he was engaged in several conspiracies against them; and in particular that he was the medium of a correspondence between the court of Delhi and the French authorities in the Carnatic. For these and similar practices, he had been long detained in confinement. But his talents and influence had not only procured his liberation, but had obtained for him a certain degree of consideration even among the British rulers of his country.

Clive was extremely unwilling to place a Mussulman at the head of the administration of Bengal. On the other hand, he could not bring himself to confer immense power on a man to whom every sort of villany had repeatedly been brought home. Therefore, though the nabob, over whom Nuncomar had by intrigue acquired great influence, begged that the artful Hindoo might be intrusted with the government, Clive, after some hesitation, decided honestly and wisely in favour of Mahommed Reza Khan, who had held his high office seven years when

Hastings became Governor. An infant son of Meer Jaffier was now naboh; and the guardianship of the young prince's person had been confided to the minister.

Nuncomar, stimulated at once by cupidity and malice, had been constantly attempting to undermine his successful rival. This was not difficult. The revenues of Bengal, under the administration established by Clive, did not yield such a surplus as had been anticipated by the Company; for, at that time, the most absurd notions were entertained in England respecting the wealth of India. Palaces of porphyry, hung with the richest brocade, heaps of pearls and diamonds, vaults from which pagodas and gold mohurs were measured out by the bushel, filled the imagination even of men of business. Nobody seemed to be aware of what nevertheless was most undoubtedly the truth, that India was a much poorer country than countries which in Europe are reckoned poor—than Ireland, for example, than Portugal, or than Sweden. It was confidently believed by Lords of the Treasury and Members for the City, that Bengal would not only defray its own charges, but would afford an increased dividend to the proprietors of India stock, and large relief to the English finances. These absurd expectations were disappointed; and the directors, naturally enough, chose to attribute the disappointment rather to the mismanagement of Mahommed Reza Khan, than to their own ignorance of the country intrusted to their care. They were confirmed in their error by the agents of Nuncomar; for Nuncomar had agents even in Leadenhall Street. Soon after Hastings reached Calcutta, he received a letter addressed by the Court of Directors, not to the council generally, but to himself in particular. He was directed to remove Mahommed Reza Khan, to arrest him, together with all his family and all his partizans, and to institute a strict enquiry into the whole administration of the province. It was added, that the Governor would do well to avail himself of the assistance of Nuncomar in the investigation. The vices of Nuncomar were acknowledged. But even from his vices, it was said, much advantage might at such a conjuncture be derived; and, though he could not safely be trusted, it might still be proper to encourage him by hopes of reward.

The Governor bore no good-will to Nuncomar. Many years before, they had known each other at Moorshedabad; and then a quarrel had risen between them, which all the authority of their superiors could hardly compose. Widely as they differed in most points, they resembled each other in this, that both were men of unforgiving natures. To Mahommed Reza Khan, on the other hand, Hastings had no feelings of hostility. Nevertheless

he proceeded to execute the instructions of the Company with an alacrity which he never showed, except when instructions were in perfect conformity with his own views. He had, wisely as we think, determined to get rid of the system of double government in Bengal. The orders of the directors furnished him with the means of effecting his purpose, and dispensed him from the necessity of discussing the matter with his council. He took his measures with his usual vigour and dexterity. At midnight, the palace of Mahommed Reza Khan, at Moorshedabad, was surrounded by a battalion of sepoys. The minister was roused from his slumbers, and informed that he was a prisoner. With the Mussulman gravity, he bent his head and submitted himself to the will of God. He fell not alone. A chief named Schitab Roy had been intrusted with the government of Bahar. His valour and his attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. On that memorable day on which the people of Patna saw from their walls the whole army of the Mogul scattered by the little band of Captain Knox, the voice of the British conquerors assigned the palm of gallantry to the brave Asiatic. 'I never,' said Knox, when he introduced Schitab Roy, covered with blood and dust, to the English functionaries assembled in the factory—'I never saw a native fight so before.' Schitab Roy was involved in the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan, was deprived of his government, and was placed under arrest. The members of the council received no intimation of these measures till the prisoners were on their road to Calcutta.

The enquiry into the conduct of the minister was postponed on different pretences. He was detained in an easy confinement during many months. In the mean time, the great revolution which Hastings had planned was carried into effect. The office of minister was abolished. The internal administration was transferred to the servants of the Company. A system—a very imperfect system, it is true—of civil and criminal justice, under English superintendence, was established. The nabob was no longer to have even an ostensible share in the government; but he was still to receive a considerable annual allowance, and to be surrounded with the state of sovereignty. As he was an infant, it was necessary to provide guardians for his person and property. His person was intrusted to a lady of his father's haram, known by the name of the Munny Begum. The office of treasurer of the household was bestowed on a son of Nuncomar, named Goordas. Nuncomar's services were wanted, yet he could not safely be trusted with power; and Hastings thought it a masterstroke of policy to reward the able and unprincipled parent by promoting the inoffensive child.

The revolution completed, the double government dissolved, the Company installed in the full sovereignty of Bengal, Hastings had no motive to treat the late ministers with rigour. Their trial had been put off on various pleas till the new organization was complete. They were then brought before a committee, over which the Governor presided. Schitab Roy was speedily acquitted with honour. A formal apology was made to him for the restraint to which he had been subjected. All the Eastern marks of respect were bestowed on him. He was clothed in a robe of honour, presented with jewels and with a richly harnessed elephant, and sent back in state to Patna. But his health had suffered from confinement; his high spirit had been cruelly wounded; and soon after his liberation he died of a broken heart.

The innocence of Mahommed Reza Khan was not so clearly established. But the Governor was not disposed to deal harshly. After a long hearing, in which Nuncomar appeared as the accuser, and displayed both the art and the inveterate rancour which distinguished him, Hastings pronounced that the charges had not been made out, and ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty.

Nuncomar had purposed to destroy the Mussulman administration, and to rise on its ruins. Both his malevolence and his cupidity had been disappointed. Hastings had made him a tool—had used him for the purpose of accomplishing the transfer of the government from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, from native to European hands. The rival, the enemy, so long envied, so implacably persecuted, had been dismissed unhurt. The situation so long and ardently desired had been abolished. It was natural that the Governor should be from that time an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brahmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to suppress such feelings. The time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle.

In the mean time, Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The finances of his government were in an embarrassed state; and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means, fair or foul. The principle which directed all his dealings with his neighbours is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale—'Thou shalt want ere I want.' He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition which could not be disputed, that when he had not as many lacs of rupees as the public service required, he was to take them from any body who had. One

thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home, was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood—such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. It is perfectly true, that the directors never enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters at that time, will find there, many just and humane sentiments, many excellent precepts; in short, an admirable circle of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. 'Govern 'leniently, and send more money; practise strict justice and mo-'deration towards neighbouring powers, and send more money;' this is in truth the sum of almost all the instructions that Hastings ever received from home. Now, these instructions being interpreted, mean simply, 'Be the father and the oppressor of 'the people; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious.' The directors dealt with India, as the church, in the good old times, dealt with a heretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness might be shown. We by no means accuse or suspect those who framed these despatches of hypocrisy. It is probable that, writing fifteen thousand miles from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they never perceived the gross inconsistency of which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their lieutenant at Calcutta, who, with an empty treasury, with an unpaid army, with his own salary often in arrear, with deficient crops, with government tenants daily running away, was called upon to remit home another half million without fail. Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon; and he correctly judged, that the safest course would be to neglect the Sermons and to find the Rupees.

A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious scruples, speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal was reduced at a stroke from L.320,000 a-year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near L.300,000 a-year to the Great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had intrusted to their care; and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these con-

cessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Allahabad and Corah. The situation of these places was such, that there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. The rich province of Oude had, in the general dissolution of the Mogul Empire, fallen to the share of the great Mussulman house, by which it is still governed. About twenty years ago, this house, by the permission of the British government, assumed the royal title; but, in the time of Warren Hastings, such an assumption would have been considered by the Mahommedans of India as a monstrous impiety. The Prince of Oude, though he held the power, did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of nabob or viceroy, he added that of vizier of the monarchy of Hindostan—just as in the last century the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, though independent of the Emperor, and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his Grand Chamberlain and Grand Marshal. Sujah Dowlah, then nabob vizier, was on excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him, and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an understanding; and the provinces which had been torn from the Mogul were made over to the government of Oude for about half a million sterling.

But there was another matter still more important to be settled by the vizier and the Governor. The fate of a brave people was to be decided. It was decided in a manner which has left a lasting stain on the fame of Hastings and of England.

The people of Central Asia had always been to the inhabitants of India, what the warriors of the German forests were to the subjects of the decaying monarchy of Rome. The dark, slender, and timid Hindoo shrank from a conflict with the strong muscle and resolute spirit of the fair race, which dwelt beyond the passes. There is reason to believe that, at a period anterior to the dawn of regular history, the people who spoke the rich and flexible Sanscrit came from regions lying far beyond the Hyphasis and the Hystaspes, and imposed their yoke on the children of the soil. It is certain that, during the last ten centuries, a succession of invaders descended from the west on Hindostan; nor was the course of conquest ever turned back towards the setting sun, till that memorable campaign, in which the cross of Saint George was planted on the walls of Ghizni.

The emperors of Hindostan themselves came from the other side of the great mountain ridge; and it had always been their

practice to recruit their army from the hardy and valiant race from which their own illustrious house sprang. Among the military adventurers who were allured to the Mogul standards from the neighbourhood of Cabul and Candahar, were conspicuous several gallant bands, known by the name of the Rohillas. Their services had been rewarded with large tracts of land—fiefs of the spear, if we may use an expression drawn from an analogous state of things—in that fertile plain through which the Ramgunga flows from the snowy heights of Kumaon to join the Ganges. In the general confusion which followed the death of Aurungzebe, the warlike colony became virtually independent. The Rohillas were distinguished from the other inhabitants of India by a peculiarly fair complexion. They were more honourably distinguished by valour in war, and by skill in the arts of peace. While anarchy raged from Lahore to Cape Comorin, their little territory enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of courage. Agriculture and commerce flourished among them; nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry. Many persons now living have heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days, when the Afghan princes ruled in the vale of Rohilcund.

Sujah Dowlah had set his heart on adding this rich district to his own principality. Right, or show of right, he had absolutely none. His claim was in no respect better founded than that of Catherine to Poland, or that of the Bonaparte family to Spain. The Rohillas held their country by exactly the same title by which he held his; and had governed their country far better than his had ever been governed. Nor were they a people whom it was perfectly safe to attack. Their land was indeed an open plain, destitute of natural defences; but their veins were full of the high blood of Afghanistan. As soldiers, they had not the steadiness which is seldom found except in company with strict discipline; but their impetuous valour had been proved on many fields of battle. It was said that their chiefs, when united by common peril, could bring eighty thousand men into the field. Sujah Dowlah had himself seen them fight, and wisely shrank from a conflict with them. There was in India one army, and only one, against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds, nor the martial ardour of the boldest Asiatic nations, could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible energies of the imperial people—the skill, against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were helpless as infants—the discipline, which had so often triumphed over the frantic struggles of fanaticism and despair—the unconquer-

able British courage, which is never so sedate and stubborn as towards the close of a doubtful and murderous day?

This was what the Nabob Vizier asked, and what Hastings granted. A bargain was soon struck. Each of the negotiators had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the government of Bengal, and to send remittances to London; and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah Dowlah was bent on subjugating the Rohillas; and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the Nabob Vizier, and that, for the loan, he should pay L.400,000 sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service.

'I really cannot see,' says the Rev. Mr Gleig, 'upon what 'grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition de- 'serves to be stigmatized as infamous.' If we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage in war without provocation. In this particular war, scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was this—to deprive a large population, who had never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. Nay, even this is not all. England now descended far below the level even of those petty German princes, who, about the same time, sold us troops to fight the Americans. The hussar-mongers of Hesse and Anspach had at least the assurance that the expeditions on which their soldiers were to be employed, would be conducted in conformity with the humane rules of civilized warfare. Was the Rohilla war likely to be so conducted? Did the Governor stipulate that it should be so conducted? He well knew what Indian warfare was. He well knew that the power which he covenanted to put into Sujah Dowlah's hands, would, in all probability, be atrociously abused; and he required no guarantee, no promise that it should not be so abused. He did not even reserve to himself the right of withdrawing his aid in case of abuse, however gross. Mr Gleig repeats Major Scott's absurd plea, that Hastings was justified in letting out English troops to slaughter the Rohillas, because the Rohillas were not of Indian race, but a colony from a distant country. What were the English themselves? Was it for them to proclaim a crusade for the expulsion of all intruders from the countries watered by the Ganges? Did it lie in their mouths to contend that a foreign settler, who establishes an empire in India, is a *caput lupinum*? What would they have said if any other power had, on such a ground, attacked Madras or Calcutta, without the

slightest provocation? Such a defence was wanting to make the infamy of the transaction complete. The atrocity of the crime, and the hypocrisy of the apology, are worthy of each other.

One of the three brigades of which the Bengal army consisted, was sent under Colonel Champion to join Sujah Dowlah's forces. The Rohillas expostulated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last. A bloody battle was fought. 'The enemy,' says Colonel Champion, 'gave proof of a good share of military knowledge; 'and it is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of 'resolution than they displayed.' The dastardly sovereign of Oude fled from the field. The English were left unsupported; but their fire and their charge were irresistible. It was not, however, till the most distinguished chiefs had fallen, fighting bravely at the head of their troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way. Then the Nabob Vizier and his rabble made their appearance, and hastened to plunder the camp of the valiant enemies, whom they had never dared to look in the face. The soldiers of the Company, trained in an exact discipline, kept unbroken order, while the tents were pillaged by these worthless allies. But many voices were heard to exclaim, 'We have had all the 'fighting, and these rogues are to have all the profit.'

Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him, to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance and their blood, and the honour of their wives and daughters. Colonel Champion remonstrated with the Nabob Vizier, and sent strong representations to Fort William; but the Governor had made no conditions as to the mode in which the war was to be carried on. He had troubled himself about nothing but his forty lacs; and, though he might disapprove of Sujah Dowlah's wanton barbarity, he did not think himself entitled to interfere, except by offering advice. This delicacy excites the admiration of the reverend biographer. 'Mr Hastings,' he says, 'could not himself dictate to the Nabob, nor permit the com- 'mander of the Company's troops to dictate how the war was to 'be carried on.' No, to be sure. Mr Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military resistance crushed, his duties ended; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on, while their villages were burned, their children butchered, and their women violated. Will Mr Gleig seriously maintain this opinion? Is any rule more plain than this, that whoever voluntarily gives

to another irresistible power over human beings, is bound to take order that such power shall not be barbarously abused? But we beg pardon of our readers for arguing a point so clear.

We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah, became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not yet extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth; and even at this day, valour, and self-respect, and a chivalrous feeling, rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race. To this day they are regarded as the best of all sepoys at the cold steel; and it was very recently remarked by one who had enjoyed great opportunities of observation, that the only natives of India to whom the word 'gentleman' can with perfect propriety be applied, are to be found among the Rohillas.

Whatever we may think of the morality of Hastings, it cannot be denied that the financial results of his policy did honour to his talents. In less than two years after he assumed the government, he had, without imposing any additional burdens on the people subject to his authority, added about L.450,000 to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring about a million in ready money. He had also relieved the finances of Bengal from military expenditure, amounting to near L.250,000 a-year, and had thrown that charge on the Nabob of Oude. There can be no doubt that this was a result which, if it had been obtained by honest means, would have entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his country; and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for administration.

In the mean time, Parliament had been engaged in long and grave discussions on Indian affairs. The ministry of Lord North, in the session of 1773, introduced a measure which made a considerable change in the constitution of the Indian government. This law, known by the name of the Regulating Act, provided that the presidency of Bengal should exercise a control over the other possessions of the Company; that the chief of that presidency should be styled Governor-General; that he should be assisted by four councillors; and that a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three inferior judges, should be established at Calcutta. This court was made independent of the Governor-General and council, and was entrusted with a civil and criminal jurisdiction of immense and, at the same time, of undefined extent.

The Governor-General and councillors were named in the act,

and were to hold their situations for five years. Hastings was to be the first Governor-General. One of the four new councillors, Mr Barwell, an experienced servant of the Company, was then in India. The other three, General Clavering, Mr Monson, and Mr Francis, were sent out from England.

The ablest of the new councillors was, beyond all doubt, Philip Francis. His acknowledged compositions prove that he possessed considerable eloquence and information. Several years passed in the public offices had formed him to habits of business. His enemies have never denied that he had a fearless and manly spirit; and his friends, we are afraid, must acknowledge that his estimate of himself was extravagantly high, that his temper was irritable, that his deportment was often rude and petulant, and that his hatred was of intense bitterness, and long duration.

It is scarcely possible to mention this eminent man without adverting for a moment to the question which his name at once suggests to every mind. Was he the author of the Letters of Junius? Our own firm belief is, that he was. The external evidence is, we think, such as would support a verdict in a civil, nay, in a criminal proceeding. The handwriting of Junius is the very peculiar handwriting of Francis, slightly disguised. As to the position, pursuits, and connexions of Junius, the following are the most important facts which can be considered as clearly proved: first, that he was acquainted with the technical forms of the secretary of state's office; secondly, that he was intimately acquainted with the business of the war-office; thirdly, that he, during the year 1770, attended debates in the House of Lords, and took notes of speeches, particularly of the speeches of Lord Chatham; fourthly, that he bitterly resented the appointment of Mr Chamier to the place of deputy secretary-at-war; fifthly, that he was bound by some strong tie to the first Lord Holland. Now, Francis passed some years in the secretary of state's office. He was subsequently chief clerk of the war-office. He repeatedly mentioned that he had himself, in 1770, heard speeches of Lord Chatham; and some of those speeches were actually printed from his notes. He resigned his clerkship at the war-office from resentment at the appointment of Mr Chamier. It was by Lord Holland that he was first introduced into the public service. Now here are five marks, all of which ought to be found in Junius. They are all five found in Francis. We do not believe that more than two of them can be found in any other person whatever. If this argument does not settle the question, there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.

The internal evidence seems to us to point the same way.

The style of Francis bears a strong resemblance to that of Junius; nor are we disposed to admit, what is generally taken for granted, that the acknowledged compositions of Francis are very decidedly inferior to the anonymous letters. The argument from inferiority, at all events, is one which may be urged with at least equal force against every claimant that has ever been mentioned, with the single exception of Burke, who certainly was not Junius. And what conclusion, after all, can be drawn from mere inferiority? Every writer must produce his best work; and the interval between his best work and his second best work may be very wide indeed. Nobody will say that the best letters of Junius are more decidedly superior to the acknowledged works of Francis, than three or four of Corneille's tragedies to the rest; than three or four of Ben Jonson's comedies to the rest; than the Pilgrim's Progress to the other works of Bunyan; than Don Quixote to the other works of Cervantes. Nay, it is certain that the Man in the Mask, whoever he may have been, was a most unequal writer. To go no further than the letters which bear the signature of Junius;—the letter to the king, and the letters to Horne Tooke, have little in common, except the asperity; and asperity was an ingredient seldom wanting either in the writings or in the speeches of Francis.

Indeed, one of the strongest reasons for believing that Francis was Junius, is the moral resemblance between the two men. It is not difficult, from the letters which, under various signatures, are known to have been written by Junius, and from his dealings with Woodfall and others, to form a tolerably correct notion of his character. He was clearly a man not destitute of real patriotism and magnanimity—a man whose vices were not of a sordid kind. But he must also have been a man in the highest degree arrogant and insolent, a man prone to malevolence, and prone to the error of mistaking his malevolence for public virtue. 'Doest thou well to be angry?' was the question asked in old time of the Hebrew prophet. And he answered, 'I do well.' This was evidently the temper of Junius; and to this cause we attribute the savage cruelty which disgraces several of his letters. No man is so merciless as he who, under a strong self-delusion, confounds his antipathies with his duties. It may be added, that Junius, though allied with the democratic party by common enmities, was the very opposite of a democratic politician. While attacking individuals with a ferocity which perpetually violated all the laws of literary warfare, he regarded the most defective parts of old institutions with a respect amounting to pedantry;—pleaded the cause of Old Sarum with fervour, and contemptuously told the capitalists of Manchester and Leeds,

that, if they wanted votes, they might buy land and become freeholders of Lancashire and Yorkshire. All this, we believe, might stand, with scarcely any change, for a character of Philip Francis.

It is not strange that the great anonymous writer should have been willing at that time to leave the country which had been so powerfully stirred by his eloquence. Every thing had gone against him. That party which he clearly preferred to every other, the party of George Grenville, had been scattered by the death of its chief; and Lord Suffolk had led the greater part of it over to the ministerial benches. The ferment produced by the Middlesex election had gone down. Every faction must have been alike an object of aversion to Junius. His opinions on domestic affairs separated him from the ministry; his opinions on colonial affairs from the opposition. Under such circumstances, he had thrown down his pen in misanthropic despair. His farewell letter to Woodfall bears date the 19th of January 1773. In that letter, he declared that he must be an idiot to write again; that he had meant well by the cause and the public; that both were given up; that there were not ten men who would act steadily together on any question. 'But it is all 'alike,' he added, 'vile and contemptible. You have never 'flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of 'your prosperity.' These were the last words of Junius. In a year from that time, Philip Francis was on his voyage to Bengal.

With the three new councillors came out the judges of the Supreme Court. The chief-justice was Sir Elijah Impey. He was an old acquaintance of Hastings; and it is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched through all the inns of court, could not have found an equally serviceable tool. But the members of council were by no means in an obsequious mood. Hastings greatly disliked the new form of government, and had no very high opinion of his coadjutors. They had heard of this, and were disposed to be suspicious and punctilious. When men are in such a frame of mind, any trifle is sufficient to give occasion for dispute. The members of council expected a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William. Hastings allowed them only seventeen. They landed in ill-humour. The first civilities were exchanged with cold reserve. On the morrow commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part on one or the other side.

Hastings was supported by Barwell. They had not always

been friends. But the arrival of the new members of council from England, naturally had the effect of uniting the old servants of the Company. Clavering, Monson, and Francis formed the majority. They instantly wrested the government out of the hands of Hastings; condemned, certainly not without justice, his late dealings with the Nabob Vizier; recalled the English agent from Oude, and sent thither a creature of their own; ordered the brigade which had conquered the unhappy Rohillas to return to the Company's territories; and instituted a severe enquiry into the conduct of the war. Next, in spite of the Governor-General's remonstrances, they proceeded to exercise, in the most indiscreet manner, their new authority over the subordinate presidencies; threw all the affairs of Bombay into confusion; and interfered, with an incredible union of rashness and feebleness, in the intestine disputes of the Mahratta government. At the same time, they fell on the internal administration of Bengal, and attacked the whole fiscal and judicial system —a system which was undoubtedly defective, but which it was very improbable that gentlemen fresh from England would be competent to amend. The effect of their reforms was, that all protection to life and property was withdrawn; and that gangs of robbers plundered and slaughtered with impunity in the very suburbs of Calcutta. Hastings continued to live in the Government-house, and to draw the salary of Governor-General. He continued even to take the lead at the council-board in the transaction of ordinary business; for his opponents could not but feel that he knew much of which they were ignorant, and that he decided, both surely and speedily, many questions which to them would have been hopelessly puzzling. But the higher powers of government, and the most valuable patronage, had been taken from him.

The natives soon found this out. They considered him as a fallen man; and they acted after their kind. Some of our readers may have seen, in India, a cloud of crows pecking a sick vulture to death—no bad type of what happens in that country, as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an instant, all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pander for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favour of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined; and, in twenty-four hours, it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions so full and circumstantial, that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of

some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding-place in his house. Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of his opponents. Immediately charges against the Governor-General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honour knowingly to countenance false accusations; but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware that, in that part of the world, a very little encouragement from power will call forth, in a week, more Oateses, and Bedloes, and Dangerfields, than Westminster Hall sees in a century.

It would have been strange indeed, if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. That bad man was stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on his old enemy, to wreak a grudge of seventeen years, to establish himself in the favour of the majority of the Council, to become the greatest native in Bengal. From the time of the arrival of the new councillors, he had paid the most marked court to them; and had in consequence been excluded, with all indignity, from the Government-house. He now put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. In particular, it was alleged that Mohammed Reza Khan had been dismissed with impunity, in consideration of a great sum paid to the Governor-General.

Francis read the paper in Council. A violent altercation followed. Hastings complained in bitter terms of the way in which he was treated, spoke with contempt of Nuncomar and of Nuncomar's accusation, and denied the right of the council to sit in judgment on the governor. At the next meeting of the Board, another communication from Nuncomar was produced. He requested that he might be permitted to attend the council, and that he might be heard in support of his assertions. Another tempestuous debate took place. The Governor-General maintained that the council-room was not a proper place for such an investigation; that from persons who were heated by daily conflict with him, he could not expect the fairness of judges; and that he could not, without betraying the dignity of his post, submit to be confronted with such a man as Nuncomar. The majority, however, resolved to go into the charges. Hastings rose, declared the sitting at an end, and left the room, followed by Barwell. The other members kept their seats, voted themselves a

council, put Clavering in the chair, and ordered Nuncomar to be called in. Nuncomar not only adhered to the original charges, but, after the fashion of the East, produced a large supplement. He stated that Hastings had received a great sum for appointing Rajah Goordas treasurer of the Nabob's household, and for committing the care of his highness's person to the Munny Begum. He put in a letter purporting to bear the seal of the Munny Begum, for the purpose of establishing the truth of his story. The seal, whether forged, as Hastings affirmed, or genuine, as we are rather inclined to believe, proved nothing. Nuncomar, as every body knows who knows India, had only to tell the Munny Begum that such a letter would give pleasure to the majority of the council, in order to procure her attestation. The majority, however, voted that the charge was made out; that Hastings had corruptly received between thirty and forty thousand pounds; and that he ought to be compelled to refund.

The general feeling among the English in Bengal was strongly in favour of the Governor-General. In talents for business, in knowledge of the country, in general courtesy of demeanour, he was decidedly superior to his persecutors. The servants of the Company were naturally disposed to side with the most distinguished member of their own body against a War-office clerk, who, profoundly ignorant of the native languages and the native character, took on himself to regulate every department of the administration. Hastings, however, in spite of the general sympathy of his countrymen, was in a most painful situation. There was still an appeal to higher authority in England. If that authority took part with his enemies, nothing was left to him but to throw up his office. He accordingly placed his resignation in the hands of his agent in London, Colonel Macleane. But Macleane was instructed not to produce the resignation, unless it should be fully ascertained that the feeling at the India House was adverse to the Governor-General.

The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. He held a daily levee, to which his countrymen resorted in crowds; and to which, on one occasion, the majority of the Council condescended to repair. His house was an office for the purpose of receiving charges against the Governor-General. It was said that, partly by threats, and partly by wheedling, he had induced many of the wealthiest men of the province to send in complaints. But he was playing a desperate game. It was not safe to drive to despair a man of such resource and of such determination as Hastings. Nuncomar, with all his acuteness, did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he lived. He saw that he had with him the majority of the body which made treaties,

gave places, raised taxes. The separation between political and judicial functions was a thing of which he had no conception. It had probably never occurred to him that there was in Bengal an authority perfectly independent of the council—an authority which could protect one whom the council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his usual sagacity, had seen how much advantage he might derive from possessing himself of this stronghold; and he had acted accordingly. The Judges, especially the Chief Justice, were hostile to the majority of the council. The time had now come for putting this formidable machinery in action.

On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common jail. The crime imputed to him was, that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But it was then, and still is, the opinion of every body—idiots and biographers excepted—that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the Judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The Judges returned haughty and resolute answers. All that the Council could do, was to heap honours and emoluments on the family of Nuncomar; and this they did. In the mean time, the assizes commenced; a true bill was found; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury, composed of Englishmen. A great quantity of contradictory swearing, and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. At last, a verdict of guilty was returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

Mr Gleig is so strangely ignorant as to imagine, that the Judges had no further discretion in the case; and that the power of extending mercy to Nuncomar resided with the Council. He therefore throws on Francis, and Francis's party, the whole blame of what followed. We should have thought that a gentleman who has published five or six bulky volumes on Indian affairs, might have taken the trouble to inform himself as to the fundamental principles of the Indian Government. The Supreme Court had, under the Regulating Act, the power to respite cri-

minals till the pleasure of the Crown should be known. The Council had, at that time, no power to interfere.

That Impey ought to have respited Nuncomar, we hold to be perfectly clear. Whether the whole proceeding was not illegal, is a question. But it is certain that, whatever may have been, according to technical rules of construction, the effect of the statute under which the trial took place, it was most unjust to hang a Hindoo for forgery. The law which made forgery capital in England, was passed without the smallest reference to the state of society in India. It was unknown to the natives of India. It had never been put in execution among them—certainly not for want of delinquents. It was in the highest degree shocking to all their notions. They were not accustomed to the distinction which many circumstances, peculiar to our own state of society, have led us to make between forgery and other kinds of cheating. The counterfeiting of a seal was, in their estimation, a common act of swindling; nor had it ever crossed their minds that it was to be punished as severely as gang-robbery or assassination. A just judge would, beyond all doubt, have reserved the case for the consideration of the sovereign. But Impey would not hear of mercy or delay.

The excitement among all classes was great. Francis, and Francis's few English adherents, described the Governor-General, and the Chief Justice, as the worst of murderers. Clavering, it was said, swore that, even at the foot of the gallows, Nuncomar should be rescued. The bulk of the European society, though strongly attached to the Governor-General, could not but feel compassion for a man, who, with all his crimes, had so long filled so large a space in their sight—who had been great and powerful before the British empire in India began to exist—and to whom, in the old times, governors and members of council, then mere commercial factors, had paid court for protection. The feeling of the Hindoos was infinitely stronger. They were, indeed, not a people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality, he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was the head of their race and religion—a Brahmin of the Brahmins. He had inherited the purest and highest caste. He had practised, with the greatest punctuality, all those ceremonies to which the superstitious Bengalees ascribe far more importance than to the correct discharge of the social duties. They felt, therefore, as a devout Catholic in the dark ages would have felt, at seeing a prelate of the highest dignity sent to the gallows by a secular tribunal. According to their old national laws, a

Brahmin could not be put to death for any crime whatever. And the crime for which Nuncomar was about to die, was regarded by them in much the same light in which the selling of an unsound horse, for a sound price, is regarded by a Yorkshire jockey.

The Mahommedans alone appear to have seen with exultation the fate of the powerful Hindoo, who had attempted to rise by means of the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan. The Mussulman historian of those times takes delight in aggravating the charge. He assures us, that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found containing counterfeits of the seals of all the richest men of the province. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which, in itself, is by no means improbable.

The day drew near, and Nuncomar prepared himself to die, with that quiet fortitude with which the Bengalee, so effeminately timid in personal conflict, often encounters calamities for which there is no remedy. The sheriff, with the humanity which is seldom wanting in an English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve of the execution, and assured him that no indulgence, consistent with the law, should be refused to him. Nuncomar expressed his gratitude with great politeness and unaltered composure. Not a muscle of his face moved. Not a sigh broke from him. He put his finger to his forehead, and calmly said that fate would have its way, and that there was no resisting the pleasure of God. He sent his compliments to Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and charged them to protect Rajah Goordas, who was about to become the head of the Brahmins of Bengal. The sheriff withdrew, greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat composedly down to write notes and examine accounts.

The next morning, before the sun was in his power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face; yet, to the last, the multitude could hardly believe that the English really purposed to take the life of the great Brahmin. At length the mournful procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar sat up in his palanquin, and looked round him with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety which he expressed was, that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that the drop fell, a howl of sorrow

and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hooglèy, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited; and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay.

Of Impey's conduct, it is impossible to speak too severely. We have already said that, in our opinion, he acted unjustly in refusing to respite Nuncomar. No rational man can doubt that he took this course in order to gratify the Governor-General. If we had ever had any doubts on that point, they would have been dispelled by a letter which Mr Gleig has published. Hastings, three or four years later, described Impey as the man 'to whose support he was at one time indebted for the safety of 'his fortune, honour, and reputation.' These strong words can refer only to the case of Nuncomar; and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings. It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion, that Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose.

But we look on the conduct of Hastings in a somewhat different light. He was struggling for fortune, honour, liberty—all that makes life valuable. He was beset by rancorous and unprincipled enemies. From his colleagues he could expect no justice. He cannot be blamed for wishing to crush his accusers. He was indeed bound to use only legitimate means for that end. But it was not strange that he should have thought any means legitimate which were pronounced legitimate by the sages of the law—by men whose peculiar duty it was to deal justly between adversaries, and whose education might be supposed to have peculiarly qualified them for the discharge of that duty. Nobody demands from a party the unbending equity of a judge. The reason that judges are appointed is, that even good men cannot be trusted to decide causes in which they are themselves concerned. Not a day passes on which an honest prosecutor does not ask for what none but a dishonest tribunal would grant. It is too much to expect that any man, when his dearest interests are at stake, and his strongest passions excited, will, as against himself, be more just than the sworn dispensers of justice. To take an analogous case from the history of our own island: Suppose that Lord Stafford, when in the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the Popish plot, had been apprised that Titus Oates had done something which might, by a questionable construction, be brought under the head of felony. Should we severely blame Lord Stafford, in the supposed case, for causing

a prosecution to be instituted, for furnishing funds, for using all his influence to intercept the mercy of the Crown? We think not. If a judge, indeed, from favour to the Catholic lords, were to strain the law in order to hang Oates, such a judge would richly deserve impeachment. But it does not appear to us that the Catholic lord, by bringing the case before the judge for decision, would materially overstep the limits of a just self-defence.

While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes. That his conduct was dictated by a profound policy, is evident. He was in a minority in Council. It was possible that he might long be in a minority. He knew the native character well. He knew in what abundance accusations are certain to flow in against the most innocent inhabitant of India who is under the frown of power. There was not in the whole black population of Bengal, a place-holder, a place-hunter, a government tenant, who did not think that he might better himself by sending up a deposition against the Governor-General. Under these circumstances, the persecuted statesman resolved to teach the whole crew of accusers and witnesses, that, though in a minority at the council board, he was still to be feared. The lesson which he gave them was indeed one not to be forgotten. The head of the combination which had been formed against him, the richest, the most powerful, the most artful, of the Hindoos, distinguished by the favour of those who then held the government, fenced round by the superstitious reverence of millions, was hanged in broad day before many thousands of people. Every thing that could make the warning impressive—dignity in the sufferer, solemnity in the proceeding—was found in this case. The helpless rage and vain struggles of the Council made the triumph more signal. From that moment the conviction of every native was, that it was safer to take the part of Hastings in a minority, than that of Francis in a majority; and that he who was so venturous as to join in running down the Governor-General, might chance, in the phrase of the Eastern poet, to find a tiger, while beating the jungle for a deer. The voices of a thousand informers were silenced in an instant. From that time, whatever difficulties Hastings might have to encounter, he was never molested by accusations from natives of India.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr Johnson, bears date a very few hours after the death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion—while a mighty and ancient priesthood were weeping over the

remains of their chief—the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the Tour to the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India!

In the mean time, intelligence of the Rohilla war, and of the first disputes between Hastings and his colleagues, had reached London. The directors took part with the majority, and sent out a letter filled with severe reflections on the conduct of Hastings. They condemned, in strong but just terms, the iniquity of undertaking offensive wars merely for the sake of pecuniary advantages. But they utterly forgot that, if Hastings had by illicit means obtained pecuniary advantages, he had done so, not for his own benefit, but in order to meet their demands. To enjoin honesty, and to insist in having what could not be honestly got, was then the constant practice of the Company. As Lady Macbeth says of her husband, they 'would not play 'false, and yet would wrongly win.'

The Regulating Act, by which Hastings had been appointed Governor-General for five years, empowered the Crown to remove him on an address from the Company. Lord North was desirous to procure such an address. The three members of Council who had been sent out from England, were men of his own choice. General Clavering, in particular, was supported by a large parliamentary connexion, such as no cabinet could be inclined to disoblige. The wish of the minister was to displace Hastings, and to put Clavering at the head of the government. In the Court of Directors parties were very nearly balanced; eleven voted against Hastings—ten for him. The Court of Proprietors was then convened. The great sale-room presented a singular appearance. Letters had been sent by the Secretary of the Treasury, exhorting all the supporters of government who held India stock to be in attendance. Lord Sandwich marshalled the friends of the administration with his usual dexterity and alertness. Fifty peers and privy-councillors, seldom seen so far eastward, were counted in the crowd. The debate lasted till midnight. The opponents of Hastings had a small superiority on the division; but a ballot was demanded, and the result was, that the Governor-General triumphed by a majority of above a hundred over the combined efforts of the directors and the cabinet. The ministers were greatly exasperated by this defeat. Even Lord North lost his temper—no ordinary occurrence with him—and threatened to convoke parliament before Christmas, and to bring in a bill for depriving the Company of all political power, and for restricting it to its old business of trading in silks and teas.

Colonel Macleane, who through all this conflict had zealously supported the cause of Hastings, now thought that his employer

was in imminent danger of being turned out, branded with parliamentary censure, perhaps prosecuted. The opinion of the crown lawyers had already been taken, respecting some parts of the Governor-General's conduct. It seemed to be high time to think of a secure and honourable retreat. Under these circumstances, Macleane thought himself justified in producing the resignation with which he had been intrusted. The instrument was not in very accurate form; but the directors were too eager to be scrupulous. They accepted the resignation, fixed on Mr Wheler, one of their own body, to succeed Hastings, and sent out orders that General Clavering, as senior member of Council, should exercise the functions of Governor-General till Mr Wheler should arrive.

But while these things were passing in England, a great change had taken place in Bengal. Monson was no more. Only four members of the government were left. Clavering and Francis were on the one side, Barwell and the Governor-General on the other; and the Governor-General had the casting vote. Hastings, who had been during two years destitute of all power and patronage, became at once absolute. He instantly proceeded to retaliate on his adversaries. Their measures were reversed—their creatures were displaced. A new valuation of the lands of Bengal, for the purposes of taxation, was ordered; and it was provided that the whole enquiry should be conducted by the Governor-General, and that all the letters relating to it should run in his name. He began, at the same time, to revolve vast plans of conquest and dominion—plans which he lived to see realized, though not by himself. His project was to form subordinary alliances with the native princes, particularly with those of Oude and Berar; and thus to make Britain the paramount power in India. While he was meditating these great designs, arrived the intelligence that he had ceased to be Governor-General, that his resignation had been accepted, that Mr Wheler was coming out immediately, and that, till Mr Wheler arrived, the chair was to be filled by Clavering.

Had Monson been still alive, Hastings would probably have retired without a struggle; but he was now the real master of British India, and he was not disposed to quit his high place. He asserted that he had never given any instructions which could warrant the steps which had been taken. What his instructions had been, he owned he had forgotten. If he had kept a copy of them he had mislaid it. But he was certain that he had repeatedly declared to the Directors that he would not resign. He could not see how the court, possessed of that declaration from himself, could receive his resignation from the doubtful hands of

an agent. If the resignation were invalid, all the proceedings which were founded on that resignation were null, and Hastings was still Governor-General.

He afterwards affirmed that, though his agents had not acted in conformity with his instructions, he would nevertheless have held himself bound by their acts, if Clavering had not attempted to seize the supreme power by violence. Whether this assertion were or were not true, it cannot be doubted that the imprudence of Clavering gave Hastings an advantage. The General sent for the keys of the fort and the treasury, took possession of the records, and held a council at which Francis attended. Hastings took the chair in another apartment, and Barwell sat with him. Each of the two parties had a plausible show of right. There was no authority entitled to their obedience within fifteen thousand miles. It seemed that there remained no way of settling the dispute except an appeal to arms; and from such an appeal Hastings, confident of his influence over his countrymen in India, was not inclined to shrink. He directed the officers of the garrison of Fort William, and of all the neighbouring stations, to obey no orders but his. At the same time, with admirable judgment, he offered to submit the case to the Supreme Court, and to abide by its decision. By making this proposition he risked nothing; yet it was a proposition which his opponents could hardly reject. Nobody could be treated as a criminal, for obeying what the judges had solemnly pronounced to be the lawful government. The boldest man would shrink from taking arms in defence of what the judges should pronounce to be usurpation. Clavering and Francis, after some delay, unwillingly consented to abide by the award of the court. The court pronounced that the resignation was invalid, and that therefore Hastings was still Governor-General under the Regulating Act; and the defeated members of the Council, finding that the sense of the whole settlement was against them, acquiesced in the decision.

About this time arrived the news that, after a suit which had lasted several years, the Franconian courts had decreed a divorce between Imhoff and his wife. The Baron left Calcutta, carrying with him the means of buying an estate in Saxony. The lady became Mrs Hastings. The event was celebrated by great festivities; and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were invited to the Government-house. Clavering, as the Mahommedan chronicler tells the story, was sick in mind and body, and excused himself from joining the splendid assembly. But Hastings, whom, as it should [illegible], success in ambition and in love had put into high good-[illegible]our, would take no denial. He went himself to the Gene-

ral's house, and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease —Clavering died a few days later.

Wheler, who came out expecting to be Governor-General, and was forced to content himself with a seat at the Council Board, generally voted with Francis. But the Governor-General, with Barwell's help and his own casting vote, was still the master. Some change took place at this time in the feeling both of the Court of Directors and of the Ministers of the Crown. All designs against Hastings were dropped; and when his original term of five years expired, he was quietly reappointed. The truth is, that the fearful dangers to which the public interests in every quarter were now exposed, made both Lord North and the Company unwilling to part with a Governor whose talents, experience, and resolution, enmity itself was compelled to acknowledge.

The crisis was indeed formidable. That great and victorious empire, on the throne of which George the Third had taken his seat eighteen years before, with brighter hopes than had attended the accession of any of the long line of English sovereigns, had, by the most senseless misgovernment, been brought to the verge of ruin. In America millions of Englishmen were at war with the country from which their blood, their language, their religion, and their institutions were derived; and to which, but a short time before, they had been as strongly attached as the inhabitants of Norfolk and Leicestershire. The great powers of Europe, humbled to the dust by the vigour and genius which had guided the councils of George the Second, now rejoiced in the prospect of a signal revenge. The time was approaching when our island, while struggling to keep down the United States of America, and pressed with a still nearer danger by the too just discontents of Ireland, was to be assailed by France, Spain, and Holland, and to be threatened by the armed neutrality of the Baltic; when even our maritime supremacy was to be in jeopardy; when hostile fleets were to command the Straits of Calpe and the Mexican Sea; when the British flag was to be scarcely able to protect the British Channel. Great as were the faults of Hastings, it was happy for our country that at that conjuncture, the most terrible through which she has ever passed, he was the ruler of her Indian dominions.

An attack by sea on Bengal was little to be apprehended. The danger was, that the European enemies of England might form an alliance with some native power—might furnish that power with troops, arms, and ammunition—and might thus assail our possessions on the side of the land. It was chiefly

from the Mahrattas that Hastings anticipated danger. The original seat of that singular people was the wild range of hills which runs along the western coast of India. In the reign of Aurungzebe the inhabitants of those regions, led by the great Sevajee, began to descend on the possessions of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. The energy, ferocity, and cunning of the Mahrattas, soon made them the most conspicuous among the new powers which were generated by the corruption of the decaying monarchy. At first they were only robbers. They soon rose to the dignity of conquerors. Half the provinces of the empire were turned into Mahratta principalities. Freebooters sprung from low castes, and accustomed to menial employments, became mighty Rajahs. The Bonslas, at the head of a band of plunderers, occupied the vast region of Berar. The Guicowar, which is, being interpreted, the Herdsman, founded that dynasty which still reigns in Guzerat. The houses of Scindia and Holkar waxed great in Malwa. One adventurous captain made his nest on the impregnable rock of Gooti. Another became the lord of the thousand villages which are scattered among the green rice-fields of Tanjore.

That was the time, throughout India, of double government. The form and the power were every where separated. The Mussulman nabobs, who had become sovereign princes—the Vizier in Oude, and the Nizam at Hydrabad—still called themselves the viceroys of the house of Tamerlane. In the same manner the Mahratta states, though really independent, pretended to be members of one empire; and acknowledged, by words and ceremonies, the supremacy of the heir of Sevajee—a *roi fainéant* who chewed bang, and toyed with dancing girls, in a state-prison at Sattara—and of his Peshwa or mayor of the palace, a great hereditary magistrate, who kept a court with kingly state at Poonah, and whose authority was obeyed in the spacious provinces of Aurungabad and Bejapoor.

Some months before war was declared in Europe, the government of Bengal was alarmed by the news that a French adventurer, who passed for a man of quality, had arrived at Poonah. It was said that he had been received there with great distinction—that he had delivered to the Peshwa letters and presents from Louis the Sixteenth,—and that a treaty, hostile to England, had been concluded between France and the Mahrattas.

Hastings immediately resolved to strike the first blow. The title of the Peshwa was not undisputed. A portion of the Mahratta nation was favourable to a pretender. The Governor-General determined to espouse this pretender's interest, to move an army across the peninsula of India, and to form a close alliance

with the chief of the house of Bonsla, who ruled Berar, and who, in power and dignity, was inferior to none of the Mahratta princes.

The army had marched, and the negotiations with Berar were in progress, when a letter from the English consul at Cairo, brought the news that war had been proclaimed both in London and Paris. All the measures which the crisis required, were adopted by Hastings without a moment of delay. The French factories in Bengal were seized. Orders were sent to Madras that Pondicherry should instantly be occupied. Near Calcutta, works were thrown up, which were thought to render the approach of a hostile force impossible. A maritime establishment was formed for the defence of the river. Nine new battalions of sepoys were raised, and a corps of native artillery was formed out of the hardy Lascars of the Bay of Bengal. Having made these arrangements, the Governor-General with calm confidence pronounced his presidency secure from all attack, unless the Mahrattas should march against it in conjunction with the French.

The expedition which Hastings had sent westward, was not so speedily or completely successful as most of his undertakings. The commanding-officer procrastinated. The authorities at Bombay blundered. But the Governor-General persevered. A new commander repaired the errors of his predecessor. Several brilliant actions spread the military renown of the English through regions where no European flag had ever been seen. It is probable that, if a new and more formidable danger had not compelled Hastings to change his whole policy, his plans respecting the Mahratta empire would have been carried into complete effect.

The authorities in England had wisely sent out to Bengal, as commander of the forces, and member of the council, one of the most distinguished soldiers of that time. Sir Eyre Coote had, many years before, been conspicuous among the founders of the British empire in the East. At the council of war which preceded the battle of Plassey, he earnestly recommended, in opposition to the majority, that daring course which, after some hesitation, was adopted, and which was crowned with such splendid success. He subsequently commanded in the south of India against the brave and unfortunate Lally, gained the decisive battle of Wandewash over the French and their native allies, took Pondicherry, and made the English power supreme in the Carnatic. Since those great exploits near twenty years had elapsed. Coote had no longer the bodily activity which he had shown in earlier days; nor was the vigour of his mind altogether unimpaired. He was capricious and fretful, and

required much coaxing to keep him in good-humour. It must, we fear, be added, that the love of money had grown upon him, and that he thought more about his allowances, and less about his duties, than might have been expected from so eminent a member of so noble a profession. Still he was perhaps the ablest officer that was then to be found in the British army. Among the native soldiers his name was great, and his influence unrivalled. Nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found, who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Pollilore. It is but a short time since one of those aged men came to present a memorial to an English officer, who holds one of the highest employments in India; a print of Coote hung in the room; the veteran recognised at once that face and figure which he had not seen for more than half a century, and, forgetting his salam to the living, halted, drew himself up, lifted his hand, and with solemn reverence paid his military obeisance to the dead.

Coote did not, like Barwell, vote constantly with the Governor-General; but he was by no means inclined to join in systematic opposition; and on most questions concurred with Hastings, who did his best, by assiduous courtship, and by readily granting the most exorbitant allowances, to gratify the strongest passions of the old soldier.

It seemed likely at this time that a general reconciliation would put an end to the quarrels which had, during some years, weakened and disgraced the government of Bengal. The dangers of the empire might well induce men of patriotic feeling—and of patriotic feeling, neither Hastings nor Francis was destitute—to forget private enmities, and to co-operate heartily for the general good. Coote had never been concerned in faction. Wheler was thoroughly tired of it. Barwell had made an ample fortune, and though he had promised that he would not leave Calcutta while Hastings wanted his help, was most desirous to return to England, and exerted himself to promote an arrangement which would set him at liberty. A compact was made, by which Francis agreed to desist from opposition, and Hastings engaged that the friends of Francis should be admitted to a fair share of the honours and emoluments of the service. During a few months after this treaty there was apparent harmony at the council-board.

Harmony, indeed, was never more necessary; for at this moment, internal calamities, more formidable than war itself, menaced Bengal. The authors of the Regulating Act of 1773, had established two independent powers, the one judicial, the other political; and, with a carelessness scandalously common

in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The judges took advantage of the indistinctness, and attempted to draw to themselves supreme authority, not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the presidency of Fort William. There are few Englishmen who will not admit that the English law, in spite of modern improvements, is neither so cheap nor so speedy as might be wished. Still, it is a system which has grown up amongst us. In some points, it has been fashioned to suit our feelings; in others, it has gradually fashioned our feelings to suit itself. Even to its worst evils we are accustomed; and therefore, though we may complain of them, they do not strike us with the horror and dismay which would be produced by a new grievance of smaller severity. In India the case is widely different. English law, transplanted to that country, has all the vices from which we suffer here; it has them all in a far higher degree; and it has other vices, compared with which the worst vices from which we suffer are trifles. Dilatory here, it is far more dilatory in a land where the help of an interpreter is needed by every judge, and by every advocate. Costly here, it is far more costly in a land into which the legal practitioners must be imported from an immense distance. All English labour in India, from the labour of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, down to that of a groom or a watchmaker, must be paid for at a higher rate than at home. No man will be banished, and banished to the torrid zone, for nothing. The rule holds good with respect to the legal profession. No English barrister will work, fifteen thousand miles from all his friends, with the thermometer at ninety-six in the shade, for the same emoluments which will content him in Chambers that overlook the Thames. Accordingly, the fees in Calcutta are about three times as great as the fees of Westminster Hall; and this, though the people of India are, beyond all comparison, poorer than the people of England. Yet the delay and the expense, grievous as they are, form the smallest part of the evil which English law, imported without modifications into India, could not fail to produce. The strongest feelings of our nature, honour, religion, female modesty, rose up against the innovation. Arrest on mesne process was the first step in most civil proceedings; and to a native of rank, arrest was not merely a restraint, but a foul personal indignity. Oaths were required in every stage of every suit; and the feeling of a quaker about an oath is hardly stronger than that of a respectable native. That the apartments of a woman of quality should be entered by strange men, or that her face should be seen by them, are, in the East, intolerable outrages—outrages which are more

dreaded than death, and which can be expiated only by the shedding of blood. To these outrages the most distinguished families of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were now exposed. Imagine what the state of our own country would be, if a jurisprudence were, on a sudden, introduced amongst us, which should be to us what our jurisprudence was to our Asiatic subjects. Imagine what the state of our country would be, if it were enacted that any man, by merely swearing that a debt was due to him, should acquire a right to insult the persons of men of the most honourable and sacred callings, and of women of the most shrinking delicacy, to horsewhip a general officer, to put a bishop in the stocks, to treat ladies in the way which called forth the blow of Wat Tyler. Something like this was the effect of the attempt which the Supreme Court made to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the Company's territory.

A reign of terror began—of terror heightened by mystery; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange tribunal. It came from beyond the black water, as the people of India, with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of judges not one of whom spoke the language, or was familiar with the usages, of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the native population—informers, and false witnesses, and common barrators, and agents of chicane; and, above all, a banditti of bailiffs' followers, compared with whom the retainers of the worst English spunging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Numbers of natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common jail—not for any crime even imputed, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harams of noble Mahommedans—sanctuaries respected in the East by governments which respected nothing else—were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if even the faint-hearted Bengalee, who had crouched at the

feet of Surajah Dowlah, who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court.

Every class of the population, English and native, with the exception of the ravenous pettifoggers who fattened on the misery and terror of an immense community, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression. But the judges were immovable. If a bailiff was resisted, they ordered the soldiers to be called out. If a servant of the Company, in conformity with the orders of the government, withstood the miserable catchpoles who, with Impey's writs in their hands, exceeded the insolence and rapacity of gang-robbers, he was flung into prison for a contempt. The lapse of sixty years—the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates, who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court—have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days.

The members of the government were, on this subject, united as one man. Hastings had courted the judges; he had found them useful instruments. But he was not disposed to make them his own masters, or the masters of India. His mind was large; his knowledge of the native character most accurate. He saw that the system pursued by the Supreme Court was degrading to the government, and ruinous to the people; and he resolved to oppose it manfully. The consequence was, that the friendship—if that be the proper word for such a connexion—which had existed between him and Impey, was for a time completely dissolved. The government placed itself firmly between the tyrannical tribunal and the people. The Chief Justice proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-General and all the members of Council were served with summonses, calling on them to appear before the King's justices, and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings, with just scorn, refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the Court, and took measures for resisting the outrageous proceedings of the sheriffs' officers, if necessary, by the sword. But he had in view another device, which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. He was seldom at a loss for an expedient; and he knew Impey well. The expedient, in this case, was a very simple one—neither more nor less than a bribe. Impey was, by act of Parliament, a judge,

independent of the government of Bengal, and entitled to a salary of L.8000 a-year. Hastings proposed to make him also a judge in the Company's service, removable at the pleasure of the government of Bengal; and to give him, in that capacity, about L.8000 a-year more. It was understood that, in consideration of this new salary, Impey would desist from urging the high pretensions of his court. If he did urge these pretensions, the government could, at a moment's notice, eject him from the new place which had been created for him. The bargain was struck, Bengal was saved, an appeal to force was averted; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.

Of Impey's conduct it is unnecessary to speak. It was of a piece with almost every part of his conduct that comes under the notice of history. No other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine, since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower. But we cannot agree with those who have blamed Hastings for this transaction. The case stood thus. The negligent manner in which the Regulating Act had been framed, put it in the power of the Chief Justice to throw a great country into the most dreadful confusion. He was determined to use his power to the utmost, unless he was paid to be still; and Hastings consented to pay him. The necessity was to be deplored. It is also to be deplored that pirates should be able to exact ransom, by threatening to make their captives walk the plank. But to ransom a captive from pirates, has always been held a humane and Christian act; and it would be absurd to charge the payer of the ransom with corrupting the virtue of the corsair. This, we seriously think, is a not unfair illustration of the relative position of Impey, Hastings, and the people of India. Whether it was right in Impey to demand or to accept a price for powers which, if they really belonged to him, he could not abdicate—which, if they did not belong to him, he ought never to have usurped—and which in neither case he could honestly sell—is one question. It is quite another question, whether Hastings was not right to give any sum, however large, to any man, however worthless, rather than either surrender millions of human beings to pillage, or rescue them by civil war.

Francis strongly opposed this arrangement. It may, indeed, be suspected that personal aversion to Impey was as strong a motive with Francis as regard for the welfare of the province. To a mind burning with resentment, it might seem better to leave Bengal to the oppressors, than to redeem it by enriching them. It is not improbable, on the other hand, that Hastings may have been the more willing to resort to an expedient agree-

able to the Chief Justice, because that high functionary had already been so serviceable, and might, when existing dissensions were composed, be serviceable again.

But it was not on this point alone that Francis was now opposed to Hastings. The peace between them proved to be only a short and hollow truce, during which their mutual aversion was constantly becoming stronger. At length an explosion took place. Hastings publicly charged Francis with having deceived him, and induced Barwell to quit the service by insincere promises. Then came a dispute, such as frequently arises even between honourable men, when they make important agreements by mere verbal communication. An impartial historian will probably be of opinion that they had misunderstood each other; but their minds were so much embittered, that they imputed to each other nothing less than deliberate villany. 'I do not,' said Hastings, in a minute recorded in the Consultations of the Government—'I do not trust to Mr Francis's 'promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I 'judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found 'to be void of truth and honour.' After the Council had risen, Francis put a challenge into the Governor-General's hand: it was instantly accepted. They met, and fired. Francis was shot through the body. He was carried to a neighbouring house, where it appeared that the wound, though severe, was not mortal. Hastings enquired repeatedly after his enemy's health, and proposed to call on him; but Francis coldly declined the visit. He had a proper sense, he said, of the Governor-General's politeness, but must decline any private interview. They could meet only at the council-board.

In a very short time it was made signally manifest to how great a danger the Governor-General had, on this occasion, exposed his country. A crisis arrived with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say, that, if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.

The Mahrattas had been the chief objects of apprehension to Hastings. The measures which he had adopted for the purpose of breaking their power, had at first been frustrated by the errors of those whom he was compelled to employ; but his perseverance and ability seemed likely to be crowned with success, when a far more formidable danger showed itself in a distant quarter.

About thirty years before this time, a Mahommedan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of Southern India. His education had been neglected; his extraction was mean.

His father had been a petty officer of revenue; his grandfather, a wandering Dervise. But though thus meanly descended—though ignorant even of the alphabet—the adventurer had no sooner been placed at the head of a body of troops, than he approved himself a man born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain and the statesman. He became a general—he became a prince. Out of the fragments of old principalities, which had gone to pieces in the general wreck, he formed for himself a great, compact, and vigorous empire. That empire he ruled with the ability, severity, and vigilance of Louis the Eleventh. Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge, he had yet enlargement of mind enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of governments. He was an oppressor; but he had at least the merit of protecting his people against all oppression except his own. He was now in extreme old age; but his intellect was as clear, and his spirit as high, as in the prime of manhood. Such was the great Hyder Ali, the founder of the Mahommedan kingdom of Mysore, and the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend.

Had Hastings been governor of Madras, Hyder would have been either made a friend, or vigorously encountered as an enemy. Unhappily the English authorities in the south provoked their powerful neighbour's hostility, without being prepared to repel it. On a sudden, an army of ninety thousand men, far superior in discipline and efficiency to any other native force that could be found in India, came pouring through those wild passes, which, worn by mountain torrents, and dark with jungle, lead down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of the Carnatic. This great army was accompanied by a hundred pieces of cannon; and its movements were guided by many French officers, trained in the best military schools of Europe.

Hyder was every where triumphant. The sepoys in many British garrisons flung down their arms. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and some by despair. In a few days the whole open country north of the Coleroon had submitted. The English inhabitants of Madras could already see by night, from the top of Mount St Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semicircle of blazing villages. The white villas, embosomed in little groves of tulip-trees, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government and of trade, when the cool evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore

had already been seen prowling near those gay verandas. Even the town was not thought secure, and the British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St George.

There were the means indeed of forming an army which might have defended the presidency, and even driven the invader back to his mountains. Sir Hector Munro was at the head of one considerable force; Baillie was advancing with another. United, they might have presented a formidable front even to such an enemy as Hyder. But the English commanders, neglecting those fundamental rules of the military art, of which the propriety is obvious even to men who have never received a military education, deferred their junction, and were separately attacked. Baillie's detachment was destroyed. Munro was forced to abandon his baggage, to fling his guns into the tanks, and to save himself by a retreat which might be called a flight. In three weeks from the commencement of the war, the British empire in southern India had been brought to the verge of ruin. Only a few fortified places remained to us. The glory of our arms had departed. It was known that a great French expedition might soon be expected on the coast of Coromandel. England, beset by enemies on every side, was in no condition to protect such remote dependencies.

Then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal triumph. A swift ship, flying before the south-west monsoon, brought the evil tidings in few days to Calcutta. In twenty-four hours the Governor-General had framed a complete plan of policy adapted to the altered state of affairs. The struggle with Hyder was a struggle for life and death. All minor objects must be sacrificed to the preservation of the Carnatic. The disputes with the Mahrattas must be accommodated. A large military force and a supply of money must be instantly sent to Madras. But even these measures would be insufficient, unless the war, hitherto so grossly mismanaged, were placed under the direction of a vigorous mind. It was no time for trifling. Hastings determined to resort to an extreme exercise of power; to suspend the incapable governor of Fort St George, to send Sir Eyre Coote to oppose Hyder, and to entrust that distinguished general with the whole administration of the war.

In spite of the sullen opposition of Francis, who had now recovered from his wound, and had returned to the Council, the Governor-General's wise and firm policy was approved by the majority of the board. The reinforcements were sent off with great expedition, and reached Madras before the French armament arrived in the Indian seas. Coote, broken by age and disease,

was no longer the Coote of Wandewash; but he was still a resolute and skilful commander. The progress of Hyder was arrested; and in a few months the great victory of Porto Novo retrieved the honour of the English arms.

In the mean time Francis had returned to England, and Hastings was now left perfectly unfettered. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition; and, after the departure of his vehement and implacable colleague, co-operated heartily with the Governor-General; whose influence over his countrymen in India, always great, had, by the vigour and success of his recent measures, been considerably increased.

But though the difficulties arising from factions within the Council were at an end, another class of difficulties had become more pressing than ever. The financial embarrassment was extreme. Hastings had to find the means, not only of carrying on the government of Bengal, but of maintaining a most costly war against both Indian and European enemies in the Carnatic, and of making remittances to England. A few years before this time he had obtained relief by plundering the Mogul, and enslaving the Rohillas; nor were the resources of his fruitful mind by any means exhausted.

His first design was on Benares, a city which in wealth, population, dignity, and sanctity, was among the foremost of Asia. It was commonly believed that half a million of human beings was crowded into that labyrinth of lofty alleys, rich with shrines, and minarets, and balconies, and carved oriels, to which the sacred apes clung by hundreds. The traveller could scarcely make his way through the press of holy mendicants, and not less holy bulls. The broad and stately flights of steps which descended from these swarming haunts to the bathing-places along the Ganges, were worn every day by the footsteps of an innumerable multitude of worshippers. The schools and temples drew crowds of pious Hindoos from every province where the Brahminical faith was known. Hundreds of devotees came thither every month to die—for it was believed that a peculiarly happy fate awaited the man who should pass from the sacred city into the sacred river. Nor was superstition the only motive which allured strangers to that great metropolis. Commerce had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of the venerable stream, lay great fleets of vessels laden with rich merchandize. From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned the balls of St James's and of the *Petit Trianon;* and in the bazars, the muslins of Bengal, and the sabres of Oude, were mingled with the jewels of Golconda, and the shawls of Cashmere. This rich capital,

and the surrounding tract, had long been under the immediate rule of a Hindoo prince, who rendered homage to the Mogul emperors. During the great anarchy of India, the lords of Benares became independent of the court of Delhi; but were compelled to submit to the authority of the nabob of Oude. Oppressed by this formidable neighbour, they invoked the protection of the English. The English protection was given; and at length the Nabob Vizier, by a solemn treaty, ceded all his rights over Benares to the Company. From that time the Rajah was the vassal of the government of Bengal, acknowledged its supremacy, and sent an annual tribute to Fort William. These duties Cheyte Sing, the reigning prince, had fulfilled with strict punctuality.

Respecting the precise nature of the legal relation between the Company and the Rajah of Benares, there has been much warm and acute controversy. On the one side, it has been maintained, that Cheyte Sing was merely a great subject on whom the superior power had a right to call for aid in the necessities of the empire. On the other side, it has been contended that he was an independent prince, that the only claim which the Company had upon him was for a fixed tribute, and that, while the fixed tribute was regularly paid, as it assuredly was, the English had no more right to exact any further contribution from him, than to demand subsidies from Holland or Denmark. Nothing is easier than to find precedents and analogies in favour of either view.

Our own impression is, that neither view is correct. It was too much the habit of English politicians to take it for granted that there was in India a known and definite constitution by which questions of this kind were to be decided. The truth is, that during the interval which elapsed between the fall of the house of Tamerlane, and the establishment of the British ascendency, there was no such constitution. The old order of things had passed away; the new order of things was not yet formed. All was transition, confusion, obscurity. Every body kept his head as he best might, and scrambled for whatever he could get. There have been similar seasons in Europe. The time of the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire is an instance. Who would think of seriously discussing the question, what extent of pecuniary aid and of obedience Hugh Capet had a constitutional right to demand from the Duke of Britanny, or the Duke of Normandy? The words 'constitutional right' had, in that state of society, no meaning. If Hugh Capet laid hands on all the possessions of the Duke of Normandy, this might be unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the

ordinances of Charles the Tenth were illegal. If, on the other hand, the Duke of Normandy made war on Hugh Capet, this might be unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal in the sense in which the expedition of Prince Louis Bonaparte was illegal.

Very similar to this was the state of India sixty years ago. Of the existing governments not a single one could lay claim to legitimacy, or plead any other title than recent occupation. There was scarcely a province in which the real sovereignty and the nominal sovereignty were not disjoined. Titles and forms were still retained, which implied that the heir of Tamerlane was an absolute ruler, and that the nabobs of the provinces were his lieutenants. In reality, he was a captive. The nabobs were in some places independent princes. In other places, as in Bengal and the Carnatic, they had, like their master, become mere phantoms, and the Company was supreme. Among the Mahrattas again, the heir of Sevajee still kept the title of rajah; but he was a prisoner, and his prime minister, the Peshwa, had become the hereditary chief of the state. The Peshwa, in his turn, was fast sinking into the same degraded situation to which he had reduced the rajah. It was, we believe, impossible to find, from the Himalayas to Mysore, a single government which was at once *de facto* and *de jure*—which possessed the physical means of making itself feared by its neighbours and subjects, and which had at the same time the authority derived from law and long prescription.

Hastings clearly discerned, what was hidden from most of his contemporaries, that such a state of things gave immense advantages to a ruler of great talents and few scruples. In every international question that could arise, he had his option between the *de facto* ground and the *de jure* ground; and the probability was that one of those grounds would sustain any claim that it might be convenient for him to make, and enable him to resist any claim made by others. In every controversy, accordingly, he resorted to the plea which suited his immediate purpose, without troubling himself in the least about consistency; and thus he scarcely ever failed to find what, to persons of short memories and scanty information, seemed to be a justification for what he wanted to do. Sometimes the nabob of Bengal is a shadow, sometimes a monarch; sometimes the vizier is a mere deputy, sometimes an independent potentate. If it is expedient for the Company to show some legal title to the revenues of Bengal, the grant under the seal of the Mogul is brought forward as an instrument of the highest authority. When the Mogul [illegible]s for the rents which were reserved to him by that

very grant, he is told that he is a mere pageant; that the English power rests on a very different foundation from a charter given by him; that he is welcome to play at royalty as long as he likes, but that he must expect no tribute from the real masters of India.

It is true, that it was in the power of others, as well as of Hastings, to practise this legerdemain; but in the controversies of governments, sophistry is of little use unless it be backed by power. There is a principle which Hastings was fond of asserting in the strongest terms, and on which he acted with undeviating steadiness. It is a principle which, we must own, can hardly be disputed in the present state of public law. It is this—that where an ambiguous question arises between two governments, there is, if they cannot agree, no appeal except to force, and that the opinion of the strongest must prevail. Almost every question was ambiguous in India. The English government was the strongest in India. The consequences are obvious. The English government might do exactly what it chose.

The English government now chose to wring money out of Cheyte Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat him as a sovereign prince; it was now convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find in that general chaos of laws and customs, arguments for either course. Hastings wanted a great supply. It was known that Cheyte Sing had a large revenue, and it was suspected that he had accumulated a treasure. Nor was he a favourite at Calcutta. He had, when the Governor-General was in great difficulties, courted the favour of Francis and Clavering. Hastings, who, less we believe from evil passions than from policy, seldom left an injury unpunished, was not sorry that the fate of Cheyte Sing should teach neighbouring princes the same lesson which the fate of Nuncomar had already impressed on the inhabitants of Bengal.

In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France, Cheyte Sing was called upon to pay, in addition to his fixed tribute, an extraordinary contribution of £50,000. In 1779, an equal sum was exacted. In 1780, the demand was renewed. Cheyte Sing, in the hope of obtaining some indulgence, secretly offered the Governor-General a bribe of £20,000. Hastings took the money; and his enemies have maintained that he took it intending to keep it. He certainly concealed the transaction, for a time, both from the Council in Bengal, and from the Directors at home; nor did he ever give any satisfactory reason for the concealment. Public spirit, or the fear of detection, however, determined him to withstand the temptation. He paid over

the bribe to the Company's treasury, and insisted that the Rajah should instantly comply with the demands of the English government. The Rajah, after the fashion of his countrymen, shuffled, solicited, and pleaded poverty. The grasp of Hastings was not to be so eluded. He added another £10,000 as a fine for delay, and sent troops to exact the money.

The money was paid. But this was not enough. The late events in the south of India had increased the financial embarrassments of the Company. Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly, the Rajah was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal. 'I resolved,' these are the words of Hastings himself, 'to draw from his guilt the means of relief to 'the Company's distresses—to make him pay largely for his par- 'don, or to exact a severe vengeance for past delinquency.' The plan was simply this—to demand larger and larger contributions, till the Rajah should be driven to remonstrate, then to call his remonstrance a crime, and to punish him by confiscating all his possessions.

Cheyte Sing was in the greatest dismay. He offered £200,000 to propitiate the British government. But Hastings replied, that nothing less than half a million would be accepted. Nay, he began to think of selling Benares to Oude, as he had formerly sold Allahabad and Rohilcund. The matter was one which could not be well managed at a distance; and Hastings resolved to visit Benares.

Cheyte Sing received his liege lord with every mark of reverence; came near sixty miles, with his guards, to meet and escort the illustrious visiter; and expressed his deep concern at the displeasure of the English. He even took off his turban, and laid it in the lap of Hastings—a gesture which in India marks the most profound submission and devotion. Hastings behaved with cold and repulsive severity. Having arrived at Benares, he sent to the Rajah a paper containing the demands of the government of Bengal. The Rajah, in reply, attempted to clear himself from the accusations brought against him. Hastings, who wanted money and not excuses, was not to be put off by the ordinary artifices of eastern negotiation. He instantly ordered the Rajah to be arrested, and placed under the custody of two companies of sepoys.

In taking these strong measures, Hastings scarcely showed his usual judgment. It is probable that, having had little oppor-

tunity of personally observing any part of the population of India, except the Bengalees, he was not fully aware of the difference between their character and that of the tribes which inhabit the upper provinces. He was now in a land far more favourable to the vigour of the human frame, than the Delta of the Ganges; in a land fruitful of soldiers, who have been found worthy to follow English battalions to the charge, and into the breach. The Rajah was popular among his subjects. His administration had been mild; and the prosperity of the district which he governed presented a striking contrast to the depressed state of Bahar, under our rule—a still more striking contrast to the misery of the provinces which were cursed by the tyranny of the Nabob Vizier. The national and religious prejudices with which the English were regarded throughout India, were peculiarly intense in the metropolis of the Brahminical superstition. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that the Governor-General, before he outraged the dignity of Cheyte Sing by an arrest, ought to have assembled a force capable of bearing down all opposition. This had not been done. The handful of sepoys who attended Hastings, would probably have been sufficient to overawe Moorshedabad, or the Black Town of Calcutta. But they were unequal to a conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares. The streets surrounding the palace were filled by an immense multitude; of whom a large proportion, as is usual in Upper India, wore arms. The tumult became a fight, and the fight a massacre. The English officers defended themselves with desperate courage against overwhelming numbers, and fell, as became them, sword in hand. The sepoys were butchered. The gates were forced. The captive prince, neglected by his jailers during the confusion, discovered an outlet which opened on the precipitous bank of the Ganges, let himself down to the water by a string made of the turbans of his attendants, found a boat, and escaped to the opposite shore.

If Hastings had, by indiscreet violence, brought himself into a difficult and perilous situation, it is only just to acknowledge, that he extricated himself with even more than his usual ability and presence of mind. He had only fifty men with him. The building in which he had taken up his residence was on every side blockaded by the insurgents. But his fortitude remained unshaken. The Rajah from the other side of the river sent apologies and liberal offers. They were not even answered. Some subtle and enterprizing men were found who undertook to pass through the throng of enemies, and to convey the intelligence of the late events to the English cantonments. It is the fashion of the natives of India to wear large ear-rings of gold.

When they travel, the rings are laid aside lest they should tempt some gang of robbers; and, in place of the ring, a quill or a roll of paper is inserted in the orifice to prevent it from closing. Hastings placed in the ears of his messengers letters rolled up in the smallest compass. Some of these letters were addressed to the commanders of the English troops. One was written to assure his wife of his safety. One was to the envoy whom he had sent to negotiate with the Mahrattas. Instructions for the negotiation were needed; and the Governor-General framed them in that situation of extreme danger, with as much composure as if he had been writing in his palace at Calcutta.

Things, however, were not yet at the worst. An English officer of more spirit than judgment, eager to distinguish himself, made a premature attack on the insurgents beyond the river. His troops were entangled in narrow streets, and assailed by a furious population. He fell, with many of his men; and the survivors were forced to retire.

This event produced the effect which has never failed to follow every check, however slight, sustained in India by the English arms. For hundreds of miles round, the whole country was in commotion. The entire population of the district of Benares took arms. The fields were abandoned by the husbandmen, who thronged to defend their prince. The infection spread to Oude. The oppressed people of that province rose up against the Nabob Vizier, refused to pay their imposts, and put the revenue officers to flight. Even Bahar was ripe for revolt. The hopes of Cheyte Sing began to rise. Instead of imploring mercy in the humble style of a vassal, he began to talk the language of a conqueror, and threatened, it was said, to sweep the white usurpers out of the land. But the English troops were now assembling fast. The officers, and even the private men, regarded the Governor-General with enthusiastic attachment, and flew to his aid with an alacrity which, as he boasted, had never been shown on any other occasion. Major Popham, a brave and skilful soldier, who had highly distinguished himself in the Mahratta war, and in whom the Governor-General reposed the greatest confidence, took the command. The tumultuary army of the Rajah was put to rout. His fastnesses were stormed. In a few hours, above thirty thousand men left his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations. The unhappy prince fled from his country for ever. His fair domain was added to the British dominions. One of his relations indeed was appointed rajah; but the Rajah of Benares was henceforth to be, like the Nabob of Bengal, a mere pensioner.

By this revolution, an addition of L.200,000 a-year was made

to the revenues of the Company. But the immediate relief was not as great as had been expected. The treasure laid up by Cheyte Sing had been popularly estimated at a million sterling. It turned out to be about a fourth part of that sum; and, such as it was, it was seized and divided as prize-money by the army.

Disappointed in his expectations from Benares, Hastings was more violent than he would otherwise have been, in his dealings with Oude. Sujah Dowlah had long been dead. His son and successor, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, was one of the weakest and most vicious even of eastern princes. His life was divided between torpid repose, and the most odious forms of sensuality. In his court there was boundless waste; throughout his dominions wretchedness and disorder. He had been, under the skilful management of the English government, gradually sinking from the rank of an independent prince to that of a vassal of the Company. It was only by the help of a British brigade that he could be secure from the aggressions of neighbours who despised his weakness, and from the vengeance of subjects who detested his tyranny. A brigade was furnished; and he engaged to defray the charge of paying and maintaining it. From that time his independence was at an end. Hastings was not a man to lose the advantage which he had thus gained. The Nabob soon began to complain of the burden which he had undertaken to bear. His revenues, he said, were falling off; his servants were unpaid; he could no longer support the expense of the arrangement which he had sanctioned. Hastings would not listen to these representations. The Vizier, he said, had invited the Government of Bengal to send him troops, and had promised to pay for them. The troops had been sent. How long the troops were to remain in Oude, was a matter not settled by the treaty. It remained, therefore, to be settled between the contracting parties. But the contracting parties differed. Who then must decide? The strongest.

Hastings also argued that, if the English force was withdrawn, Oude would certainly become a prey to anarchy, and would probably be overrun by a Mahratta army. That the finances of Oude were embarrassed, he admitted. But he contended, not without reason, that the embarrassment was to be attributed to the incapacity and vices of Asaph-ul-Dowlah himself, and that, if less were spent on the troops, the only effect would be that more would be squandered on worthless favourites.

Hastings had intended, after settling the affairs of Benares, to visit Lucknow, and there to confer with Asaph-ul-Dowlah. But the obsequious courtesy of the Nabob Vizier prevented this visit. With a small train he hastened to meet the Governor-General.

An interview took place in the fortress which, from the crest of the precipitous rock of Chunar, looks down on the waters of the Ganges.

At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money. Asaph-ul-Dowlah wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course by which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and of Bengal; and that course was adopted. It was simply this—that the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier should join to rob a third party; and the third party whom they determined to rob was the parent of one of the robbers.

The mother of the late nabob, and his wife, who was the mother of the present nabob, were known as the Begums or Princesses of Oude. They had possessed great influence over Sujah Dowlah, and had, at his death, been left in possession of a splendid dotation. The domains of which they received the rents and administered the government were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded by the late nabob—a treasure which was popularly estimated at near three millions sterling—was in their hands. They continued to occupy his favourite palace at Fyzabad, the Beautiful Dwelling; while Asaph-ul-Dowlah held his court in the stately Lucknow, which he had built for himself on the shores of the Goomti, and had adorned with noble mosques and colleges.

Asaph-ul-Dowlah had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length appealed to the English; and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to commit any further invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the government of Bengal. But times had changed; money was wanted; and the power which had given the guarantee was not ashamed to instigate the spoiler.

It was necessary to find some pretext for a confiscation, inconsistent not merely with plighted faith—not merely with the ordinary rules of humanity and justice—but with that great law of filial piety, which, even in the wildest tribes of savages—even in those more degraded communities which wither under the influence of a corrupt half-civilization—retains a certain authority over the human mind. A pretext was the last thing that Hastings was likely to want. The insurrection at Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These disturbances it was convenient to impute to the Princesses. Evidence for the imputa-

tion there was scarcely any; unless reports wandering from one mouth to another, and gaining something by every transmission, may be called evidence. The accused were furnished with no charge; they were permitted to make no defence; for the Governor-General wisely considered, that if he tried them, he might not be able to find a ground for plundering them. It was agreed between him and the Nabob Vizier, that the noble ladies should, by a sweeping measure of confiscation, be stripped of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company; and that the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the government of Oude.

While Asaph-ul-Dowlah was at Chunar, he was completely subjugated by the clear and commanding intellect of the English statesman. But when they had separated, he began to reflect with uneasiness on the engagement into which he had entered. His mother and grandmother protested and implored. His heart, deeply corrupted by absolute power and licentious pleasures, yet not naturally unfeeling, failed him in this crisis. Even the English resident at Lucknow, though hitherto devoted to Hastings, shrank from extreme measures. But the Governor-General was inexorable. He wrote to the resident in terms of the greatest severity, and declared that, if the spoliation which had been agreed upon were not instantly carried into effect, he would himself go to Lucknow, and do that from which feebler minds recoiled with dismay. The resident, thus menaced, waited on his Highness, and insisted that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into full and immediate effect. Asaph-ul-Dowlah yielded—making at the same time a solemn protestation, that he yielded to compulsion. The lands were resumed; but the treasure was not so easily obtained. It was necessary to use force. A body of the Company's troops marched to Fyzabad, and forced the gates of the palace. The princesses were confined to their own apartments. But still they refused to submit. Some more stringent mode of coercion was to be found. A mode was found, of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow.

There were at Fyzabad two ancient men belonging to that unhappy class which a practice of immemorial antiquity in the East has excluded from the pleasures of love, and from the hope of posterity. It has always been held in Asiatic courts, that beings thus estranged from sympathy with their kind are those whom princes may most safely trust. Sujah Dowlah had been of this opinion. He had given his entire confidence to the two

eunuchs; and after his death they remained at the head of the household of his widow.

These men were, by the orders of the British government, seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death, in order to extort money from the princesses. After they had been two months in confinement, their health gave way. They implored permission to take a little exercise in the garden of their prison. The officer who was in charge of them stated, that if they were allowed this indulgence, there was not the smallest chance of their escaping, and that their irons really added nothing to the security of the custody in which they were kept. He did not understand the plan of his superiors. Their object in these inflictions was not security but torture; and all mitigation was refused. Yet this was not the worst. It was resolved by an English government that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors. For that purpose they were removed to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon there witnessed can only be guessed. But there remains on the records of Parliament this letter, written by a British resident to a British soldier:—

'Sir, the Nabob having determined to inflict corporal punish-
'ment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that
'his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the
'prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see
'proper.'

While these barbarities were perpetrated at Lucknow, the princesses were still under duresse at Fyzabad. Food was allowed to enter their apartments only in such scanty quantities, that their female attendants were in danger of perishing with hunger. Month after month this cruelty continued, till at length, after twelve hundred thousand pounds had been wrung out of the princesses, Hastings began to think that he had really got to the bottom of their revenue, and that no rigour could extort more. Then at length the wretched men who were detained at Lucknow regained their liberty. When their irons were knocked off, and the doors of their prison opened, their quivering lips, the tears which ran down their cheeks, and the thanksgivings which they poured forth to the common Father of Mussulmans and Christians, melted even the stout hearts of the English warriors who stood by.

There is a man to whom the conduct of Hastings, through the whole of these proceedings, appears not only excusable but laudable. There is a man who tells us, that he 'must really be
'pardoned if he ventures to characterize as something pre-emi-
'nently ridiculous and wicked, the sensibility which would

'balance against the preservation of British India a little per-'sonal suffering, which was applied only so long as the sufferers 'refused to deliver up a portion of that wealth, the whole of 'which their own and their mistresses' treason had forfeited.' We cannot, we must own, envy the reverend biographer, either his singular notion of what constitutes pre-eminent wickedness, or his equally singular perception of the pre-eminently ridiculous. Is this the generosity of an English soldier? Is this the charity of a Christian priest? Could neither of Mr Gleig's professions teach him the very rudiments of morality? Or is morality a thing which may be well enough in sermons, but which has nothing to do with biography?

But we must not forget to do justice to Sir Elijah Impey's conduct on this occasion. It was not indeed easy for him to intrude himself into a business so entirely alien from all his official duties. But there was something inexpressibly alluring, we must suppose, in the peculiar rankness of the infamy which was then to be got at Lucknow. He hurried thither as fast as relays of palankin-bearers could carry him. A crowd of people came before him with affidavits against the Begums, ready drawn in their hands. Those affidavits he did not read. The greater part, indeed, he could not read; for they were in Persian and Hindostanee, and no interpreter was employed. He administered the oath to the deponents, with all possible expedition; and asked not a single question, not even whether they had perused the statements to which they swore. This work performed, he got again into his palankin, and posted back to Calcutta, to be in time for the opening of term. The cause was one which, by his own confession, lay altogether out of his jurisdiction. Under the charter of justice, he had no more right to enquire into crimes committed by natives in Oude, than the Lord President of the Court of Session of Scotland to hold an assize at Exeter. He had no right to try the Begums, nor did he pretend to try them. With what object, then, did he undertake so long a journey? Evidently in order that he might give, in an irregular manner, that sanction which in a regular manner he could not give, to the crimes of those who had recently hired him; and in order that a confused mass of testimony which he did not sift, which he did not even read, might acquire an authority not properly belonging to it, from the signature of the highest judicial functionary in India.

The time was approaching, however, when he was to be stripped of that robe which has, never since the Revolution, been disgraced so foully as by him. The state of India had for some

time occupied much of the attention of the British parliament. Towards the close of the American war, two committees of the Commons sat on Eastern affairs. In the one Edmund Burke took the lead. The other was under the presidency of the able and versatile Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Great as are the changés which, during the last sixty years, have taken place in our Asiatic dominions, the reports which those committees laid on the table of the House will still be found most interesting and instructive.

There was as yet no connexion between the Company and either of the great parties in the state. The ministers had no motive to defend Indian abuses. On the contrary, it was for their interest to show, if possible, that the government and patronage of our Oriental empire might, with advantage, be transferred to themselves. The votes therefore, which, in consequence of the reports made by the two committees, were passed by the Commons, breathed the spirit of stern and indignant justice. The severest epithets were applied to several of the measures of Hastings, especially to the Rohilla war; and it was resolved, on the motion of Mr Dundas, that the Company ought to recall a Governor-General who had brought such calamities on the Indian people, and such dishonour on the British name. An act was passed for limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The bargain which Hastings had made with the Chief Justice was condemned in the strongest terms; and an address was presented to the king, praying that Impey might be ordered home to answer for his misdeeds.

Impey was recalled by a letter from the Secretary of State. But the proprietors of India stock resolutely refused to dismiss Hastings from their service; and passed a resolution affirming, what was undeniably true, that they were entrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their Governor-General; and that they were not bound to obey the directions of a single branch of the legislature with respect to such nomination or removal.

Thus supported by his employers, Hastings remained at the head of the government of Bengal till the spring of 1785. His administration, so eventful and stormy, closed in almost perfect quiet. In the Council there was no regular opposition to his measures. Peace was restored to India. The Mahratta war had ceased. Hyder was no more. A treaty had been concluded with his son, Tippoo; and the Carnatic had been evacuated by the armies of Mysore. Since the termination of the American war, England had no European enemy or rival in the Eastern seas.

On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. She still, indeed, maintained her place in the foremost rank of European powers; and the manner in which she had defended herself against fearful odds, had inspired surrounding nations with a high opinion both of her spirit and of her strength. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them; but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minorca and Florida; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West India islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing, was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected; the Nabob Vizier reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organization by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained, throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis the Sixteenth, or of the Emperor Joseph, was created and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, without exception, which existed when he left Bengal was his work. It is quite true that this system, after all the improvements suggested by the experience of sixty years, still needs improvement; and that it was at first far more defective than it now is. But whoever seriously considers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole of a machine so vast and complex as a government, will allow that what Hastings effected deserves high admiration. To compare the most celebrated European ministers to him, seems to us as unjust as it would be to compare the best baker in London with Robinson Crusoe;

who, before he could bake a single loaf, had to make his plough and his harrow, his fences and his scarecrows, his sickle and his flail, his mill and his oven.

The just fame of Hastings rises still higher, when we reflect that he was not bred a statesman; that he was sent from school to a counting-house; and that he was employed during the prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society.

Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for assistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than himself, to education. A minister in Europe finds himself, on the first day on which he commences his functions, surrounded by experienced public servants, the depositaries of official traditions. Hastings had no such help. His own reflection, his own energy, were to supply the place of all Downing Street and Somerset House. Having had no facilities for learning, he was forced to teach. He had first to form himself, and then to form his instruments; and this not in a single department, but in all the departments of the administration.

It must be added that, while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammelled by orders from home, and frequently borne down by a majority in council. The preservation of an Empire from a formidable combination of foreign enemies, the construction of a government in all its parts, were accomplished by him; while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes by his colleagues. We believe that there never was a public man whose temper was so severely tried;—not Marlborough, when thwarted by the Dutch Deputies;—not Wellington, when he had to deal at once with the Portuguese Regency, the Spanish Juntas, and Mr Percival. But the temper of Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet, but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations till a remedy could be found, resembled the patience of stupidity. He seems to have been capable of resentment, bitter and long-enduring; yet his resentment so seldom hurried him into any blunder, that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was any thing but policy.

The effect of his singular equanimity was, that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed. Accordingly, no complication of perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For every difficulty he had a contrivance ready; and, whatever may be thought of the

justice and humanity of some of his contrivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve the purpose for which they were designed.

Together with this extraordinary talent for devising expedients, Hastings possessed, in a very high degree, another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situation;—we mean the talent for conducting political controversy. It is as necessary to an English statesman in the East that he should be able to write, as it is to a minister in this country that he should be able to speak. It is chiefly by the oratory of a public man here, that the nation judges of his powers. It is from the letters and reports of a public man in India, that the dispensers of patronage form their estimate of him. In each case, the talent which receives peculiar encouragement is developed, perhaps at the expense of the other powers. In this country, we sometimes hear men speak above their abilities. It is not very unusual to find gentlemen in the Indian service who write above their abilities. The English politician is a little too much of a debater; the Indian politician a little too much of an essayist.

Of the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of Minutes and Despatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was indeed the person who gave to the official writing of the Indian governments the character which it still retains. He was matched against no common antagonist. But even Francis was forced to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candour, that there was no contending against the pen of Hastings. And, in truth, the Governor-General's power of making out a case—of perplexing what it was inconvenient that people should understand—and of setting in the clearest point of view whatever would bear the light, was incomparable. His style must be praised with some reservation. It was in general forcible, pure, and polished; but it was sometimes, though not often, turgid, and, on one or two occasions, even bombastic. Perhaps the fondness of Hastings for Persian literature may have tended to corrupt his taste.

And, since we have referred to his literary tastes, it would be most unjust not to praise the judicious encouragement which, as a ruler, he gave to liberal studies and curious researches. His patronage was extended, with prudent generosity, to voyages, travels, experiments, publications. He did little, it is true, towards introducing into India the learning of the West. To make the young natives of Bengal familiar with Milton and Adam Smith—to substitute the geography, astronomy, and surgery of Europe for the dotages of the Brahminical superstition, or for the imperfect science of ancient Greece transfused through Ara-

bian expositions—this was a scheme reserved to crown the beneficent administration of a far more virtuous ruler. Still, it is impossible to refuse high commendation to a man, who, taken from a ledger to govern an empire, overwhelmed by public business, surrounded by men as busy as himself, and separated by thousands of leagues from almost all literary society, gave, both by his example and by his munificence, a great impulse to learning. In Persian and Arabic literature he was deeply skilled. With the Sanscrit he was not himself acquainted; but those who first brought that language to the knowledge of European students, owed much to his encouragement. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society commenced its honourable career. That distinguished body selected him to be its first president; but, with excellent taste and feeling, he declined the honour in favour of Sir William Jones. But the chief advantage which the students of Oriental letters derived from his patronage, remains to be mentioned. The Pundits of Bengal had always looked with great jealousy on the attempts of foreigners to pry into those mysteries which were locked up in the sacred dialect. Their religion had been persecuted by the Mahommedans. What they knew of the spirit of the Portuguese government might warrant them in apprehending persecution from Christians. That apprehension, the wisdom and moderation of Hastings removed. He was the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India; and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence.

It is, indeed, impossible to deny that, in the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. If he had made himself popular with the English by giving up the Bengalees to extortion and oppression, or if, on the other hand, he had conciliated the Bengalees and alienated the English, there would have been no cause for wonder. What is peculiar to him is, that, being the chief of a small band of strangers who exercised boundless power over a great indigenous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many, and by the dominant few. The affection felt for him by the civil service was singularly ardent and constant. Through all his disasters and perils, his brethren stood by him with steadfast loyalty. The army, at the same time, loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory. Even in his disputes with distinguished military men, he could always count on the support of the military profession. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popu-

larity, such as other governors have perhaps better merited, but such as no other governor has been able to attain. He spoke their vernacular dialects with facility and precision. He was intimately acquainted with their feelings and usages. On one or two occasions, for great ends, he deliberately acted in defiance of their opinions; but on such occasions he gained more in their respect than he lost in their love. In general, he carefully avoided all that could shock their national or religious prejudices. His administration was indeed in many respects faulty; but the Bengalee standard of good government was not high. Under the Nabobs, the hurricane of Mahratta cavalry had passed annually over the rich alluvial plain. But even the Mahratta shrank from a conflict with the mighty children of the sea; and the immense rice-harvests of the Lower Ganges were safely gathered in, under the protection of the English sword. The first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless even than the Mahrattas; but that generation had passed away. Defective as was the police, heavy as were the public burdens, the oldest man in Bengal could probably not recollect a season of equal security and prosperity. For the first time within living memory, the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself. These things inspired good-will. At the same time, the constant success of Hastings, and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty, made him an object of superstitious admiration; and the more than regal splendour which he sometimes displayed, dazzled a people who have much in common with children. Even now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, the natives of India still talk of him as the greatest of the English; and nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly-caparisoned elephants of Sahib Warren Hostein.

The gravest offences of which Hastings was guilty, did not affect his popularity with the people of Bengal; for those offences were committed against neighbouring states. Those offences, as our readers must have perceived, we are not disposed to vindicate; yet, in order that the censure may be justly apportioned to the transgression, it is fit that the motive of the criminal should be taken into consideration. The motive which prompted the worst acts of Hastings, was misdirected and ill-regulated public spirit. The rules of justice, the sentiments of humanity, the plighted faith of treaties, were in his view as nothing, when opposed to the immediate interests of the state. This is no justification, according to the principles either of morality, or of what we believe to be identical with morality; namely,

far-sighted policy. Nevertheless, the common sense of mankind, which in questions of this sort seldom goes far wrong, will always recognize a distinction between crimes which originate in an inordinate zeal for the commonwealth, and crimes which originate in selfish cupidity. To the benefit of this distinction Hastings is fairly entitled. There is, we conceive, no reason to suspect that the Rohilla war, the revolution of Benares, or the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude, added a rupee to his fortune. We will not affirm that, in all pecuniary dealings, he showed that punctilious integrity, that dread of the faintest appearance of evil, which is now the glory of the Indian civil service. But when the school in which he had been trained, and the temptations to which he was exposed, are considered, we are more inclined to praise him for his general uprightness with respect to money, than rigidly to blame him for a few transactions which would now be called indelicate and irregular, but which even now would hardly be designated as corrupt. A rapacious man he certainly was not. Had he been so, he would infallibly have returned to his country the richest subject in Europe. We speak within compass, when we say that, without applying any extraordinary pressure, he might easily have obtained from the zemindars of the Company's provinces, and from neighbouring princes, in the course of thirteen years, more than three millions sterling, and might have outshone the splendour of Carlton House and of the *Palais Royal*. He brought home a fortune such as a Governor-General, fond of state, and careless of thrift, might easily, during so long a tenure of office, save out of his legal salary. Mrs Hastings, we are afraid, was less scrupulous. It was generally believed that she accepted presents with great alacrity, and that she thus formed, without the connivance of her husband, a private hoard, amounting to several lacs of rupees. We are the more inclined to give credit to this story, because Mr Gleig, who cannot but have heard it, does not, as far as we have observed, notice or contradict it.

The influence of Mrs Hastings over her husband was indeed such, that she might easily have obtained much larger sums than she was ever accused of receiving. At length her health began to give way; and the Governor-General, much against his will, was compelled to send her to England. He seems to have loved her with that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds—to men whose affection is not easily won or widely diffused. The talk of Calcutta ran for some time on the luxurious manner in which he fitted up the round-house of an Indiaman for her accommodation—on the profusion of sandal-wood and carved ivory which adorned her cabin—and on the thousands which had been

expended in order to procure for her the society of an agreeable female companion during the voyage. We may remark here, that the letters of Hastings to his wife are exceedingly characteristic—tender, and full of indications of esteem and confidence; but, at the same time, a little more ceremonious than is usual in so intimate a relation. The solemn courtesy with which he compliments 'his elegant Marian,' reminds us now and then of the dignified air with which Sir Charles Grandison bowed over Miss Byron's hand in the cedar parlour.

After some months Hastings prepared to follow his wife to England. When it was announced that he was about to quit his office, the feeling of the society which he had so long governed manifested itself by many signs. Addresses poured in from Europeans and Asiatics, from civil functionaries, soldiers, and traders. On the day on which he delivered up the keys of office, a crowd of friends and admirers formed a lane to the quay where he embarked. Several barges escorted him far down the river; and some attached friends refused to quit him till the low coast of Bengal was fading from the view, and till the pilot was leaving the ship.

Of his voyage little is known, except that he amused himself with books and with his pen; and that, among the compositions by which he beguiled the tediousness of that long leisure, was a pleasing imitation of Horace's *Otium Divos rogat*. This little poem was inscribed to his friend Mr Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth—a man of whose integrity, humanity, and honour, it is impossible to speak too highly; but who, like some other excellent members of the civil service, extended to the conduct of Hastings an indulgence of which his own conduct never stood in need.

The voyage was, for those times, very speedy. Hastings was little more than four months on the sea. In June 1785, he landed at Plymouth, posted to London, appeared at Court, paid his respects in Leadenhall Street, and then retired with his wife to Cheltenham.

He was greatly pleased with his reception. The King treated him with marked distinction. The Queen, who had already incurred much censure on account of the favour which, in spite of the ordinary severity of her virtue, she had shown to the 'elegant Marian,' was not less gracious to Hastings. The Directors received him in a solemn sitting; and their chairman read to him a vote of thanks which they had passed without one dissentient voice. 'I find myself,' said Hastings, in a letter written about a quarter of a year after his arrival in England.—'I find myself every where, and universally, treated with evidences,

'apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good 'opinion of my country.'

The confident and exulting tone of his correspondence about this time is the more remarkable, because he had already received ample notice of the attack which was in preparation. Within a week after he landed at Plymouth, Burke gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion seriously affecting a gentleman lately returned from India. The session, however, was then so far advanced, that it was impossible to enter on so extensive and important a subject.

Hastings, it is clear, was not sensible of the danger of his position. Indeed that sagacity, that judgment, that readiness in devising expedients, which had distinguished him in the East, seemed now to have forsaken him; not that his abilities were at all impaired; not that he was not still the same man who had triumphed over Francis and Nuncomar, who had made the Chief Justice and the Nabob Vizier his tools, who had deposed Cheyte Sing, and repelled Hyder Ali;—but an oak, as Mr Grattan finely said, should not be transplanted at fifty. A man who, having left England when a boy, returns to it after thirty or forty years passed in India, will find, be his talents what they may, that he has much both to learn and to unlearn before he can take a place among English statesmen. The working of a representative system, the war of parties, the arts of debate, the influence of the press, are startling novelties to him. Surrounded on every side by new machines and new tactics, he is as much bewildered as Hannibal would have been at Waterloo, or Themistocles at Trafalgar. His very acuteness deludes him. His very vigour causes him to stumble. The more correct his maxims, when applied to the state of society to which he is accustomed, the more certain they are to lead him astray. This was strikingly the case with Hastings. In India he had a bad hand; but he was master of the game, and he won every stake. In England he held excellent cards, if he had known how to play them; and it was chiefly by his own errors that he was brought to the verge of ruin.

Of all his errors the most serious was perhaps the choice of a champion. Clive, in similar circumstances, had made a singularly happy selection. He put himself into the hands of Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, one of the few great advocates who have also been great in the House of Commons. To the defence of Clive, therefore, nothing was wanting—neither learning nor knowledge of the world, neither forensic acuteness nor that eloquence which charms political assemblies. Hastings intrusted his interests to a very different person, a major in the

Bengal army named Scott. This gentleman had been sent over from India some time before as the agent of the Governor-General. It was rumoured that his services were rewarded with oriental munificence; and we believe that he received much more than Hastings could conveniently spare. The Major obtained a seat in Parliament, and was there regarded as the organ of his employer. It was evidently impossible that a gentleman so situated, could speak with the authority which belongs to an independent position. Nor had the agent of Hastings the talents necessary for obtaining the ear of an assembly which, accustomed to listen to great orators, had naturally become fastidious. He was always on his legs; he was very tedious; and he had only one topic, the merits and wrongs of Hastings. Every body who knows the House of Commons will easily guess what followed. The Major was soon considered as the greatest *bore* of his time. His exertions were not confined to Parliament. There was hardly a day on which the newspapers did not contain some puff upon Hastings, signed *Asiaticus* or *Bengalensis*, but known to be written by the indefatigable Scott; and hardly a month in which some bulky pamphlet on the same subject, and from the same pen, did not pass to the trunk-makers and the pastry-cooks. As to this gentleman's capacity for conducting a delicate question through Parliament, our readers will want no evidence beyond that which they will find in letters preserved in these volumes. We will give a single specimen of his temper and judgment. He designated the greatest man then living as 'that reptile Mr Burke.'

In spite, however, of this unfortunate choice, the general aspect of affairs was favourable to Hastings. The King was on his side. The Company and its servants were zealous in his cause. Among public men he had many ardent friends. Such were Lord Mansfield, who had outlived the vigour of his body but not of his mind; and Lord Lansdowne, who, though unconnected with any party, retained the importance which belongs to great talents and knowledge. The ministers were generally believed to be favourable to the late Governor-General. They owed their power to the clamour which had been raised against Mr Fox's East India bill. The authors of that bill, when accused of invading vested rights, and of setting up powers unknown to the constitution, had defended themselves by pointing to the crimes of Hastings, and by arguing that abuses so extraordinary justified extraordinary measures. Those who, by opposing that bill, had raised themselves to the head of affairs, would naturally be inclined to extenuate the evils which had been made the plea for administering so violent a remedy; and such, in fact, was their general disposition. The Lord-Chancellor Thurlow, in particular, whose

great place and force of intellect gave him a weight in the government inferior only to that of Mr Pitt, espoused the cause of Hastings with indecorous violence. Mr Pitt, though he had censured many parts of the Indian system, had studiously abstained from saying a word against the late chief of the Indian government. To Major Scott, indeed, the young minister had in private extolled Hastings as a great, a wonderful man, who had the highest claims on the government. There was only one objection to granting all that so eminent a servant of the public could ask;—the resolution of censure still remained on the journals of the House of Commons. That resolution was, indeed, unjust; but, till it was rescinded, could the minister advise the King to bestow any mark of approbation on the person censured? If Major Scott is to be trusted, Mr Pitt declared that this was the only reason which prevented the government from conferring a peerage on the late Governor-General. Mr Dundas was the only important member of the administration who was deeply committed to a different view of the subject. He had moved the resolutions which created the difficulty; but even from him little was to be apprehended. Since he presided over the committee on eastern affairs, great changes had taken place. He was surrounded by new allies; he had fixed his hopes on new objects; and whatever may have been his good qualities—and he had many—flattery itself never reckoned rigid consistency in the number.

From the ministry, therefore, Hastings had every reason to expect support; and the ministry was very powerful. The opposition was loud and vehement against him. But the opposition, though formidable from the wealth and influence of some of its members, and from the admirable talents and eloquence of others, was outnumbered in parliament, and odious throughout the country. Nor, as far as we can judge, was the opposition generally desirous to engage in so serious an undertaking as the impeachment of an Indian Governor. Such an impeachment must last for years. It must impose on the chiefs of the party an immense load of labour. Yet it could scarcely, in any manner, affect the event of the great political game. The followers of the coalition were therefore more inclined to revile Hastings than to prosecute him. They lost no opportunity of coupling his name with the names of the most hateful tyrants of whom history makes mention. The wits of Brookes's aimed their keenest sarcasms both at his public, and at his domestic life. Some fine diamonds which he had presented, as it was rumoured, to the royal family, and a certain richly carved ivory bed which the Queen had done him the honour to accept from him, were favourite subjects of ridicule. One lively poet proposed, that the

great acts of the fair Marian's present husband should be immortalized by the pencil of his predecessor; and that Imhoff should be employed to embellish the House of Commons with paintings of the bleeding Rohillas, of Nuncomar swinging, of Cheyte Sing letting himself down to the Ganges. Another, in an exquisitely humorous parody of Virgil's third eclogue, propounded the question—what that mineral could be of which the rays had power to make the most austere of princesses the friend of a wanton. A third described, with gay malevolence, the gorgeous appearance of Mrs Hastings at St James's, the galaxy of jewels, torn from Begums, which adorned her head-dress, her necklace gleaming with future votes, and the depending questions that shone upon her ears. Satirical attacks of this description, and perhaps a motion for a vote of censure, would have satisfied the great body of the opposition. But there were two men whose indignation was not to be so appeased, Philip Francis, and Edmund Burke.

Francis had recently entered the House of Commons, and had already established a character there for industry and talent. He laboured indeed under one most unfortunate defect—want of fluency. But he occasionally expressed himself with a dignity and energy worthy of the greatest orators. Before he had been many days in parliament, he incurred the bitter dislike of Pitt, who constantly treated him with as much asperity as the laws of debate would allow. Neither lapse of years nor change of scene had mitigated the enmities which Francis had brought back from the East. After his usual fashion, he mistook his malevolence for virtue; nursed it, as preachers tell us that we ought to nurse our good dispositions; and paraded it, on all occasions, with Pharisaical ostentation.

The zeal of Burke was still fiercer; but it was far purer. Men unable to understand the elevation of his mind, have tried to find out some discreditable motive for the vehemence and pertinacity which he showed on this occasion. But they have altogether failed. The idle story that he had some private slight to revenge, has long been given up, even by the advocates of Hastings. Mr Gleig supposes that Burke was actuated by party spirit, that he retained a bitter remembrance of the fall of the coalition, that he attributed that fall to the exertions of the East India interest, and that he considered Hastings as the head and the personification of that interest. This explanation seems to be sufficiently refuted by a reference to dates. The hostility of Burke to Hastings commenced long before the coalition; and lasted long after Burke had become a strenuous supporter of those by whom the coalition had been defeated. It began when Burke and Fox, closely allied together, were attacking the influ-

ence of the crown, and calling for peace with the American republic. It continued till Burke, alienated from Fox, and loaded with the favours of the crown, died, preaching a crusade against the French republic. It seems absurd to attribute to the events of 1784 an enmity which began in 1781, and which retained undiminished force long after persons far more deeply implicated than Hastings in the events of 1784, had been cordially forgiven. And why should we look for any other explanation of Burke's conduct than that which we find on the surface? The plain truth is, that Hastings had committed some great crimes, and that the thought of those crimes made the blood of Burke boil in his veins; for Burke was a man in whom compassion for suffering, and hatred of injustice and tyranny, were as strong as in Las Casas, or Clarkson. And although in him, as in Las Casas, and in Clarkson, these noble feelings were alloyed with the infirmity which belongs to human nature, he is, like them, entitled to this great praise, that he devoted years of intense labour to the service of a people with whom he had neither blood nor language, neither religion nor manners in common; and from whom no requital, no thanks, no applause could be expected.

His knowledge of India was such as few, even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country, have attained; and such as certainly was never attained by any public man who had not quitted Europe. He had studied the history, the laws, and the usages of the East with an industry, such as is seldom found united to so much genius and so much sensibility. Others have perhaps been equally laborious, and have collected an equal mass of materials; but the manner in which Burke brought his higher powers of intellect to work on statements of facts, and on tables of figures, was peculiar to himself. In every part of those huge bales of Indian information, which repelled almost all other readers, his mind, at once philosophical and poetical, found something to instruct or to delight. His reason analysed and digested those vast and shapeless masses; his imagination animated and coloured them. Out of darkness, and dulness, and confusion, he drew a rich abundance of ingenious theories and vivid pictures. He had, in the highest degree, that noble faculty, whereby man is able to live in the past and in the future, in the distant and in the unreal. India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people. The burning sun; the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa-tree; the rice-field and the tank; the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble; the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, and the rich tracery of the mosque,

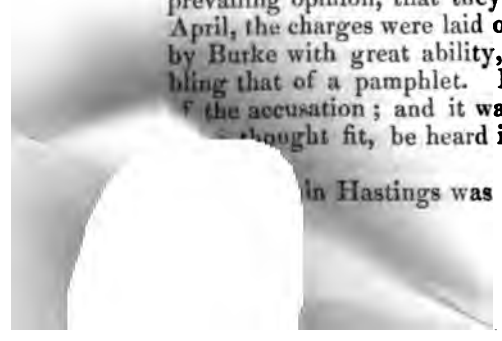
where the imaum prayed with his face to Mecca; the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols; the devotee swinging in the air; the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river-side; the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect; the turbans and the flowing robes; the spears and the silver maces; the elephants with their canopies of state; the gorgeous palankin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady—all those things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed—as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St James's Street. All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gipsy-camp was pitched—from the bazars, humming like bee-hives with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas. He had just as lively an idea of the insurrection at Benares as of Lord George Gordon's riots, and of the execution of Nuncomar as of the execution of Dr Dodd. Oppression in Bengal was to him the same thing as oppression in the streets of London.

He saw that Hastings had been guilty of some most unjustifiable acts. All that followed was natural and necessary in a mind like Burke's. His imagination and his passions, once excited, hurried him beyond the bounds of justice and good sense. His reason, powerful as it was, was reduced to be the slave of feelings which it should have controlled. His indignation, virtuous in its origin, acquired too much of the character of personal aversion. He could see no mitigating circumstance, no redeeming merit. His temper, which, though generous and affectionate, had always been irritable, had now been made almost savage by bodily infirmities and mental vexations. Conscious of great powers and great virtues, he found himself, in age and poverty, a mark for the hatred of a perfidious court, and a deluded people. In Parliament his eloquence was out of date. A young generation, which knew him not, had filled the House. Whenever he rose to speak, his voice was drowned by the unseemly interruptions of lads, who were in their cradles when his orations on the Stamp Act called forth the applause of the great Earl of Chatham. These things had produced on his proud and sensitive spirit an effect at which we cannot wonder. He could no longer discuss any question with calmness, or make allowances for honest difference of opinion. Those who think that he was more violent and acrimonious in debates about India than on other occasions, are ill-informed respecting the last years of his life. In the discussions on the Commercial Treaty with the

court of Versailles, on the Regency, on the French Revolution, he showed even more virulence than in conducting the impeachment. Indeed it may be remarked, that the very persons who represented him as a mischievous maniac for condemning in burning words the Rohilla war, and the spoliation of the Begums, exalted him into an inspired prophet as soon as he began to declaim, with greater vehemence, and not with greater reason, against the taking of the Bastile, and the insults offered to Marie-Antoinette. To us he appears to have been neither a maniac in the former case, nor a prophet in the latter; but in both cases a great and good man, led into extravagance by a tempestuous sensibility, which domineered over all his faculties.

It may be doubted whether the personal antipathy of Francis, or the nobler indignation of Burke, would have led their party to adopt extreme measures against Hastings, if his own conduct had been judicious. He should have felt that, great as his public services had been, he was not faultless; and should have been content to make his escape, without aspiring to the honours of a triumph. He and his agent took a different view. They were impatient for the rewards which, as they conceived, were deferred only till Burke's attack should be over. They accordingly resolved to force a decisive action with an enemy, for whom, if they had been wise, they would have made a bridge of gold. On the first day of the session of 1786, Major Scott reminded Burke of the notice given in the preceding year, and asked whether it was seriously intended to bring any charge against the late Governor-General. This challenge left no course open to the opposition, except to come forward as accusers, or to acknowledge themselves calumniators. The administration of Hastings had not been so blameless, nor was the great party of Fox and North so feeble, that it could be prudent to venture on so bold a defiance. The leaders of the opposition instantly returned the only answer which they could with honour return; and the whole party was irrevocably pledged to a prosecution.

Burke began his operations by applying for Papers. Some of the documents for which he asked were refused by the ministers, who, in the debate, held language such as strongly confirmed the prevailing opinion, that they intended to support Hastings. In April, the charges were laid on the table. They had been drawn by Burke with great ability, though in a form too much resembling that of a pamphlet. Hastings was furnished with a copy of the accusation; and it was intimated to him, that he might, if he thought fit, be heard in his own defence at the bar of the



In Hastings was pursued by the same fatality which

had attended him ever since the day when he set foot on English ground. It seemed to be decreed that this man, so politic and so successful in the East, should commit nothing but blunders in Europe. Any judicious adviser would have told him that the best thing which he could do would be to make an eloquent, forcible, and affecting oration at the bar of the House; but that, if he could not trust himself to speak, but found it necessary to read, he ought to be as concise as possible. Audiences accustomed to extemporaneous debating of the highest excellence, are always impatient of long written compositions. Hastings, however, sat down as he would have done at the Government-house in Bengal, and prepared a paper of immense length. That paper, if recorded on the consultations of an Indian administration, would have been justly praised as a very able minute. But it was now out of place. It fell flat, as the best written defence must have fallen flat, on an assembly accustomed to the animated and strenuous conflicts of Pitt and Fox. The members, as soon as their curiosity about the face and demeanour of so eminent a stranger was satisfied, walked away to dinner, and left Hastings to tell his story till midnight to the clerks and the sergeant-at-arms.

All preliminary steps having been duly taken, Burke, in the beginning of June, brought forward the charge relating to the Rohilla war. He acted discreetly in placing this accusation in the van; for Dundas had moved, and the House had adopted a resolution, condemning, in the most severe terms, the policy followed by Hastings with regard to Rohilcund. Dundas had little, or rather nothing, to say in defence of his own consistency; but he put a bold face on the matter, and opposed the motion. Among other things, he declared that, though he still thought the Rohilla war unjustifiable, he considered the services which Hastings had subsequently rendered to the state as sufficient to atone even for so great an offence. Pitt did not speak, but voted with Dundas; and Hastings was absolved by a hundred and nineteen votes against sixty-seven.

Hastings was now confident of victory. It seemed, indeed, that he had reason to be so. The Rohilla war was, of all his measures, that which his accusers might with greatest advantage assail. It had been condemned by the Court of Directors. It had been condemned by the House of Commons. It had been condemned by Mr Dundas, who had since become the chief minister of the Crown for Indian affairs. Yet Burke, having chosen this strong ground, had been completely defeated on it. That, having failed here, he should succeed on any point, was generally thought impossible. It was rumoured at the clubs and

coffee-houses, that one, or perhaps two more charges would be brought forward; that if, on those charges, the sense of the House of Commons should be against impeachment, the opposition would let the matter drop; that Hastings would be immediately raised to the peerage, decorated with the star of the Bath, sworn of the privy council, and invited to lend the assistance of his talents and experience to the India board. Lord Thurlow indeed, some months before, had spoken with contempt of the scruples which prevented Pitt from calling Hastings to the House of Lords; and had even said that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid of the Commons, there was nothing to prevent the Keeper of the Great Seal from taking the royal pleasure about a patent of peerage. The very title was chosen. Hastings was to be Lord Daylesford. For, through all changes of scene, and changes of fortune, remained unchanged his attachment to the spot which had witnessed the greatness and the fall of his family, and which had borne so great a part in the first dreams of his young ambition.

But in a very few days these fair prospects were overcast. On the 13th of June, Mr Fox brought forward, with great ability and eloquence, the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing. Francis followed on the same side. The friends of Hastings were in high spirits when Pitt rose. With his usual abundance and felicity of language, the minister gave his opinion on the case. He maintained that the Governor-General was justified in calling on the Rajah of Benares for pecuniary assistance, and in imposing a fine when that assistance was contumaciously withheld. He also thought that the conduct of the Governor-General during the insurrection, had been distinguished by ability and presence of mind. He censured, with great bitterness, the conduct of Francis, both in India and in Parliament, as most dishonest and malignant. The necessary inference from Pitt's arguments seemed to be, that Hastings ought to be honourably acquitted; and both the friends and the opponents of the minister expected from him a declaration to that effect. To the astonishment of all parties, he concluded by saying, that though he thought it right in Hastings to fine Cheyte Sing for contumacy, yet the amount of the fine was too great for the occasion. On this ground, and on this ground alone, did Mr Pitt, applauding every other part of the conduct of Hastings with regard to Benares, declare that he should vote in favour of Mr Fox's motion.

The House was thunderstruck; and it well might be so. For the wrong done to Cheyte Sing, even had it been as flagitious as Fox and Francis contended, was a trifle when compared with

the horrors which had been inflicted on Rohilcund. But if Mr Pitt's view of the case of Cheyte Sing were correct, there was no ground at all for an impeachment, or even for a vote of censure. If the offence of Hastings was really no more than this, that having a right to impose a mulct, the amount of which mulct was not defined, but was left to be settled by his discretion, he had, not for his own advantage, but for that of the state, demanded too much—was this an offence which required a criminal proceeding of the highest solemnity; a criminal proceeding, to which, during sixty years, no public functionary had been subjected? We can see, we think, in what way a man of sense and integrity might have been induced to take any course respecting Hastings, except the course which Mr Pitt took. Such a man might have thought a great example necessary, for the preventing of injustice, and for the vindicating of the national honour; and might, on that ground, have voted for impeachment both on the Rohilla charge, and on the Benares charge. Such a man might have thought that the offences of Hastings had been atoned for by great services, and might, on that ground, have voted against the impeachment on both charges. With great diffidence, we give it as our opinion, that the most correct course would, on the whole, have been to impeach on the Rohilla charge, and to acquit on the Benares charge. Had the Benares charge appeared to us in the same light in which it appeared to Mr Pitt, we should, without hesitation, have voted for acquittal on that charge. The one course which it is inconceivable that any man of a tenth part of Mr Pitt's abilities can have honestly taken, was the course which he took. He acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla charge. He softened down the Benares charge till it became no charge at all; and then he pronounced that it contained matter for impeachment.

Nor must it be forgotten, that the principal reason assigned by the ministry for not impeaching Hastings on account of the Rohilla war was, that the delinquencies of the early part of his administration had been atoned for by the excellence of the later part. Was it not most extraordinary, that men who had held this language could afterwards vote that the later part of his administration furnished matter for no less than twenty articles of impeachment? They first contended, that the conduct of Hastings in 1780 and 1781 was so highly meritorious, that, like works of supererogation in the Catholic theology, it ought to be efficacious for the cancelling of former offences; and they then prosecuted him for his conduct in 1780 and 1781.

The general astonishment was the greater, because, only twenty-four hours before, the members on whom the minister could

depend had received the usual notes from the treasury, begging them to be in their places and to vote against Mr Fox's motion. It was asserted by Mr Hastings, that early on the morning of the very day on which the debate took place, Dundas called on Pitt, woke him, and was closeted with him many hours. The result of this conference was a determination to give up the late Governor-General to the vengeance of the opposition. It was impossible even for the most powerful minister to carry all his followers with him in so strange a course. Several persons high in office, the Attorney-General, Mr Grenville, and Lord Mulgrave, voted against Mr Pitt. But the devoted adherents who stood by the head of the government without asking questions, were sufficiently numerous to turn the scale. A hundred and nineteen members voted for Mr Fox's motion; seventy-nine against it. Dundas silently followed Pitt.

That good and great man, the late William Wilberforce, often related the events of this remarkable night. He described the amazement of the House, and the bitter reflections which were muttered against the Prime Minister by some of the habitual supporters of government. Pitt himself appeared to feel that his conduct required some explanation. He left the treasury bench, sat for some time by Mr Wilberforce, and very earnestly declared that he had found it impossible, as a man of conscience, to stand any longer by Hastings. The business, he said, was too bad. Mr Wilberforce, we are bound to add, fully believed that his friend was sincere; and that the suspicions to which this mysterious affair gave rise, were altogether unfounded.

Those suspicions, indeed, were such as it is painful to mention. The friends of Hastings, most of whom, it is to be observed, generally supported the administration, affirmed that the motive of Pitt and Dundas was jealousy. Hastings was personally a favourite with the King. He was the idol of the East India Company, and of its servants. If he were absolved by the Commons, seated among the Lords, admitted to the Board of Control, closely allied with the strong-minded and imperious Thurlow, was it not almost certain that he would soon draw to himself the entire management of Eastern affairs? Was it not possible that he might become a formidable rival in the cabinet? It had probably got abroad that very singular communications had taken place between Thurlow and Major Scott; and that, if the First Lord of the Treasury was afraid to recommend Hastings for a peerage, the Chancellor was ready to take the responsibility of that step on himself. Of all ministers, Pitt was the least likely to submit with patience to such an encroachment on his functions. If the Commons impeached Hastings,

all danger was at an end. The proceeding, however it might terminate, would probably last some years. In the mean time, the accused person would be excluded from honours and public employments, and could scarcely venture even to pay his duty at court. Such were the motives attributed, by a great part of the public, to the young minister, whose ruling passion was generally believed to be avarice of power.

The prorogation soon interrupted the discussions respecting Hastings. In the following year, those discussions were resumed. The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by Sheridan, in a speech which was so imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost; but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately brilliant of all the productions of his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equalled. He sat down, not merely amidst cheering, but amidst the loud clapping of hands, in which the Lords below the bar, and the strangers in the gallery, joined. The excitement of the House was such that no other speaker could obtain a hearing, and the debate was adjourned. The impression made by this remarkable display of eloquence on severe and experienced critics, whose discernment may be supposed to have been quickened by emulation, was deep and permanent. Mr Windham, twenty years later, said that the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste, such as were seldom wanting either in the literary or in the parliamentary performances of Sheridan, the greatest that had been delivered within the memory of man. Mr Fox, about the same time, being asked by the late Lord Holland what was the best speech ever made in the House of Commons, assigned the first place, without hesitation, to the great oration of Sheridan on the Oude charge.

When the debate was resumed, the tide ran so strongly against the accused, that his friends were coughed and scraped down. Pitt declared himself for Sheridan's motion; and the question was carried by a hundred and seventy-five votes against sixty-eight.

The opposition, flushed with victory, and strongly supported by the public sympathy, proceeded to bring forward a succession of charges relating chiefly to pecuniary transactions. The friends of Hastings were discouraged, and, having now no hope of being able to avert an impeachment, were not very strenuous in their exertions. At length the House, having agreed to twenty articles of charge, directed Burke to go before the Lords, and to impeach the late Governor-General of High Crimes and Misdemeanours. Hastings was at the same time arrested by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and carried to the bar of the Peers.

The session was now within ten days of its close. It was, therefore, impossible that any progress could be made in the trial till the next year. Hastings was admitted to bail; and further proceedings were postponed till the Houses should re-assemble.

When Parliament met in the following winter, the Commons proceeded to elect a committee for managing the impeachment. Burke stood at the head, and with him were associated most of the leading members of the opposition. But when the name of Francis was read, a fierce contention arose. It was said that Francis and Hastings were notoriously on bad terms; that they had been at feud during many years; that on one occasion their mutual aversion had impelled them to seek each other's lives; and that it would be improper and indelicate to select a private enemy to be a public accuser. It was urged on the other side with great force, particularly by Mr Windham, that impartiality, though the first duty of a judge, had never been reckoned among the qualities of an advocate; that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice in England, the aggrieved party, the very last person who ought to be admitted into the jury-box, is the prosecutor; that what was wanted in a manager was, not that he should be free from bias, but that he should be energetic, able, well-informed, and active. The ability and information of Francis were admitted: and the very animosity with which he was reproached, whether a virtue or a vice, was at least a pledge for his energy and activity. It seems difficult to refute these arguments. But the inveterate hatred borne by Francis to Hastings had excited general disgust. The House decided that Francis should not be a manager. Pitt voted with the majority: Dundas with the minority.

In the mean time, the preparations for the trial had proceeded rapidly: and on the 13th of February 1788, the sittings of the Court commenced. There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster: but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot, and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilization were displayed with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many hundred centuries, to the days when the foundations of the con-

stitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus; the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty Kings; the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers; the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment; the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under Garter King-at-Arms. The judges, in their vestments of state, attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three-fourths of the Upper House, as the Upper House then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way—Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by such an audience as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous realm, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the Queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the Ambassadors of great Kings and Commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres; and when, before a senate which had still some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side,

the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition—a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation; but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There, too, was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire.

The Sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect;—a high and intellectual forehead;—a brow pensive, but not gloomy;—a mouth of inflexible decision;—a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the great picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis*;—such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterwards raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession,—the bold and strong-minded Law, afterwards Chief-justice of the King's Bench; the more humane and eloquent Dallas, afterwards Chief-justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer who, nearly twenty years later, successfully conducted in the same high court the defence of Lord Melville, and subsequently became Vice-chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much

notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence, was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood, contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There stood Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes, and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers; but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age—his form developed by every manly exercise—his face beaming with intelligence and spirit—the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in parliament. No advantage of fortune or connexion was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honour. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the delegates of the British Commons, at the bar of the British nobility. All who stood at that bar, save him alone, are gone—culprit, advocates, accusers. To the generation which is now in the vigour of life, he is the sole representative of a great age which has passed away. But those who, within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men among whom he was not the foremost.

The charges and the answers of Hastings were first read. This ceremony occupied two whole days, and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been, by the silver voice and

[illegible] a Lower [illegible] the [illegible], a near relation [illegible] [illegible] Junior [illegible]. Four sit- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] his opening speech, which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to all the charges. [illegible] [illegible] a succession of fiction which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the audience, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the natives of India; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] which the Asiatic empire of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the constitution of the Com- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Having thus attempted [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of Eastern society, as vivid [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], he proceeded to arraign [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] conducted in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The energy and pathos of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of unmeasured admiration [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Chancellor: and, for a moment, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the defendant. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] such displays of eloquence, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], and perhaps not unwill- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], were in a state of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Smelling-bottles were handed round. Hysterical sobs and screams were heard, and Miss Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the [illegible] [illegible]. Losing us more in the [illegible] arches of Irish oak [illegible]—Therefore, said he, with a confidence been

> entrusted by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!'

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr Fox rose to address the Lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was, that the Court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was, that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The Lords retired to their own house, to consider the question. The Chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the mana-

gers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

When the Court sat again, Mr Fox, assisted by Mr Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the Princesses of Oude. The conduct of this part of the case was intrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly-finished declamation lasted two days; but the Hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket. Sheridan, when he concluded, contrived, with a knowledge of stage-effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration!

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer, and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard: and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the Court began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the Begums. From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning, or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two, to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible to English ears—with lacs and crores, zemindars and aumils, sunnuds and perwannahs, jaghires and nuzzurs. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste, or with the best temper, between the managers of the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr Burke and Mr Law. There remained the endless marches and countermarches of the Peers between their house and the Hall: for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their lordships retired to discuss it apart; and the consequence was, as the late Lord Stanhope wittily said, that the judges walked and the trial stood still.

It is to be added, that in the spring of 1788, when the trial commenced, no important question, either of domestic or foreign

would have finished the trial of Hastings in less than three months. The Lords had not finished their work in seven years.

The result ceased to be matter of doubt, from the time when the Lords resolved that they would be guided by the rules of evidence which are received in the inferior courts of the realm. Those rules, it is well known, exclude much information which would be quite sufficient to determine the conduct of any reasonable man, in the most important transactions of private life. Those rules, at every assizes, save scores of culprits, whom judges, jury, and spectators, firmly believe to be guilty. But when those rules were rigidly applied to offences committed many years before, at the distance of many thousand miles, conviction was, of course, out of the question. We do not blame the accused and his counsel for availing themselves of every legal advantage in order to obtain an acquittal. But it is clear that an acquittal so obtained cannot be pleaded in bar of the judgment of history.

Several attempts were made by the friends of Hastings to put a stop to the trial. In 1789 they proposed a vote of censure upon Burke, for some violent language which he had used respecting the death of Nuncomar, and the connexion between Hastings and Impey. Burke was then unpopular in the last degree both with the house and with the country. The asperity and indecency of some expressions which he had used during the debates on the Regency, had annoyed even his warmest friends. The vote of censure was carried, and those who had moved it hoped that the managers would resign in disgust. Burke was deeply hurt. But his zeal for what he considered as the cause of justice and mercy, triumphed over his personal feelings. He received the censure of the house with dignity and meekness, and declared that no personal mortification or humiliation should induce him to flinch from the sacred duty which he had undertaken.

In the following year, the Parliament was dissolved; and the friends of Hastings entertained a hope that the new House of Commons might not be disposed to go on with the impeachment. They began by maintaining that the whole proceeding was terminated by the dissolution. Defeated on this point, they made a direct motion that the impeachment should be dropped; but they were defeated by the combined forces of the government and the opposition. It was, however, resolved that, for the sake of expedition, many of the articles should be withdrawn. In truth, had not some such measure been adopted, the trial would have lasted till the defendant was in his grave.

At length, in the spring of 1795, the decision was pronounced,

nearly eight years after Hastings had been brought by the sergeant-at-arms of the Commons to the bar of the Lords. On the last day of this great procedure, the public curiosity, long suspended, seemed to be revived. Anxiety about the judgment there could be none; for it had been fully ascertained that there was a great majority for the defendant. But many wished to see the pageant, and the hall was as much crowded as on the first day. But those who, having been present on the first day, now bore a part in the proceedings of the last, were few, and most of those few were altered men.

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. The spectator could not look at the woolsack, or at the red benches of the Peers, or at the green benches of the Commons, without seeing something that reminded him of the instability of all human things;—of the instability of power and fame and life, of the more lamentable instability of friendship. The great seal was borne before Lord Loughborough, who, when the trial commenced, was a fierce opponent of Mr Pitt's government, and who was now a member of that government; while Thurlow, who presided in the court when it first sat, estranged from all his old allies, sat scowling among the junior barons. Of a hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. What had become of that fair fellowship, so closely bound together by public and private ties, so resplendent with every talent and accomplishment? It had been scattered by calamities more bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living, and still in the full vigour of their genius. But their friendship was at an end. It had been violently and publicly dissolved with tears and stormy reproaches. If those men, once so dear to each other, were now compelled to meet for the purpose of managing the impeachment, they met as strangers whom public business had brought together, and behaved to each other with cold and distant civility. Burke had in his vortex whirled away Windham. Fox had been followed by Sheridan and Grey.

Only twenty-nine Peers voted. Of these only six found Hastings guilty, on the charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums. On other charges, the majority in his favour was still greater. On some, he was unanimously absolved. He was then called to the bar, informed from the woolsack that the Lords had acquitted him, and solemnly discharged. He bowed respectfully, and retired.

We have said that the decision had been fully expected. It

was also generally approved. At the commencement of the trial there had been a strong and indeed unreasonable feeling against Hastings. At the close of the trial, there was a feeling equally strong and equally unreasonable in his favour. One cause of the change was, no doubt, what is commonly called the fickleness of the multitude, but what seems to us to be merely the general law of human nature. Both in individuals and in masses violent excitement is always followed by remission, and often by reaction. We are all inclined to depreciate whatever we have overpraised; and, on the other hand, to show undue indulgence where we have shown undue rigour. It was thus in the case of Hastings. The length of his trial, moreover, made him an object of compassion. It was thought, and not without reason, that, even if he was guilty, he was still an ill-used man, and that an impeachment of eight years was more than a sufficient punishment. It was also felt that, though in the ordinary course of criminal law, a defendant is not allowed to set off his good actions against his crimes, a great political cause should be tried on different principles; and that a man who had governed a great country during thirteen years might have done some very reprehensible things, and yet might be on the whole deserving of rewards and honours rather than of fine and imprisonment. The Press, an instrument neglected by the prosecutors, was used by Hastings and his friends with great effect. Every ship, too, that arrived from Madras or Bengal brought a cuddy full of his admirers. Every gentleman from India spoke of the late Governor-General as having deserved better, and having been treated worse, than any man living. The effect of this testimony, unanimously given by all persons who knew the East, was naturally very great. Retired members of the Indian services, civil and military, were settled in all corners of the kingdom. Each of them was, of course, in his own little circle regarded as an oracle on an Indian question; and they were, with scarcely one exception, the zealous advocates of Hastings. It is to be added, that the numerous addresses to the late Governor-General, which his friends in Bengal obtained from the natives and transmitted to England, made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance. That Hastings was beloved by the people whom he governed is true; but the eulogies of pundits, zemindars, Mahommedan doctors, do not prove it to be true. For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write, to sign a panegyric on the most odious ruler that ever was in India. It was said that at Benares, the very place at which the acts set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed, the natives had erected a temple to Hast-

and this story excited a strong sensation in England.
e's observations on the apotheosis were admirable. He saw
ason for astonishment, he said, in the incident which had
represented as so striking. He knew something of the
ology of the Brahmins. He knew that, as they worshipped
gods from love, so they worshipped others from fear.
new that they erected shrines, not only to the benig-
deities of light and plenty, but also to the fiends who preside
small-pox and murder. Nor did he at all dispute the claim
r Hastings to be admitted into such a Pantheon. This re-
as always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made
arliament. It is a grave and forcible argument, decorated
e most brilliant wit and fancy.

astings was, however, safe. But, in every thing except cha-
r, he would have been far better off, if, when first impeached,
ad at once pleaded guilty, and paid a fine of fifty thousand
ds. He was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his de-
e had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear
is attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had
paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in
ing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating
ts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the House of Com-
s that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in cor-
ing the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon,
the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left un-
loyed. Logan, in prose, defended the accused Governor
great ability. For the lovers of verse, the speeches of the
agers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are
id, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the
of that malignant and filthy baboon, John Williams, who called
self Anthony Pasquin. It was necessary to subsidize such allies
ely. The private hoards of Mrs Hastings had disappeared. It
aid that the banker to whom they had been intrusted had failed.
ll, if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would, after all
losses, have had a moderate competence; but in the manage-
nt of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish
his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in
very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accom-
shed; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years be-
e, returned to the descendant of its old lords. But the manor-
use was a ruin; and the grounds round it had, during many
ars, been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to
nt, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto; and, before
was dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords, he had
pended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

The general feeling both of the directors and of the proprietors of the East India Company was, that he had great claims on them, that his services to them had been eminent, and that his misfortunes had been the effect of his zeal for their interests. His friends in Leadenhall Street proposed to reimburse him for the costs of his trial, and to settle on him an annuity of five thousand pounds a-year. But the consent of the Board of Control was required; and at the head of the Board of Control was Mr Dundas, who had himself been a party to the impeachment, who had, on that account, been reviled with great bitterness by the partizans of Hastings, and who, therefore, was not in a very complying mood. He refused to consent to what the Directors suggested. The Directors remonstrated. A long controversy followed. Hastings, in the mean time, was reduced to such distress, that he could hardly pay his weekly bills. At length a compromise was made. An annuity of four thousand a-year was settled on Hastings; and, in order to enable him to meet pressing demands, he was to receive ten years' annuity in advance. The Company was also permitted to lend him fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by instalments, without interest. This relief, though given in the most absurd manner, was sufficient to enable the retired governor to live in comfort, and even in luxury, if he had been a skilful manager. But he was careless and profuse, and was more than once under the necessity of applying to the Company for assistance, which was liberally given.

He had security and affluence, but not the power and dignity, which, when he landed from India, he had reason to expect. He had then looked forward to a coronet, a red riband, a seat at the Council Board, an office at Whitehall. He was then only fifty-two, and might hope for many years of bodily and mental vigour. The case was widely different when he left the bar of the Lords. He was now too old a man to turn his mind to a new class of studies and duties. He had no chance of receiving any mark of royal favour while Mr Pitt remained in power; and, when Mr Pitt retired, Hastings was approaching his seventieth year.

Once, and only once, after his acquittal, he interfered in politics, and that interference was not much to his honour. In 1804, he exerted himself strenuously to prevent Mr Addington, against whom Fox and Pitt had combined, from resigning the Treasury. It is difficult to believe that a man so able and energetic as Hastings, can have thought that, when Bonaparte was at Boulogne with a great army, the defence of our island could safely be entrusted to a ministry which did not contain a single person whom flattery could describe as a great statesman. It is also certain that, on the important question which had raised Mr Addington to power,

and on which he differed from both Fox and Pitt, Hastings, as might have been expected, agreed with Fox and Pitt, and was decidedly opposed to Addington. Religious intolerance has never been the vice of the Indian service, and certainly was not the vice of Hastings. But Mr Addington had treated him with marked favour. Fox had been a principal manager of the impeachment. To Pitt it was owing that there had been an impeachment; and Hastings, we fear, was on this occasion guided by personal considerations, rather than by a regard to the public interest.

The last twenty-four years of his life were chiefly passed at Daylesford. He amused himself with embellishing his grounds, riding fine Arab horses, fattening prize-cattle, and trying to rear Indian animals and vegetables in England. He sent for seeds of a very fine custard-apple, from the garden of what had once been his own villa, among the green hedgerows of Allipore. He tried also to naturalize in Worcestershire the delicious leechee, almost the only fruit of Bengal which deserves to be regretted even amidst the plenty of Covent-Garden. The Mogul emperors, in the time of their greatness, had in vain attempted to introduce into Hindostan the goat of the table-land of Thibet, whose down supplies the looms of Cashmere with the materials of the finest shawls. Hastings tried, with no better fortune, to rear a breed at Daylesford; nor does he seem to have succeeded better with the cattle of Bootan, whose tails are in high esteem as the best fans for brushing away the mosquitoes.

Literature divided his attention with his conservatories and his menagerie. He had always loved books, and they were now necessary to him. Though not a poet, in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent. Indeed, if we must speak out, he seems to have been more of a Trissotin than was to be expected from the powers of his mind, and from the great part which he had played in life. We are assured in these Memoirs, that the first thing which he did in the morning was to compose a copy of verses. When the family and guests assembled, the poem made its appearance as regularly as the eggs and rolls; and Mr Gleig requires us to believe that, if from any accident Hastings came to the breakfast-table without one of his charming performances in his hand, the omission was felt by all as a grievous disappointment. Tastes differ widely. For ourselves, we must say that, however good the breakfasts at Daylesford may have been—and we are assured that the tea was of the most aromatic flavour, and that neither tongue nor venison-pasty was wanting—we should have thought the reckoning

high if we had been forced to earn our repast by listening every day to a new madrigal or sonnet composed by our host. We are glad, however, that Mr Gleig has preserved this little feature of character, though we think it by no means a beauty. It is good to be often reminded of the inconsistency of human nature; and to learn to look without wonder or disgust on the weaknesses which are found in the strongest minds. Dionysius in old times, Frederic in the last century, with capacity and vigour equal to the conduct of the greatest affairs, united all the little vanities and affectations of provincial blue-stockings. These great examples may console the admirers of Hastings for the affliction of seeing him reduced to the level of the Hayleys and Sewards.

When Hastings had passed many years in retirement, and had long outlived the common age of men, he again became for a short time an object of general attention. In 1813 the charter of the East India Company was renewed; and much discussion about Indian affairs took place in Parliament. It was determined to examine witnesses at the bar of the Commons, and Hastings was ordered to attend. He had appeared at that bar once before. It was when he read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Since that time twenty-seven years had elapsed; public feeling had undergone a complete change; the nation had now forgotten his faults, and remembered only his services. The reappearance, too, of a man who had been among the most distinguished of a generation that had passed away, who now belonged to history, and who seemed to have risen from the dead, could not but produce a solemn and pathetic effect. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and, when he retired, rose and uncovered. There were, indeed, a few who did not sympathize with the general feeling. One or two of the managers of the impeachment were present. They sate in the same seats which they had occupied when they had been thanked for the services which they had rendered in Westminster Hall; for, by the courtesy of the house, a member who has been thanked in his place, is considered as having a right always to occupy that place. These gentlemen were not disposed to admit that they had employed several of the best years of their lives in persecuting an innocent man. They accordingly kept their seats, and pulled their hats over their brows; but the exceptions only made the prevailing enthusiasm more remarkable. The Lords received the old man with similar tokens of respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws; and, in the Sheldonian theatre, the under-graduates welcomed him with tumultuous cheering.

These marks of public esteem were soon followed by marks of the favour of the crown. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited England, Hastings appeared in their train both at Oxford and in the Guildhall of London; and, though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was every where received by the public with marks of respect and admiration. He was presented by the Prince Regent both to Alexander and to Frederic William; and his Royal Highness went so far as to declare in public, that honours far higher than a seat in the Privy Council were due, and should soon be paid, to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings now confidently expected a peerage; but, from some unexplained cause, he was again disappointed.

He lived about four years longer, in the enjoyment of good spirits, of faculties not impaired to any painful or degrading extent, and of health such as is rarely enjoyed by those who attain such an age. At length, on the 22d of August 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life.

With all his faults—and they were neither few nor small—only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation, where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the Great Abbey which has for ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have been mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish-church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely-extended name. On that very spot probably, fourscore years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen. Even then his young mind had revolved plans which might be called romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line. Not only had he repurchased the old lands, and rebuilt the old dwelling. He had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the

capacity of Richelieu; and had patronized learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a single victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age—in peace, after so many troubles; in honour, after so much obloquy.

Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence, will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue—in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others—he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But while we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect—his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy—his dauntless courage—his honourable poverty—his fervent zeal for the interests of the state—his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1842.

No. CL.

ART. I.— *The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, founded on their History.* By the Rev. WILLIAM WHEWELL, B.D., Fellow (now Master) of Trinity College, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.

IT is with considerable reluctance, and not without some pain, that we sit down to record our opinion of the work before us, and to endeavour to convey to our readers the impressions, often deep and solemn, as regards the interests of truth and science, which the statements and speculations of the author have left upon our minds.

It is doubtless a pleasing task to appreciate the labours of distinguished men who have devoted the vigour of their lives to the illustration and extension of existing knowledge; nor is it less pleasing to follow the reformer and legislator of science, in consolidating its achievements, in teaching us how to occupy its impregnable positions, in rounding its frontiers, and in leading us on to new and distant conquests. But if the task is performed by an individual whose speed neither time nor tide can stay—whose movements are neither equable nor straight-forward, who comes into perpetual collision with those who are struggling in the same cause, and thus creates a general mutiny in the 'tented field'—it becomes the duty of the critic to interpose his authority,

however feeble, in attempting to give peace to a community thus divided against itself.

Although, in our notice of Mr Whewell's *History*, we ventured to anticipate the general character of his *Philosophy* of science, yet we confess that we did expect a work very different from what we have found it to be. We never doubted that Mr Whewell would avowedly adopt many of the suggestions, and correct many of the errors which had been placed before him; and still less did we doubt that his reformed code of philosophy would lay down many positive rules and directions, however imperfect, for carrying on scientific enquiries.

Our disappointment, however, has been great; and so great has been the disappointment of others, that competent judges regard the present work as the *Philosophy* of scholastic *Metaphysics* rather than of physical *Science;* and question the ability of any natural philosopher to analyse its materials, and pronounce upon its merits. That this opinion is a correct one, is proved by two of the ablest and most partial notices of it; in which it is substantially treated as a metaphysical work, where all the thorny questions of speculative philosophy are discussed and decided. Distinctions which language can with difficulty mark, speculations which strain the human mind in its attempt to grasp them, and positions on which no two writers are agreed, are thus made the foundation of Inductive Science, and the noble pillar of physical truth is thus erected on piles driven into the quicksands of mysticism and sophistry.

The *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* is introduced by a preface of one hundred and twenty pages, containing one hundred and eighty-six aphorisms respecting ideas, knowledge, and the language of science. Although the truths and truisms which they contain afford a rich field for criticism, we have no disposition to enter upon it. We read them without making any useful acquisition, and we have not skill enough to perceive how they are to promote the advancement of the physical sciences. The author's passion for coining new words, and thus perplexing in place of promoting enquiry, is here strikingly displayed. The first occasion on which M. Comte's name is mentioned, is in telling us that he uses *Thermology* and *Electrology*, for the sciences of heat and electricity; whereas Mr Whewell prefers *Thermotics* and ELECTRICS!—Those persons who have that peculiarity of vision which disables them from distinguishing colours, Mr Whewell proposes to designate by the name of *Idiopts*—a term not wanted, and one which, when submitted to the eye of a compositor, will infallibly part with one of its most essential letters.

A more serious invasion of the rights of scientific nomenclature, and of the privileges of men of science, presents itself in the last aphorism.

'I will mention,' says Mr Whewell, 'another suggestion respecting the introduction of an improvement in scientific language. The term *Depolarization* was introduced, because it *was believed that the effect of certain crystals*, when polarized light was incident upon them in certain positions, was to *destroy the peculiarity* which polarization had produced. But it is now well known, that the effect of the second crystal in general, is to divide the polarized ray of light into two rays, polarized in different planes. *Still*, this effect is often spoken of as *depolarization*, no better term having been yet devised. I have proposed and used the term *dipolarization*, which *well expresses* what takes place, and so nearly resembles the older word, that it must sound familiar to those already acquainted with writings on this subject.'

This extraordinary proposal evinces a singular want of acquaintance with the subject to which it refers, and as singular a self-confidence in the author of it. The term *Depolarization* was applied to the same phenomenon, when discovered by two philosophers living on different sides of the Channel; and was equally applicable, whether the polarization was considered as *absolutely* destroyed or *relatively changed*. In some cases it was absolutely destroyed—namely, in those cases where the depolarizing body had itself a *quaquaversus polarizing structure*; in which cases the emergent light had the characters of common light. But in other cases, where the depolarizing body was a regularly crystallized mineral, the polarization was only *changed*. Even here, however, the term, if it did imply destruction, was quite appropriate. The original character of the polarization was *destroyed*, and a new one induced. Depolarization, therefore, when applied to the mass of phenomena, meant nothing more than that light polarized in one plane, was *depolarized*, or *polarized from* or *out of* its original plane, in *one*, *two*, or *more* planes, according as the depolarizing body had *single* refraction, like *agate* and *tourmaline*; *double* refraction, like *mica* and *topaz*; or *quaquaversus* refraction and polarization, like a vast variety of bodies which produce the same effect on the polarized ray, in whatever position they are placed. But Mr Whewell has entirely forgotten that *depolarization* is produced by *reflection* and *refraction*, in which cases his term *dipolarization* would be ridiculous. Real depolarization is finely displayed in the circular crystals of decomposed glass, where no duplication of images exists. *Depolarization* has degrees: *dipolarization* has none,—unless we use it—which we cannot do—as synonymous with double refraction. When Mr Whewell comes to explain the

polarization of heat, he discovers that *depolarization* is here perfectly applicable, and *he actually uses the term which he has rejected!* stating that *depolarization* is really shown 'by a partial 'destruction of the differences which polarization establishes!'*

Mr Whewell's work is divided into Two Parts.—Part I. Of Ideas.—Part II. Of Knowledge.—The First Part is again subdivided into Ten Books, which treat, 1. Of Ideas in General, and 2. Of the Philosophy of the different Sciences.

The Second Part is subdivided into Three Books, which treat of the Construction of Science, of the different Opinions on the Nature of Knowledge, and the Means of seeking it, and of the Methods employed in the Formation of Science.

In pursuance of our plan, of noticing only those portions of the present work which have a distinct bearing upon the progress of Physical science, and in the examination of which we can employ the tests of experience and observation—our attention is first arrested by the chapter *On the Perception of Ideas.* In this chapter, Mr Whewell announces his adherence to the novel doctrine—maintained by two Scotch philosophers—that we possess a Sixth Sense, called the Muscular Sense; and, without taking time to consider the relations which the doctrine bears to facts and laws universally admitted, he adopts it in all its aspects and consequences; and leaves the philosophy of perception under the incubus of the greatest heresy that has for a long period disturbed the tranquillity of science. As this doctrine refers both to the senses of *Touch* and *Sight*, we must consider it under these two separate relations.

Mr Whewell announces his conversion to the doctrine in the following manner:—

'But does the sense of *Touch* give us directly a knowledge of space? This is a question which has attracted considerable notice in recent times; and new light has been thrown upon it, in a degree which is very remarkable, when we consider that the philosophy of perception has been a prominent subject of enquiry from the earliest times. Two philosophers, advancing to this enquiry from different sides—the one a *metaphysician*, the other a *physiologist*—have independently arrived at the conviction, that the long-current opinion, according to which *we acquire a knowledge of space by the sense of touch*, is erroneous. And the doctrine which they teach, instead of the *ancient error*, has a very important bearing upon the principle which we are endeavouring to establish—that our knowledge of space and its properties is derived rather from the active operations than from the passive impressions of the percipient mind. Undoubtedly the persuasion, that we acquire a know-

* *History of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 494.

ledge of form by the touch, is very obviously suggested by our common habits. If we wish to know the form of any body in the dark, or to correct the impressions conveyed by sight, when we suspect them to be false, we have only, it seems to us, at least at first, to stretch forth the hand and touch the object; and we learn its shape, with no chance of error. In these cases, form appears to be as immediate a perception of the sense of touch, as colour is of the sense of sight.

'But is this perception really the result of the passive sense of touch merely? Against such an opinion Dr Brown, the metaphysician of whom I speak, urges, that the feeling of touch alone, when any object is applied to the hand, or any other part of the body, can no more convey the conception of form, or extension, than the sensation of an odour or a taste can do, except we have already some knowledge of the relative position of the parts of our bodies; that is, except we are already in possession of an idea of space, and have in our *minds* referred our limbs to their positions; which is to suppose the conception of form already acquired.

'By what faculty, then, do we originally acquire our conceptions of the relations of position? Brown answers, by the *muscular sense;* that is, the conscious exertions of the various muscles by which we move our limbs. When we feel out the form and position of bodies by the hand, our knowledge is acquired, not by the mere touch of the body, but by perceiving the course the fingers must take, in order to follow the surface of the body, or to pass from one body to another. We are conscious of the slightest of the volitions by which we thus feel out form and place; we know whether we move the finger to the right or left, up or down, to us or from us, through a large or a small space; and all these conscious acts are bound together and regulated, in our minds, by an idea of an extended space in which they are performed. That this idea of space is not borrowed from the sight, and transferred to the muscular feelings by habit, is evident. For a man born blind can feel out his way with his staff, and has his conceptions of position determined by the conditions of space, no less than one who has the use of his eyes. And the muscular consciousness which reveals to us the position of objects and parts of objects when we feel them out by means of the hand, shows itself in a thousand other ways, and in all our limbs; for our habits of standing, walking, and all other attitudes and motions, are regulated by our feelings of our position, and that of surrounding objects. And thus we cannot touch any object without learning something respecting its position; not that the sense of touch directly conveys such knowledge; but we have already learnt from the muscular sense, constantly exercised, the position of the limb which the object thus touches.

'The justice of this distinction will, I think, be assented to by all persons who attend steadily to the process itself, and might be maintained by many forcible reasons. Perhaps one of the most striking evidences in its favour is, that, as I have already intimated, it is the opinion to which another distinguished philosopher, Sir Charles Bell, has been led, reasoning entirely upon physiological principles.'—Vol. I. p. 113—116.

It is impossible to read with attention the preceding extract, without perceiving the difficulties with which the metaphysician and the physiologist have surrounded the subject. Dr Brown devotes to the discussion of this question nearly three lectures, written with that exquisite taste and ingenuity, but at the same time with that imperfect apprehension of physical truth, which all his speculations exhibit. He supposes our whole *muscular frame* to be a *distinct organ* of sense; but in the application of this supposition, he again and again cautions his readers 'with 'respect to the *great difficulty of the enquiry*, and the very '*humble reliance*, therefore, which we can have any title to put 'on the results of an investigation of a subject *so very obscure*.'* And he afterwards recommends 'a very humble assurance as to 'the *certainty* of any opinion which we may be led to form'† on this subject. Mr Whewell, however, feels no such difficulties, and recommends no such caution; but 'rushes in,' where our distinguished countryman 'fears to tread.'

In discussing this subject, we must remind our readers that till the nineteenth century we had only FIVE SENSES—those of *Sight*, *Hearing*, *Touch*, *Taste*, and *Smell*. Each sense has an appropriate organ, consisting of a peculiar nervous expansion with its accompanying nerves, for receiving and conveying the sensation to the brain. We *see* by means of the nervous membrane called the *Retina*, and we should still see, if the human eye, without a muscle to elevate or move it, lay motionless in its socket. We *feel* external objects by means of the nervous apparatus of Touch; and this sense would still remain to us, if the human frame stood, like a statue, fixed and immovable. The same may be said of all the other senses. But in order to extend our sensations, and enable the organs of sense to give us a more thorough knowledge of the external world, we are most essentially aided by our muscular frame. The muscles of the eye expedite its movements and extend its range, but they do not in the least degree affect the nature and character of the sensation. The muscles of the arm and hand and fingers enable us to apply the organ of touch quickly and effectually, in the examination of external bodies; but they do not in the least increase the intensity, or alter the nature of the sensation. The muscles of the human body, in short, are nothing more than *auxiliaries to our organs of sense*.

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* *Brown's Lectures*, vol. i. p. 531. Edit. 1820. The *Italics* in the above paragraph are in the original.

† Id. vol. i. p. 539.

Without adverting to the singularity of the opinion, that every one of our organs of sense is *surrounded with a sixth sense*, (the seat of which is our whole corporeal frame,) not only helping the rest, but doing what they cannot do—or the equally singular notion, that that can be called a *new sense*, which has not the power of performing its functions *alone*, but only in combination with the other senses;—we shall proceed at once to the question, whether our feelings of *resistance* and *extension* can be derived from the sensibility of the proper nerves of touch, without that 'consciousness of muscular exertion' which is declared to be the sixth sense—'without which the sense of 'touch could hardly be an inlet to our knowledge.'

When we press our fingers against a resisting body, we are conscious of a muscular effort; and there is doubtless a combination of this consciousness with the nervous sensation. An act of the will precedes, but neither gives nor improves the sensation. Let the same resisting body be laid upon the fingers at rest upon the table, so as to act by its gravity, or by any external force, the sense of resistance is the same, though there has been no muscular effort. In like manner, the sensation of roughness and smoothness will be experienced, if the rough or smooth body is moved by any external power over the organ of touch. The same species of argument is applicable to our knowledge of space, or extension. The muscles of the hand, combined with touch, enable us to determine, within certain limits, the forms of surfaces and solids with singular accuracy; but they are not necessary to give us the idea of simple space and extension. These ideas can be acquired as certainly, though perhaps less quickly, by the motion of surfaces over the organ of touch, as by the motion of that organ over the surfaces; and if we had been accustomed from our infancy to have bodies submitted to our examination, by any external power producing the same motion of these bodies over an immovable organ, which is produced by the action of the organ over the bodies, we should have acquired the same knowledge which we now possess, though less expeditiously, and perhaps less perfectly. If a hot body acted upon the tip of a finger, and another covered the whole hand; or if the whole foot was placed in contact with a surface, or immersed in a fluid affording a sensation to every part of it, while only one toe of the other foot is similarly immersed, the idea of space and extension must inevitably be acquired.

With regard to our conceptions of the relation of position which we are now supposed to acquire by pushing out and brandishing our muscular *antennæ*, the argument is equally clear.

Whatever we can do by the action of muscles may be done, though with less speed and perfection, by motions external to, and independent of ourselves. Let us suppose that a half-formed 'Frankenstein'—a man blind and without any muscular frame, is required to ascertain the relations of position by touch. If *heat*, or *cold*, or *friction* be applied to his body, he will be able to form some general notion of the extent of the sentient surface; and the relative position of different parts of it will be ascertained by the differences in the sensations excited in those parts. In acquiring a knowledge of the relative positions of external objects, his difficulties will be increased, but they will not be insuperable. An external power may bring the different parts of his sentient surface into contact with bodies of various qualities, having a fixed position; and the relations of the sensations they give—of heat, cold, roughness, smoothness, &c.—to the sensitive parts themselves, will afford ideas of their relative position.

But may we not go further, and suppose all the muscles replaced by strings in the hands of a skilful artist, who can give the arms, and hands, and fingers all the movements and facilities for touch which they have in reality? May we not also suppose, what does less violence to our judgment, that in the progress of knowledge, a galvanic influence may be so applied as to replace the nerves of voluntary motion, and thus put all the muscles of the living body into action, and enable those connected with the organs of touch to exercise all their movements without any act of the will? In these cases the organs of sense, while they perform their own appropriate functions, will receive that precise assistance which they now derive from the muscular frame, acting under the influence of the will.

These observations, if they are less satisfactory as applied to the organ of touch, will appear in the character of demonstration when we consider the relations of this new sense to the phenomena of vision, where it is much more easy to draw the line of separation between the direct indications of the organ, and the consciousness of muscular effort which attends its movements.

Had Mr Whewell limited his adherence to the new doctrine to the sense of touch, he would have acted prudently; but in the ardour of his admiration he has extended it to the sense of sight; and in a future part of his book, where the subject is presented to him under a different phase, he seems to stand aghast at his own *sixth sense*, and abjure the further application of it.

The following is the manner in which the operation of the *sixth sense* is extended to the sense of Sight:—

'Upon attentive consideration, it will be clear, that a large portion of the perceptions respecting space, which appear at first to be obtained by *sight* alone, are in fact acquired by means of this *sixth sense*. Thus we consider the visible sky as a single surface, surrounding us, and returning into itself, and thus forming a hemisphere. But such a mode of conceiving an object of vision could never have occurred to us if we had not been able to turn our heads to follow this surface, to pursue it till we find it returning into itself. And when we have done this, we necessarily represent it to ourselves as a concave inclosure within which we are. The sense of sight alone, without the power of muscular motion, could not have led us to view the sky as a vault or hemisphere. Under such circumstances, we should have perceived only what was presented to the eye in one position; and if different appearances had been presented in succession, we could not have connected them as parts of the same picture, for want of any perception of their relative position. They would have been so many detached and incoherent visual sensations. The muscular sense connects their parts into a whole, making them to be only different portions of one universal scene.

'These considerations point out the fallacy of a very curious representation made by Dr Reid of the convictions to which man would be led, if he possessed vision without the sense of touch. To illustrate this subject, Reid uses the fiction of a nation whom he terms the *Idomenians*, who have no sense except that of sight. He describes their notions of the relations of space as being entirely different from ours. The axioms of their geometry are quite contradictory to our axioms. For example, it is held to be self-evident among them that two straight lines which intersect each other once must intersect a second time; that the three angles of any triangle are *greater* than two right angles, and the like. These paradoxes are obtained by tracing the relations of lines on the surface of a concave sphere, which surrounds the spectator, and on which all visible appearances may be supposed to be presented to him. But from what is said above, it appears that the notion of such a sphere, and such a connexion of visible objects which are seen in different directions, cannot be arrived at by sight alone. When the spectator combines in his conception the relations of long drawn lines and large figures, as he sees them by turning his head to the right and to the left, upwards and downwards, he ceases to be an Idomenian. And thus our conceptions of the properties of space derived through the exercise of one mode of perception are not at variance with those obtained in another way; but all such conceptions, however produced or suggested, are in harmony with each other; being, as has already been said, only different aspects of the same idea.

'If our perceptions of the position of objects around us do not depend on the sense of vision alone, but on the muscular feeling brought into play when we turn our head, it will obviously follow that the same is true when we turn the eye instead of the head. And thus we may learn the form of objects, not by looking at them with a fixed gaze, but by following the boundary of them with the eye. While the head is held perfectly still, the eye can rove along the outlines of visible

objects, scrutinize each point in succession, and leap from one point to another—each such act being accompanied by a muscular consciousness, which makes us aware of the direction in which the look is travelling. And we may thus gather information concerning the figures and places which we trace out with the visual ray, as the blind man learns the forms of things which he traces out with his staff, being conscious of the motions of his hand.

'This view of the mode in which the eye perceives position, which is thus supported by the analogy of other members employed for the same purpose, is further confirmed by Sir Charles Bell by physiological reasons. He teaches us, that when an object is seen we employ two senses: there is an impression on the retina; but we receive also the idea of position or relation in space, which it is not the office of the retina to give, by our consciousness of the efforts of the voluntary muscles of the eye; and he has traced in detail the course of the nerves by which these muscles convey their information. The constant *searching* motion of the eye, as he terms it, is the means by which we become aware of the position of objects about us.

'It is not to our present purpose to follow the physiology of this subject; but we may notice that Sir C. Bell has examined the special circumstances which belong to this operation of the eye. We learn from him that the particular point of the eye which thus traces the forms of visible objects, is a part of the retina which has been termed the *sensible spot;* being that part which is *most* sensible to the impressions of light and colour. This part, indeed, is not a spot of definite size and form, for it appears that, proceeding from a certain point of the retina, the sensibility diminishes on every side by degrees. And the searching motion of the eye arises from the desire which we instinctively feel of receiving upon the sensible spot the image of the object to which the attention is directed. We are uneasy and impatient till the eye is turned so that this is effected. And as our attention is transferred from point to point of the scene before us, the eye, and this point of the eye in particular, travel along with the thoughts; and the muscular sense which tells us of these movements of the organ of vision, conveys to us a knowledge of the forms and places which we thus successively survey."—Vol. I. p. 117–120.

Although the preceding passage presents many points for discussion, yet it affords us considerable satisfaction that the questions to which it gives rise are not involved in metaphysical abstractions, but may be tried by the indisputable results of experimental enquiry. We could have wished to avoid the necessity of again defending one of our most illustrious countrymen—of shielding Dr Reid from the charge of fallacy which has been brought against him; and that too on the strength of a speculation which its inventor considered a doubtful one, and which is itself a fallacy of no common kind.

That the sense of Sight alone could not, without being prompted by the muscles, lead us to view the sky as a vault, is demon-

strably erroneous. If the eye were absolutely fixed, and incapable of having its place changed, the proposition might be a tenable one. But if that organ is turned round by a mechanism external to itself, so as to obtain with the same rapidity those very views of the sky which the *motion of the head* affords, the percipient mind will, in the same manner, and to the same extent, connect the successive fields of view into one hemispherical vault. But even if it were otherwise, it is not the consciousness of muscular effort (supposing it to exist as a sense) which combines the parts of an extensive landscape into a distinct picture. Its operations could give us only a succession of pictures, each of which has its most distinct point opposite the eye. It is by an act of the memory, recalling the distinct pictures formed on the retina, at the extremity of the optic axis, that we are *enabled to see, within a certain range, the different parts of a picture with perfect distinctness.* If in a landscape of some extent, a steeple clock placed on its left hand boundary does not exhibit to us distinctly the hour of the day when the eye is fixed on the centre of the landscape, the eye in its successive ranges over the scene obtains repeated distinct views of the hour and minute hand of the clock, as well as of every other object in view; and the general picture is composed of the distinct portions of the individual parts, and not of those indistinct ones which are formed in the picture when the eye regards only the centre of the landscape.

If these views are correct—and who can doubt them?—we have restored to Dr Reid's fiction of the 'Idomenians' all its truth and beauty. Were a pair of Idomenian eyes extracted from their muscular appendages, and placed in the marble sockets of Phidias's Jupiter, the Brunels of modern times would soon give such movements to the statue, as to place the helpless Idomenian on a level with the 'king of gods and men.' The hemispherical vault will shine as brightly, whether its parts be combined by the living muscles, or by the wheels and pinions of mechanism.

With regard to the precise mechanism by which the eye traces the forms of visible objects, Mr Whewell teaches the most heretical doctrines. He tells us on the authority of others.

1. That there is a part of the retina termed the *sensible spot*, being that part which is most sensible to light and colour!

2. That this part 'is not a spot of definite size and form, for 'it appears that, proceeding from a certain point of the retina, 'the sensibility diminishes on every side by degrees!'

Now, these positions are wholly erroneous; because,

1. There is no spot on the retina more sensible than all the rest.

2. The spot referred to as enjoying this distinction, is *actually* less sensible than every other part of the retina; and,

3. The *sensibility increases*, in place of diminishing, from the *spot*, or 'the point of the retina' in question; and the lines of equal sensibility are circles whose centres coincide with the extremity of the optical axis, or the *foramen centrale* of the retina.

These facts have been established by Scottish writers, and published in Scottish works which have passed through Mr Whewell's hands. But, if his memory is not retentive of things north of the Tweed, he surely knows that some of the French astronomers, we think it was M. Arago, discovered the remarkable fact, that minute stars, like some of the satellites of Saturn, *could not be seen when their image fell upon the sensible spot, but instantly became visible when the eye was turned away from them;* and we presume he cannot have forgotten that Sir John Herschel and Sir James South, during their admirable observations on double stars, discovered the same curious fact, which has been repeatedly discussed in journals and popular works.

The following is the statement of these two distinguished astronomers, who placed beyond a doubt the views which we are now maintaining:—'A rather singular method of obtaining a 'view, and even a rough measure of the angles of stars of the 'last degree of faintness, has often been resorted to; viz. to direct 'the eye to another part of the field. In this way, a faint star 'in the neighbourhood of a large one will often become very 'conspicuous, so as to bear a certain illumination, which will yet '*totally disappear, as if suddenly blotted out*, when the eye is 'turned full upon it, [that is, when it is received on the *sensible* '*spot*,] and so on, appearing and disappearing alternately, as 'often as we please. * * * The *lateral portions* of the retina, less 'fatigued by strong lights, and less exhausted by perpetual at-'tention, *are probably more sensible to faint impressions than the* '*central ones*, which may serve to account for this phenomenon.'

But though the *most* sensible spot, under our consideration, is actually the *least* sensible, it enjoys the real pre-eminence of being that part of the retina where *vision* is most distinct; and hence it may be called *the point of maximum distinctness.* Those persons who are disposed to make the choroid coat the seat of vision, have supposed that the extremity of the optic axis derives this property from there being an actual opening (the *foramen centrale* of Soëmmering) in the retina, which allows the light to fall directly on the choroid, without suffering any change from the semi-transparent nervous matter. The first physiologists, however, are of opinion, that the retina is only thinner at that

point, and that the central ray still falls upon the nervous tablet. Hence we require no other explanation of the maximum distinctness which exists at the extremity of the axis of vision, than that, in all images formed by lenses, the point at the extremity of the axis of the lens is necessarily the point most free from chromatic and spherical aberration, and therefore the point of maximum distinctness. Even in the Camera Obscura, if we wish to see any part of the landscape with maximum distinctness, we must move the instrument as we do our eye, to produce the coincidence between that point and the extremity of the principal axis of the lens.

But the grand error committed by Mr Whewell is his implicit adoption of the doctrine, 'that the idea of position or relation in 'space is not given by the retina, but by the muscular sense.' If he had been aware of the objections against this doctrine already published, and never answered, he ought to have brought them under the notice of his readers, even though they should not have influenced his own decision.

The law of visible direction, founded on a property of the retina which has been demonstrated in Mr Whewell's presence, and adopted by Professor Wheatstone,* the first authority on the subject of vision in this country, furnishes us with all our ideas of position and relation in space. This law is incontrovertible, and is altogether independent of muscular action, either in the eyeball or in the head. Does Mr Whewell maintain, with Sir Charles Bell, that *erect* and *inverted* vision, the relation of *up* and *down*, depend on the exercise of the muscles which move the eye *upward* and *downward*? Does he maintain that if, from any cause, 'the eye and eyelids are rendered immovable, '*whilst the vision is entire*,' objects will appear inverted? If he does not, his premises force him to that conclusion. 'It is to 'the muscular apparatus,' says he, 'and to the conclusions we 'are enabled to draw from the consciousness of muscular effort, 'that we owe that geometrical sense by which we become ac-'quainted with the form, (and position,†) and magnitude, and 'distance of objects.' Notwithstanding this conclusion, a case is recorded in the same paper,‡ as having occurred under the care of Dr Macmichael, where the eye and eyelids were immovable, and the vision entire; and yet we are not told that the vision was inverted, although the case afforded an *experimentum crucis*, which must have demolished the whole speculation.

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* *Phil. Trans.* 1838, p. 387.
† Id. 1823, p. 181.
‡ Id. 1823, p. 177, (*note.*)

We have no doubt, that such of our readers as concur with us in these views, and those, if there be any, who do not, are prepared to draw the conclusion, that if we cannot obtain a knowledge of position and the relations of space by the sense of sight, directly and primarily, we cannot, in any case, *derive from sight a direct perception of form.* This perplexity—namely, that of discovering, when it is too late, that a favourite theory has carried its abettors too far—seems to have beset Mr Whewell at the very close of his chapter.

'By considerations such as have been adduced, it is *proved beyond doubt*, that in *a great number* of cases our knowledge of form and position is acquired from the muscular sense, and not from sight directly: for instance, in all cases in which we have before us large objects and extensive spaces. *Whether, in any case, the eye gives us a direct perception of form, we shall not here further enquire.* Another opportunity of discussing this subject will occur hereafter.'—Vol. I. p. 121.

Here the knowledge of *form*, and consequently of *position*, as acquired by the new sense, is *limited* to *large objects* and *extensive spaces*! a limitation totally excluded by Sir Charles Bell, and wholly incompatible with the assumptions which the doctrine necessarily involves. Now, we ask, and we ask it with a feeling of some triumph, what is the *size of the object*, or the *extent of the space*, where the power of sight abjures the assistance of the senses, and exercises its own right of judgment? Is it an angular space which corresponds with the *sensible spot*, the *macula lutea*, or the small internal area of it which has the appearance of a *foramen*? Is it any thing of the size of the sun, the planets, or any of the fixed stars? It cannot be, for the muscular sense seems to deal only with *large objects* and *extensive spaces!* We wait for a reply to this question; but in the mean time we may deduce the important result, the exact terms of which our opponents may adjust between themselves, that if the limiting magnitude lies between a *Patagonian* and a *Dwarf*, the *former*, judged of by the muscular sense, will appear *inverted*, and the latter, by the sense of sight, will appear *erect!*

The future opportunity of discussing this difficult point presents itself in the chapter *on peculiarities in the perceptions of the different senses;* which is chiefly devoted to the examination of Dr Brown's celebrated position, '*that we do not by vision perceive* '*both colour and figure—the existence of the figure being learned by* '*other means, or by touch.*' Mr Whewell expresses the 'difficulty he has in conceiving how such a doctrine could proceed from a person who *has reasoned with great acuteness regarding touch.*' He characterizes some of Brown's suppositions as *strange, mis-*

taken, and *baseless*. Some of his assertions are called *altogether false*. His opinions on this point are termed *absurdities*, and his tenets *extravagant* and *unphilosophical;* and he is said to pursue the subject till he *involves it in utter confusion*.

The opinion of the eminent Metaphysician thus severely characterized, follows by legitimate inference from his adoption of the muscular sense, as alone giving us a knowledge of *form* and *position;* for as the sense of sight exclusively gives us an idea of *colour*, and does not exclusively give us the idea of *form*, it is a logical conclusion, that we do not by the sense of sight perceive *both colour and figure*. In his conflict with Dr Brown, Mr Whewell seems to forget entirely all that he had said in a previous chapter, on the prerogative of touch as an auxiliary to sight; and we consider the whole argument as a most striking specimen of that kind of philosophy which is to be expected in a work written without the slow process of digestion, and embracing every variety of human knowledge.

'Why,' he asks, 'does the moon appear round, gibbous, or 'horned? *What sense besides vision suggests to us the idea* of her 'figure? * * If we do not see figure we do not see position, 'for figure is the relative position of the parts of a boundary!' Has he forgotten his sixth sense?—the MUSCULAR SENSE—which gives us the idea of position or relation in space, 'and 'consequently of figure,' 'which it is not the office of the retina 'to give.'

In the same chapter which contains this virtual rejection of the muscular sense, our author treats of what he calls *the paradoxes of vision;* the first of which is *upright vision*, and the second, *single vision of small or distant objects*, and *single vision of near objects*. He treats also of *visible figure*, but he avoids altogether not only the subject, but the very name of *visible direction;* the appropriate and fundamental idea upon which the whole subject of vision unquestionably rests. Mr Whewell, of course, has not made this omission, because the *law of visible direction* was established by a Scottish author. He has no doubt forgotten that it was demonstrated in his own presence; and it must have escaped his notice when he perused Professor Wheatstone's *Contributions to the Physiology of Vision*,* where the law is given, the author of it named, and its truth recognised. But whatever be its cause, the omission is a very unfortunate one for himself; as it has led him away from the true laws of vision, in the same manner as he conceives Aristotle to have been misled in explaining

* *Phil. Trans.* 1838, p. 387-8.

the round image of a triangular aperture, by not applying the idea of rectilineal rays. This will be seen in the following explanation which he has given of *upright vision*:—

'It has been asked, how is it that we see an object, a man for instance, upright, when the immediate object of our sensation, the image of the man on our retina, is inverted? To this we must answer, that we see him upright *because* the image is inverted; that the inverted image is the necessary means of seeing an upright object. This is granted; and where then is the difficulty? Perhaps it may be put thus: How is it that we do not judge the man to be inverted, since the sensible image is so? To this we may reply, that we have no notion of *upright* or inverted, except that which is founded on experience, and that all our experience, without exception, must have taught us that such a sensible image belongs to a man who is in an upright position. Indeed, the contrary judgment is not conceivable; a man is upright whose head is upwards and his feet downwards. But what are the sensible images of *upwards* and *downwards?* Whatever be our standard of up and down, the sensible representation of *up* will be an image moving on the retina towards the lower side, and the sensible representation of *down* will be a motion towards the upper side. The head of the man's image is towards the image of the sky, its feet are towards the image of the ground; how then should it appear otherwise than upright? But, perhaps, we expect that the whole world should appear inverted; but if the whole be inverted, how is the relation of the parts altered? or we expect that we should think our own persons inverted? Yet this cannot be, for we look at them as we do at other objects; or, perhaps we expect that things should appear to fall upwards. Yet, what do we know of upwards, except that it is the direction in which bodies do *not* fall? In short, the whole of this difficulty, though it has in no small degree embarrassed metaphysicians, appears to result from a very *palpable confusion of ideas;* from an attempt at comparison of what we see, with that which the retina feels, as if they were separately presentible. It is a *sufficient explanation* to say, that we do not see the image on the retina, but see by *means* of it. The perplexity does not require much more skill to disentangle, than it does to see that a word written in *black* ink may signify *white.*'—Vol. I. p. 281.

In this, which our author calls 'a sufficient explanation' of upright vision, or the *cause* of our seeing objects upright by inverted images, we cannot discover the slightest approximation to an explanation. It is quite true, as he states, that the *inversion* of an image is the *necessary means* of seeing an upright object, and that we do not see the image, but see by means of it; but he makes no attempt to show *how we see by means of it,* unless the *cause* be included in the assertion, 'that all our experience, without exception, must have taught us that such a sensible (inverted) image belongs to a man who is in an upright position.' Does he mean by '*our experience,*' the experience

of *anatomists*? for he has a few lines before assured us that 'none but anatomists are aware of its (the image's) existence.' Now, it is very obvious, that millions see objects upright without knowing that they are thus seen by means of an inverted image; and consequently their experience has taught them nothing about the matter. The palpable confusion of ideas on this subject, arises wholly from the introduction of the inappropriate idea of inverted images. When an anatomist discovered that there was actually formed on the retina an inverted image of an erect object, his attempt to ascertain their relation to each other should have begun, by considering the relation of individual points in the one to individual points in the other; or rather, he should have thrown aside the idea of objects and images in their ordinary complex sense, and made a series of experiments with a small luminous circular point, in which the idea of *uprightness* and *inversion* had no existence. If we do this, and make the light pass through a minute aperture occupying different positions in front of the cornea, we shall find—

1. That the external point is seen in the *same* direction, whether the ray or rays by which its image is formed, fall in a vertical or in an oblique direction on the surface of the retina.

2. That the *single direction* corresponding to rays of all degrees of obliquity passes through the *same point*, near the centre of the eyeball, whatever be the part of the retina on which the image of the point is formed. This *single direction* is called the line of *visible direction*, and the point through which all these lines pass is called the *centre of visible direction*.

3. That the *line of visible direction* coincides accurately with the line of real direction when the eye sees the external point most distinctly; and that the deviation from it, in the case of oblique vision, is so small, that the parallax is not sensible, and does not occasion any apparent relative change in the place of objects, when the eye turns itself successively to different parts of a landscape.

4. That the centre of visible direction coincides with the centre of the spherical surface of the retina, or more generally with a spherical surface passing through the sentient extremities of the *papillæ*, of which the surface of the retina is composed. The retina may be *spheroidal* as a membrane, and yet the extremities of the papillæ may occupy a *spherical* surface, whose centre is that of visible direction. And hence,

5. *The law of visible direction*, as ascertained by actual experiment, is that a point of light, whose image is formed on the retina by rays proceeding from an external object, is seen in a direction perpendicular to the spherical surface on which its image is formed.

The uprightness of an object of which an inverted image is formed on the retina, is a corollary from this law; every point of the image being referred to every similar point in the object.

But this law is not, as has been supposed, the law only for monocular vision. It is the law for binocular vision, and also for *vision with a hundred eyes.* The phrase *single vision with two eyes* in a state of perfect action, is a most unphilosophical expression. Except when the nose or the brow obstructs the rays passing to one eye, *we always see double*, that is, two superposed images; and these images appear single only when the corresponding lines of visible direction are directed to the object, or when, from some physiological cause, one of the images either disappears, or is not recognised by the mind. When we look through a parallel plate of quartz we actually see two images of every object, but they always appear as one, from the feebleness of its double refraction. We can, however, separate them by turning the plate into a prism, just as we separate the two images in single vision by squinting, or displacing one of the eyes by pressure. The same is true if we had a hundred eyes. We should then see a hundred images all coincident; but all united into a single image by the convergency of the hundred lines of visible direction to the same point.

If Dr Brown had possessed a sufficient knowledge of the laws of vision, he never could have maintained the extraordinary doctrine, that it is from experience we learn that the two images correspond to a single object. In his illustration of this doctrine he commits a new error, when he says that the *two* words *he conquered*, excite the same idea as the *one* Latin word *vicit*. If the sense of touch is capable of making the *two* images appear *one*, then we should also see objects single when they are doubled by distortion of the eyeballs; or by double refraction, or even multiplied a hundred times by a multiplying glass; but if a man were to live a thousand years he would continue to see the hundred images, though he knew well that there was only one object. With regard to Dr Brown's illustration of his doctrine, Mr Whewell makes the following observation: 'But in order to make this *pretended* illustration of any value, 'it ought to be true, that when a person has thoroughly learned 'the Latin language, he can no longer distinguish any separate 'meaning in *he* and in *conquered*.' This is certainly a very strange criticism on Dr Brown's illustration. The two words *he conquered*, convey the same meaning certainly as *vicit;* but there are two different ideas involved in each mode of expression. If we write he conquered, thus—*heconquered*, and compare it with *vicit*, it is obvious that we have only one word in each

expression; the word *he* is as effectually included in the termination *it* of *vicit*, as *he* is in the word *heconquered*. But Dr Brown's error consists in his not taking two exactly *similar words*, as *vicit, vicit*, like the two exactly similar images. The two words repeated convey certainly only one idea; but the mind recognises the same idea in succession, just as it does the two images when the one is slipped aside from its superposition on the other, by pressing the eyeball. If we illuminate a white space with yellow light, we shall have a yellow image on the retina. If we, at the same time, throw blue light upon it, we shall have a *blue* image, but the two would still give us only the idea of a green space. Even if we see the yellow or the blue image in succession, we shall still see only one object.

Our limits will not permit us to examine the observations of Mr Whewell on single vision for distant and near objects. They possess no interest, as they depend on the old and exploded idea of *corresponding points*, which have nothing to do with the matter, and serve only to obscure a subject now thoroughly understood. The influence of the muscular sense is not called in as an accompaniment, and we presume has escaped entirely from our author's recollection.

After a chapter of little interest 'on the scientific application of 'the idea of a medium,' in which we are prepared for the acceptance of the luminiferous ether, our author proceeds to treat of the measure of secondary qualities; namely, the scales of qualities in general; the musical scale; scales of colour; scales of light; and scales of heat. Under the head of scales of colour, he treats of the Prismatic scale of colour, Newton's scale of colours, and scale of impure colours; but his observations are founded on such an imperfect knowledge of the subject, and such a confusion of ideas pervades the entire speculation, that we consider the sections on that subject as misleading rather than instructing his readers.

Mr Whewell considers the prismatic spectrum as 'an obvious 'standard as far as it is applicable;' but as 'a scale, incapable of 'numerical precision,' or 'mathematical exactness.'

'But this difficulty,' he adds, 'was removed by a curious discovery of Fraunhofer, who found that there are in the solar spectrum certain fine black lines, which occupy a definite place in the series of colours, and can be observed with perfect precision. We have *now no uncertainty* as to what coloured light we are speaking of when we describe it as that part of the spectrum in which Fraunhofer's line C or D occurs. And thus, by *this discovery*, the prismatic spectrum of sunlight became, for *certain purposes*, an *exact chromatometer*. Still, such a standard is arbitrary and seemingly anomalous. The lines A, B, C, D, &c., of Fraunhofer's spectrum, are distributed without any apparent order or law; and

we do not, in this way, obtain numerical measures, which is what in all cases we desire to have.'—Vol. I. p. 315.

Without dwelling on the great injustice here done to Dr Wollaston, who was the first discoverer of the definite lines B, D, *b*, F, G, H, of the prismatic spectrum,* we must appeal to our scientific readers if they can attach any meaning to the preceding sentences. The inability of the prismatic scale to give numerical measures, or mathematical exactness, is said to have been 'felt up to our own times;' but *this difficulty* was removed by the discovery of definite lines. That is, the prismatic scale gives us numerical precision and mathematical exactness, and we have *now no uncertainty* as to the position of any colour. Yet, in the very next sentence, it is added that the prismatic spectrum is an exact chromatometer only *for certain purposes.* In the following sentence, the contradiction becomes still more palpable; for we are told that this standard is arbitrary, and seemingly anomalous, and does not give us *numerical measures*, which is what *in all cases* we desire to have! How then can it be exact for *certain* purposes, (which are never named,) when in *all* cases we need, but cannot get, numerical measures!

Independent of these repeated contradictions, the whole speculation is erroneous in point of science; and this error has arisen from our author's not studying the subject himself, but pinning his faith to the sleeve of certain experimenters interested in deceiving him.†

The colours of different parts of the spectrum vary with the time of the day, and the season of the year, and the state of the atmosphere; and hence there are no purposes for which they can be used as an exact chromatometer. The analysis of the spectrum by absorption, is a truth as certain and obvious as any truth in physics, though Mr Whewell's anonymous 'experimenter' denies it. The following entries in our private Journal of observations on the sun's light, will place the subject before our readers—

Oct. 23*d*, 1832, 11^{h}.—'The *yellow* comes distinctly up to F, and a little beyond A;' *i. e.* the blue has been all absorbed in the *green* space of Fraunhofer from E to F.

Nov. 1*st*, 1832, 9^{h}. 'The *green* extends decidedly beyond F;' *i. e.* exactly as indicated in Fraunhofer's spectrum.

Jan. 21*st*, 1833, 11^{h}. 30^{m}. 'The *greenish yellow* does not extend beyond halfway between *b* and F.'

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* See Encyclopædia Britannica, *Seventh Edition.* Art. *Optics*, vol. xvi. p. 416, note, and Report Brit. Assoc., vol. i. p. 320.

† See *Hist. Ind. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 361, and this Journal, vol. 66, p. 136. Note.

Feb. 5, 1833. Therm. 48°, Barom. 29.22. 'There is scarcely any *green* light. It appears all *yellow*, and certainly at 12^h. 30^m. does not come up to F.'

These observations may be repeated on other kinds of lights, and a child with two or three pieces of coloured glass, may recognise the truths which Mr Whewell strangely denies.

If the prismatic scale is to be a chromatometer, its colours must be referred to a spectrum, obtained when the sun is in the zenith; and even in this case, the colours will be affected by the different states of the atmosphere. The only prismatic chromatometer of any use, is one made with the artificial light of a pure gas flame; which we can make of great intensity, and in which the spectrum is subdivided into portions by a system of periodical bands formed by a transparent body of a fixed thickness. In this case, the spectrum formed by a prism of *water* should be used as the standard; but, in adopting this, we must take care to avoid Mr Whewell's suggestion, that if we do this, 'the colours of the 'rainbow will be our standard!'—colours altered by the double absorption of transmission and reflection, produced by concave, reflecting, and refracting surfaces from a luminous body of great angular magnitude!

In describing Newton's *scale of colours*, Mr Whewell is equally unfortunate.

'Another discovery of Newton, however, gives us a spectrum containing the same colours as the prismatic spectrum, but produced in another way, so that the colours have a numerical relation. I speak of the *colours of thin plates*. The little rainbows which we sometimes see in the cracks of broken glass, are governed by fixed and simple laws. The kind of colour produced at any point, depends on the thickness of the thin plate of air included in the fissure. If the thickness be twelve-millionths of an inch, the colour is orange, if ten-millionths of an inch, we have green, and so on; and thus these numbers which succeed each other in a regular order from red to indigo, give a numerical measure of each colour; which measure, when we pursue the subject, we find is one of the bases of all optical theory. The series of colours obtained from plates of air of gradually increasing thickness, is called *Newton's scale of colours*; but we may observe that this is not precisely what we are here speaking of, a scale of simple colours; it is a series produced by certain combinations, resulting from the repetition of the first spectrum, and is mainly useful as a standard for similar phenomena, and not for colour in general. The real scale of colour is to be found, as we have said, in the numbers which express the thickness of the producing film; —in the length of a *fit* in Newton's phraseology, or the length of an undulation in the modern theory.'—Vol. I. p. 315.

The discovery of the colours of thin plates, here ascribed to Newton, we owe to Boyle; and Dr Hooke had made considerable progress in the investigation, before Newton studied the sub-

ject.* The two statements that a plate of air has the colour of *orange* at a thickness of *twelve* millionths of an inch, and is *green* at a thickness of *ten* millionths, are equally erroneous. The colours at these thicknesses are *indigo-violet* and *violet-red*, and the thicknesses for *orange* and *green* are *eight* and *fifteen* millionths of an inch. Nor is the series of colours from plates of air, as Mr Whewell states, a series arising 'from the repetition of the first spec-'trum.' There is no first spectrum. The series arises from the superposition of a system of rings or bands produced by all the component colours of white light.

The observations on the *scales of impure* colours are equally defective and erroneous; and no account is given of the labours of Mayer, Lambert, and others, upon this interesting subject. He refers, in a preceding page of the chapter, to Lambert's *Photometry*, as an example of the systematic reduction of *light* to modes of numerical measurement; but he certainly is not acquainted with the book itself, which he says was published about 1750, whereas it was published in 1760; under the title of *Photometria sive de mensura et gradibus luminis*, COLORUM, *et Umbræ*. The seventh part of the work is entitled, Pars VII.—*Qua exponuntur modificationes et gradus luminis heterogenei et relativi, sive* COLORUM *et Umbræ;* and contains beautiful methods, with their practical application, of measuring colours of all kinds. Tobias Mayer's *Commentatio de Affinitate Colorum*, in which he describes his *Chromatometer*, became known to Lambert in 1758; and this eminent philosopher has illustrated and extended his views in the Berlin Memoirs of 1768.† Professor Lichtenberg, the editor of Mayer's *Opera Inedita*, has also added an interesting supplement to the commentary of his friend. Had Mr Whewell known these works, and really studied them, he might have written an interesting section on the scales of colours. In his paragraph on *Photometers*, he omits all notice of several valuable inventions for measuring light; and his paragraph on the *Cyanometer* is equally meagre and imperfect.

Under the head of the 'Philosophy of the Mechanico-Chemi-'cal Sciences,' our author gives us two chapters 'On the appli-'cation of the Idea of Polarity,' and 'On the connexion of Po-'larities;' in which the undulatory theory of light is again forced upon our notice, as embracing the hypothesis of transverse vibra-

* MSS. Letter of Newton to Hooke.

† This Memoir was published in 1772 in a separate work, entitled, *Beschreibung einer mit den Calauischen wachse ausgemahlten Farben—Pyramide.* M. Calau was a celebrated painter at Berlin.

tions, and consequently the polarization of light. The idea of polarity is represented as involving the conception of opposite properties in opposite directions; opposite directions having, in many cases, the meaning of directions at right angles to each other. In the chapter on the connexion of polarities, of magnetic with electric polarity, and electric with chemical polarity, and of crystalline with optical polarities, and chemical and crystalline polarities—there are many common-place, though just observations; but no principle or position of any novelty or importance, which we can quote for the information of our readers, or for the benefit of science. Mr Whewell is more successful in assailing the extravagant and mystical opinions on the connexion of polarities in general, promulgated by Schelling and Hegel; two German authors, who have exhibited in salutary caricature the pretensions of those who venture to write upon subjects beyond the range of their studies, and above the level of their comprehensions.

After three elaborate books, on the philosophy of chemistry, of morphology, including crystallography, of the classificatory sciences, of biology, and of palætiology, we are brought to the main part of the work, namely, Part II.—*Of Knowledge*—in which we expected to find the rules and methods of scientific research—the *terminus* of the Railway along which we have been flying in pursuit of a promised land. This part of the work occupies little more than half a volume, and our author informs us, that to it, 'all that has preceded is subordinate and preparatory;' but much as we were disposed to hail any thing like a method or a rule for promoting scientific enquiries, to make use of it ourselves, and to recommend it to others, we must confess that we have been cruelly disappointed. From the casual anticipation of these rules, which we found in the *History of the Inductive Sciences*, we intimated to our readers the nature of our expectations respecting the Code of which they formed a part. But it never entered our thoughts that the failure would be so marked. An honest and careful analysis of this portion of the work is due to our readers and the public—to the reputation of Mr Whewell, and to the interests of science.

This Part contains three books—*On the Construction of Science—Review of Opinions on the Nature of Knowledge and the means of seeking it—and of Methods employed in the Formation of Science.*

According to our author, there are two principal processes by which science is constructed—the explicating of conceptions, and the colligation of facts. By the explication of conceptions, Mr Whewell means the application of distinct and appropriate ideas to

the facts; and by the colligation of facts, he means the binding together of facts, for the purpose of obtaining the general propositions of which science consists. In our review of the 'History,'* we devoted three pages to the discussion of the explication of conceptions, and we arrived at these conclusions—that we cannot tell which idea, out of a number, is the appropriate one; that the appropriate idea may be one which remains to be discovered by new observations; and that its appropriateness depends on the actual success which may attend its application to the facts.† We illustrated these conclusions by the colours of thin plates. Dr Hooke did apply the distinct and appropriate idea of interfering pulses. Newton rejected it as not appropriate, and substituted another much less appropriate. Dr Young subsequently discovered the *fact* of the interference of diffracted pencils, and this *fact* furnished the appropriate idea which was desired. This is an exact illustration of our position, which, we should hope, will be regarded as unquestionable.

Now Mr Whewell, who has done us the honour of replying to our criticism in this part of his work, has omitted all reference to this illustration; and has confined his reply solely to our examination of Aristotle's explanation of the fact, that, in the sun's light, the luminous image of triangular and other apertures is round—a subject less susceptible of explicit and clear discussion, than that of thin plates. We shall, however, endeavour to make our views on this subject intelligible to the reader. The following is Mr Whewell's defence—

'The Edinburgh Reviewer of my *History* thinks that Aristotle committed this error because he did not try the experiment under various forms. Yet he cannot but allow that the result follows *by mere geometrical reasoning*, without any experiment, from the fact, which Aristotle did know, that the rays of light are straight lines. Is the Reviewer's mind in that stage of speculation in which the truths of geometry are considered as best proved experimentally?'—Vol. II. p. 186, *note.*

We deny that the result follows by *mere geometrical reasoning*, unless *it is taken for granted* that light continues its rectilineal course in passing the edges and angles of apertures. Now, though Aristotle knew nothing of diffraction, in so far as we know, yet he may have found the geometrical reasoning fail him in its application to other phenomena, in which it does fail—in shadows in divergent light, for example, or in the luminous image produced

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* See this *Journal*, vol. lxvi. p. 117, 118, 119, and 121.

† Mr Whewell, in referring to this position, admits that 'it is to a 'certain extent true.'—Vol. ii. p. 186, § 15.

by transmitting light between two edges inclined at a very small angle—and therefore declined to rely upon it another time. Is it possible that Mr Whewell is serious in the last sentence of the preceding extract? or shall we not rather view it as a sally of temper mistaken for wit? It is indeed a piece of harmless drollery in a philosopher, to say that the experimental fact of triangular apertures giving circular images, is '*a truth of geome-try*,' because it may be deduced (which it cannot be) by geometrical reasoning; and, viewing it in this light, we cheerfully answer Mr Whewell's question respecting the speculative state of our mind, by saying that 'it is in that stage of speculation in 'which it maintains that the truths of *physics* can be best investigated, and best proved experimentally.'

But, to give a more explicit illustration of our reasoning. Aristotle knew nothing of the formation of inverted images by small apertures; otherwise he would have regarded the circular image of the triangular aperture as an inverted image of the sun, and therefore round, because the sun was round. Now, if Aristotle had accidentally discovered the fact, that an inverted picture of a landscape was formed beyond a small aperture, having the parts of the same form and colour as the corresponding parts of the real landscape; he might have obtained a perfect explanation of this fact by drawing lines, or rather conceiving them to be drawn, from every point of the object to every point of the aperture, and continuing them to the ground upon which the image was received. Had he done this, he *might* have said, though with little propriety, that the nature of the sun's rays was circular, because, in proceeding rectilineally through apertures of all forms, they form circular images when received upon a distant ground. If Aristotle did not mean by 'the circular 'nature of the sun's light,' light proceeding from the circular figure of the sun, what else could be his meaning? Mr Whewell has not put it in our power to appeal to the original expression; for he has made no reference to any of Aristotle's works; and we have reason to believe, has, in this case at least, drawn the great philosopher's opinions either from his commentators or his enemies. In this dilemma, we felt it necessary to ransack the productions of the Stagyrite, and we found the experiment fully described in his ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΑ.* Our readers will scarcely believe that we also found our conjecture completely verified. It is quite impossible that Mr Whewell could have read the original ac-

* Aristot. *Opera*, ex Recens. Imman. Bekkeri, Prob. xv. vol. vii. p. 15.

count of the experiment and its explanation. Aristotle used a *quadrangular* not a *triangular* aperture. *He gives no such explanation as that which* Mr Whewell ascribes to him. He never mentions the *circular nature of the sun's light*; and he gives an explanation of the phenomenon which it is manifest Mr Whewell could not have given, and which would not have done discredit to Newton himself. Aristotle not only applies the appropriate idea of rectilineal rays, but he does much more—he proves that the phenomenon is not deducible from this idea; he supplies the *physical idea* which is absolutely necessary to complete the explanation—an idea which never entered into Mr Whewell's mind.

The following is the Aristotelian problem and its solution: The body of solar rays which fall upon the quadrilateral aperture is bounded by straight lines, proceeding from the circular disk of the sun, and terminating in the quadrilateral aperture; but the body of rays which pass through the aperture is bounded by lines proceeding from the sides of the quadrilateral aperture, and terminating in the sides of a similar and similarly situated quadrilateral aperture, increasing in size with the distance at which the rays are received. This last quadrilateral surface receives, *on every part of it*, rays of light proceeding directly from the sun; and hence the *geometrical solution* of the problem is, *that a quadrilateral* image of the aperture is formed at all distances by the solar rays! But Aristotle tells us that the rays which pass through the angles of the aperture, and fall upon the corresponding angles of the quadrilateral image, are few, and their light feeble. He tells us also that the eye is often unable to see light where it really falls; and that, as the rays which fall on the middle of the quadrilateral image are dense and powerful, they have to the eye the form of a circle inscribed in the quadrilateral figure. The *physical idea* being thus supplied from previous experimental knowledge, the erroneous conclusion to which the *geometrical idea* (Mr Whewell's *appropriate idea*) would have conducted us, is corrected, and a complete explanation of the phenomenon obtained. The appropriate idea now turns out to be the insensibility of the retina to feeble impressions of light, an idea which exactly constitutes the explanation required. Do not these observations demonstrate our views, and overturn those of Mr Whewell? For the soundness of them, we appeal to our fellow-labourers in science. We appeal even to Mr Whewell the philosopher, against Mr Whewell the legislator of science. We appeal to the under graduates against the Master of Trinity.

Mr Whewell has likewise done us the honour of replying to our observations on his extraordinary chapter upon the fabulous story of Pythagoras and the smith's anvil; in which the Greek

philosopher is said to have discovered the groundwork of the theory of musical concords and discords. In that chapter, our author maintained that, 'in all cases of supposed accidental dis-'coveries in science, it will be found that it was exactly the 'possession of such an idea, (a '*distinct and well-pondered idea*,') 'which made the accident possible;' and, in reply to this, we named *three* grand discoveries, in the making of which no idea at all was concerned. This assertion of ours has called forth the following elaborate defence, which forms an integral part of his chapter 'on the Explication of Conceptions.' It is prefaced by the following criticism:—

'*No scientific discovery* can, with any justice, be considered *due to accident*. In whatever manner facts may be presented to the notice of a discoverer, they can never become the materials of exact knowledge, except they find his mind already provided with precise and suitable conceptions, by which they may be analysed and connected. Indeed, as we have already seen, facts cannot be observed as facts, except in virtue of the conceptions which the observer himself unconsciously supplies; and they are not facts of observation for any purpose of discovery, except these familiar and unconscious acts of thought be themselves of a just and precise kind. But, supposing the facts to be adequately observed, they can never be combined into any new truth, except by means of some new conceptions, clear and appropriate, such as I have endeavoured to characterise. When the observer's mind is prepared with such instruments, a very few facts, or it may be a single one, may bring the process of discovery into action. But, in such cases, this previous condition of the intellect, and not the single fact, is really the main and peculiar cause of the success. The fact is merely the occasion by which the engine of discovery is brought into play sooner or later. It is, as I have elsewhere said, only the spark which discharges a gun already loaded and pointed; and there is little propriety in speaking of such an accident as the cause why the bullet hits the mark. If it were true that the fall of an apple was the occasion of Newton's pursuing the train of thought which led to the doctrine of universal gravitation, the habits and constitution of Newton's intellect, and not the apple, were the real source of this great event in the progress of knowledge. The common love of the marvellous, and the vulgar desire to bring down the greatest achievements of genius to our own level, may lead men to ascribe such results to any casual circumstances which accompany them; but no one who fairly considers the real nature of great discoveries, and the intellectual processes which they involve, can seriously hold the opinion of their being the effect of accident.

'Such accidents never happen to common men. Thousands of men, even of the most enquiring and speculative men, had seen bodies fall; but who, except Newton, ever followed the accident to such consequences? and, in fact, how little of his train of thought was contained in, or even directly suggested by the fall of the apple! If the apple fall, said the discoverer, why should not the moon, the planets, the su-

tellites fall? But how much previous thought? what a steady conception of the universality of the laws of motion gathered from other sources, were requisite, that the enquirer should see any connexion in these cases? Was it by accident that he saw in the apple an image of the moon, and of every body in the solar system?'*—Vol. II. p. 189, 190.

With the exception of the first sentence in the preceding extract, which no rational man can admit, there is in it much truth, and many sound views which we cheerfully adopt and fully appreciate; but the metaphysical state of Mr Whewell's mind, leads him to conclusions so vague and general, that a mind imbued with physical truth, and habituated to its contemplation, cannot possibly follow him to a specific conclusion. He enunciates the proposition, that no scientific discovery is due to accident; and to prove this, he adduces Newton's discovery of the doctrine of universal gravitation, and he makes the fall of the apple the accidental fact which is supposed to have led to it! Did we, or any rational being, ever maintain that Newton's discovery was accidental? or did any person ever regard the supposed fact of the falling apple as a discovery, or even as a new scientific fact? Beautiful as the passage is, the case which it embodies is utterly irrelevant, and though we will not say that it has no other object, we must say that it has no other tendency, than to mystify the subject and bewilder the reader. The question between Mr Whewell and us, is this:—Can a scientific discovery be made by accident? Now, it is obvious that a scientific discovery may have various characters. It may be a *law*, or a *proposition*, dependent on an assemblage of facts and reasonings; or it may be a *single fact*, in which the mind of the observer has had no share—a fact which his *eyes* only have seen, or his *ears* heard, or his *hands* felt. If it has the *first* of these characters, it is *not due to accident*, even though many of the facts on which it rests may have been accidentally discovered. If it has the *second* of these characters, *it is due to accident*, and can be due to nothing else. The doctrine of gravity, the composition of white light, the achromatic telescope, are examples of discoveries in which accident had no share. Galvanism, the telescope and microscope, and many of the discoveries made by them, are examples of discoveries in which accident had the principal share. Had an optician placed a concave flint glass behind a convex crown glass, for the purpose *alone* of increasing the focal length of the latter, had he observed that objects seen

* This story of the apple we believe, and that on good grounds, to be an idle fiction.

with such an object-glass were *achromatic*, and had he published to the world this simple fact, and died immediately after, would he not have been the accidental inventor of the achromatic telescope? Had a chemist applied a match to an accidental mixture of sulphur, nitre, and charcoal, would he not have discovered gunpowder by accident? These are suppositions, but we could name hundreds of discoveries, which the discoverers themselves would not hesitate to say were due to accident. A friend of ours who was soldering a piece of brass, laid the soldering iron upon a mass of lead, and he was immediately astonished at the emission of musical sounds, accompanied by a vibratory motion of the iron. Another friend, in looking into a plate of topaz which accidentally reflected to his eye a portion of the sky where its light was polarized, discovered, without any analysing prism, the beautiful system of elliptical rings, which led himself and others to the laws of double refraction in biaxal crystals. Had both these observers been cut off after they had recorded the facts which they discovered, would they not both have been lauded, in the future history of science, as the authors of two accidental discoveries? The ears of the one and the eyes of the other, were alone concerned in the discovery.

Believing that these views are incapable of challenge, we come now to Mr Whewell's specific reply to the instances of accidental discoveries which we had adduced.

'The same observations (those given in the preceding extract) may be made with regard to the other cases, which are sometimes adduced as examples of accidental discovery. It has been said, (*Edinburgh Review*, No. 133, p. 121,) "by the accidental placing of a rhomb of calcareous spar upon a book or line, Bartholinus discovered the property of the *double refraction* of light." But Bartholinus could have seen no such consequence in the accident, if he had not previously had a clear conception of *single refraction*. A lady, in describing an optical experiment which had been shown her, said of her teacher, "he told me to *increase and diminish the angle of refraction*, and at last I found that he only meant me to move my head up and down." At any rate, till the lady had acquired the notions which the technical terms convey, she could not have made Bartholinus's discovery by means of his accident. "By accidentally combining two rhombs in different positions," it is added, "Huygens discovered the *polarization* of light:" supposing that this experiment had been made without design, what Huygens really observed, was, that the images appeared and disappeared alternately, as he turned the rhombs [one of the rhombs] round. But was it an easy or an obvious business to analyse this curious alternation into the circumstances of the rays of light having *sides*, as Newton expressed it, and into the additional hypotheses which are implied in the term polarization? Those will be able to answer this question, who have found how far from easy it is to understand clearly what is meant by polarization in

this case, now that the property is fully established. Huygens's success depended on his clearness of thought, for this enabled him to perform the intellectual analysis, which never would have occurred to most men, however often they had "accidentally combined two rhombs in different positions." "By accidentally looking through a prism of the same substance, and turning it round, Malus discovered the polarization of light by reflection." Malus saw, that in some positions the light reflected from the windows of the Louvre, thus seen through the prism, became dim. Another man would have supposed this dimness the result of accident; but his mind was differently constituted and disciplined. He considered the position of the window and of the prism; repeated the experiment over and over;* and, in virtue of the eminently distinct conceptions of space which he possessed, resolved the phenomena [phenomenon] into its geometrical conditions. A believer in accident would not have sought them; a person of less clear ideas would not have found them. A person must have a strange confidence in the virtue of chance, and the worthlessness of intellect, who can say,† even in the heat of debate, or the recklessness of anonymous criticism, that "in all these fundamental discoveries, appropriate ideas had no share," and that the discoveries, "might have been made by the most ordinary observers!"'—Vol. II. p. 190.

In these observations, Mr Whewell has chosen very unfairly, we think, to regard our application of the term *accidental discovery*, to the whole of the researches which Bartholinus, Huygens, and Malus,‡ founded on the *great fact* which each of them *accidentally discovered.* Our language will not tolerate such an interpretation, and it is an insult to truth and right feeling, as well as to the reputation of these distinguished men, to create a calumny against them, and then charge the invention of it upon one of their greatest admirers.

When Bartholinus published to the scientific world the single fact, that all bodies seen through a rhomb of Iceland spar were doubled, though its surfaces were perfectly parallel, and its mass entirely homogeneous; he did not require to use the term *double refraction*, or to know any thing of *single refraction*, to have been the author of a great accidental discovery. There

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* These are entirely suppositions of Mr Whewell.

† 'This is said by the Edinburgh Reviewer of my *History*, in an attempt to disprove the necessity of clear and appropriate ideas for discovery. *Edinburgh Review*, No. CXXXIII. p. 122.'

‡ It is curious, and to us inexplicable, that in quoting from us, our author should have omitted our *principal* example; viz. the discovery of polarized tints by M. Arago, as if it was *more accidental* than the rest. We, of course, applied the term *accidental* to the simple observation of the colours, and not to his beautiful analysis of them; and we are sure that he himself will admit the correctness of our application.

were plenty of philosophers in Europe, who, after reading the simple statement, would have simultaneously discovered the next step, and given Bartholinus the credit of the leading discovery. In like manner, had Huygens recorded nothing more than his accidental observation, that there were only *two* images when the two rhombs were placed as they lay in the mass of spar, or when they had a position rectangular to this, and that there were *four* images in every other position, he would have been pronounced the discoverer of polarization, though it was left to Newton to use the word *sides of rays*, and to Malus to employ the actual term *polarization*. In fact, Huygens did nothing more; and it is unworthy of a fair reasoner to have introduced the subsequent idea of Newton, and to have talked of Huygens having performed any intellectual analysis of his observation. He performed no analysis at all; but even if he had, our observation applied only to his simple experimental discovery, which should have led him, as it led Newton, to the idea of *polarity*, or of different properties residing in different sides of the rays.

With regard to Malus our case is still stronger. His own greatest admirers consider his discovery as an accidental one. It may be quite true 'that *another man*' (Mr Whewell must mean an *ignorant man*) 'would have supposed this dimness the result of accident;' but such a man was not likely to be looking through a doubly refracting prism at the windows of the Louvre,—and if he had noticed a dimness, which he was not likely to do, he would never have thought of explaining it at all. But if Mr Whewell means by *another man*, any other man than Malus, we beg to tell him, that had Arago, or Biot, or Fresnel, or Babinet, seen what Malus accidentally saw, or had read the simple record of the fact as observed by Malus, they would speedily have 'resolved 'the phenomenon into its geometrical conditions.'*

We are much more disposed to pity than to censure the closing paragraph of the preceding extract. To refer to anonymous criticism the opinions of one whose name he knows as well as his own, and to apply the epithet of 'recklessness' to a scientific judgment, deliberately formed and calmly pronounced, displays the temper of the author more than his wisdom. We must remind Mr Whewell that science has its ethics as well as its metaphysics; and that posterity will not receive it as an apology for error and

* The resolution of the phenomenon thus magniloquently expressed, was nothing more than looking with the same prism at light reflected from a plate of glass, and observing that a ray reflected at a particular angle, exactly resembled one of the pencils in Iceland spar.

injustice, that he was a Professor of Casuistry when he composed the 'History' and the 'Philosophy of Science.'

When the appropriate ideas have been clearly developed in the discoverer's mind, he is then to apply them to 'a supply of 'definite and certain facts, free from obscurity and doubt;' and science is to be 'built up' with these 'facts as its materials.' Before using these facts, however, we must see that they are '*true facts*, as distinguished from mere inferences or opinions.' Our facts then must be 'selected,' and 'reduced to their most 'simple and certain form.' They 'are to be freed from all the 'mists which imagination and passion throw around them,' and 'separated into mere elementary facts, which exhibit simple and 'evident relations of time and space, or cause, or some other ideas 'equally clear.' 'This process' is termed 'the decomposition of 'facts.' This decomposition then leads us to the introduction of terms and phrases, more or less technical, by which these simple facts are described.

Our author now initiates us into the process by which 'the 'facts are brought into their places,' and describes 'the ter-'ture of the bond which unites and cements them.' This process is the colligation of facts, described in the fourth chapter; and when combined with the 'explication of the conceptions of 'our own minds,' 'they constitute the mental process of induc-'tion,'—'the genuine source of all our real general knowledge 'respecting the external world.'

In the subsequent chapter, our author treats of 'certain char-'acteristics of scientific induction.' The first of these is when we 'collect a general proposition from a number of particular cases.' In every 'inference by induction, there is some conception 'superinduced upon the facts.' 'In collecting truths by induc-'tion, we often find a definition and proposition established at the 'same time.' The 'inductive act' is the 'combination of the 'two.' The definition represents the superinduced conception, and the proposition exhibits the colligation of facts. In order to discover a conception fitted to represent a train of facts, conjectures, guesses, and hypotheses must be resorted to, but they must be abandoned when found defective or erroneous. Inductions from classes of facts altogether different, are said to *jump together*, and receive the name of *consilience of inductions*. Two or three such leaps from unconnected quarters to the same point, 'can only arise from *that* being the point where truth re-'sides,' and such an event 'impresses us with a conviction that 'the truth of an hypothesis is certain.' The undulatory theory of light, which is said to be 'full of examples of this consilience 'of inductions,' is therefore certain; and, we would add, no longer an hypothesis! The consilience of inductions is accom-

panied or followed by 'the progressive simplification of the theory 'as it is extended to new cases;' and such theories are distinguished from false ones by the circumstance, 'that all the additional 'suppositions lead to simplicity and harmony,' and 'have therefore a constant convergence to unity.'

In the next or sixth chapter, on the 'logic of induction,' our author explains the nature of his folio inductive tables, in which the principal features of the progress of astronomy and optics are exhibited: he marks the difference between common or syllogistic logic and inductive logic, and he describes deductive reasoning as virtually a collection of syllogisms, in which the definitions and axioms stand at the beginning of the demonstration; whereas, in inductive reasoning, 'the definitions and principles are the 'final result of the reasoning, the ultimate effect of the proof.'

In his seventh chapter, Mr Whewell treats of the laws of phenomena and of cause; and he here enters the lists with M. Comte, who has laid it down as a maxim,* that 'science must 'study only the laws of phenomena, and *never* their mode of pro-'duction.' We have ourselves† broken a lance with M. Comte on this subject, though not without the conviction that he may yet be victorious; and we even ventured to assist Mr Whewell in defending the undulatory system as an hypothesis, though we cannot admit it as a cause. Mr Whewell has argued the subject with great vehemence and power; but we reserve the slight discussion of it which we can here give, as an accompaniment to our observations on the undulatory theory.

Mr Whewell, in his eighth chapter on art and science, decides, that neither medicine nor engineering can be included in the list of sciences, and should be accordingly struck out of the classification of science, which forms the ninth chapter. 'The object of 'science,' he says, 'is knowledge, the objects of art are works.' 'Art 'puts elements together.' 'Science analyses the compound.' Art finishes her work, science goes on to another. 'The principles 'which art involves, science alone evolves.' 'The practical arts 'are not sciences.' In the classified list of the sciences which terminates the eleventh chapter, Mr Whewell has inserted before each the fundamental idea or conception which belongs to it; and he has added 'in the text a few not belonging to our present 'subject, that the nature of the transition by which we are to ex-'tend our philosophy into a wider and higher region, may be in 'some measure perceived.' Were we to place this list beside that of M. Comte, D'Alembert, and others, our readers would join us

* See this *Journal*, vol. lxvii. p. 28. † Id. vol. lxx. p. 305.

in the conclusion, that science gains nothing, but may lose much, by these never-ending attempts to alter her geography and statistics—by subverting the laws, and changing the names, and encroaching upon the limits of her departments.

At the end of the eleventh book we meet with the folio sheet already mentioned, in which we have on one side an *Inductive Table of Astronomy*, and on the other an *Inductive Table of Optics*, upon both of which it is necessary to make a few observations. The following is Mr Whewell's own view of these two tables:—

'These tables naturally afford the opportunity of assigning to each of the distinct steps of which the progress of science consists, the name of the *discoverer* to whom it is due. Every one of the inductive processes which the brackets of our tables mark, directs our attention to some person by whom the induction was first distinctly made. These names I have endeavoured to put in their due places in the tables; and the inductive tree of our knowledge in each science becomes in this way an exhibition of the claims of each discoverer to distinction, and, as it were, a genealogical tree of scientific nobility. It is by no means pretended that such a tree includes the names of all the meritorious labourers in each department of science. Many persons are most usefully employed in collecting and verifying truths, who do not advance to any new truths. The labours of a number of such are included in each stage of our ascent; but such tables as we have now before us, will present to us the names of all the most eminent discoverers; for the main steps of which the progress of science consists, are transitions from more particular to more general truths, and must, therefore, be rightly given by these tables; and those must be the greatest names in science to whom the principal events of its advance are thus due.'—Vol. II. p. 243–4.

The inductive table of *Astronomy* is an interesting though very imperfect abstract of the progressive development of that science; and our readers will scarcely believe that the following list of discoverers, given by our author, contains all the names to whom we owe the most perfect of the sciences:—

Pythagoras,	Albategnius,	Halley,
Aristotle,	Copernicus,	Wren,
Hippocrates,	Tycho,	Hooke,
Ptolemy,	Kepler,	Newton.
Eudoxus,	Horrox,	

Of these names *five* are English, and *none* French; and we fear that our distinguished friends beyond the Channel, will have too much justice on their side, when they ascribe to prejudice and national vanity the extraordinary assertion, that no French astronomer has contributed to the establishment of the true system of the universe!

The inductive table of *Optics* differs very essentially in character from that of *Astronomy*. The recent establishment of the

most important facts and laws of this science, has placed at the mercy of Mr Whewell the names and labours of individuals yet alive; and, in the same spirit which is displayed in his historical details, he has cancelled many of the most important and effective discoveries, and has transferred to one individual the labours of another, and thus thrown the seeds of strife among the peaceful cultivators of science. There are reasons known to Mr Whewell why we cannot in this place produce the historical evidence on which our sentence of condemnation rests; but there is one case so simple and so intelligible, that we shall give it as a specimen of our testimony. Dr Wollaston's name is attached to the discovery of the colours of polarized rays through uniaxal crystals, and of the system of uniaxal rings; although these two discoveries, separate and independent of each other, were made by other philosophers. At the time, and long after it, when the colours of polarized rays were discovered by M. Arago, all crystals were regarded as uniaxal, and many of those, on which M. Arago and M. Biot made their beautiful experiments, were uniaxal. With what truth, then, can it be said that M. Arago did not discover the *colours* of polarized rays in *uniaxal* as well as in other crystals? But Dr Wollaston, our author tells us, discovered also the *rings* in uniaxal crystals. Dr Wollaston did no such thing, and never pretended to have done it. Dr Wollaston did discover the uniaxal system of rings in calcareous spar; but knowing that the rings both in uniaxal and biaxal crystals had been long before discovered by others, he never thought even of publishing his observation, and never did publish it. In the autumn of 1814, Dr Wollaston showed the rings in calcareous spar to Sir David Brewster, who had not previously seen them in that mineral; and in a correspondence between the latter and M. Biot, who had subsequently seen the same rings in calcareous spar, he mentioned Dr Wollaston's previous discovery of them; and has ever since, in all his writings, appended Dr Wollaston's name to this observation.

The omissions in this table are still more reprehensible. The extensive and important subject of Elliptical polarization is not even named; the most interesting discoveries regarding the spectra of gratings, are forgotten; the curious subject of conical refraction, and the still more remarkable and inexplicable phenomena of the action of the surfaces of crystals, are never heard of. The discoveries of Arago and Biot are not duly recognised; and the names of Babinet, Mitscherlich, Hamilton, Lloyd, Potter, Seebeck, and Nauman, are obliterated from Mr Whewell's schedule of optical discovery!

The following is a list of all the names in the inductive table of Optics:—

Euclid,	Dollond,	Wollaston,
Ptolemy,	Blair,	Fresnel,
Snell,	Malus,	Herschel,
Huygens,	Arago,	Airy,
Grimaldi,	Biot,	Maccullagh.
Hooke,	Brewster,	
Newton,	Young,	

Of these nineteen names more than one half, viz. ten, are English, and only four French; while Cambridge sends her contingent of five—overmatching France and all Christendom combined, and affording some explanation of the unexpected appearance of Dr Wollaston in the list of optical discoverers.*

In the twelfth book, which contains a 'Review of Opinions on 'the Nature of Knowledge, and the means of seeking it,' we are introduced to the opinions of Plato, Aristotle, the Greek and Roman sages, the schoolmen and innovators of the middle ages, the Platonist schoolmen, the theoretical and practical reformers of science in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bacon, Harvey, Descartes, Gassendi, Otto Guericke, Hooke, Newton, and Locke. In the fifteenth chapter, entitled 'The Reaction 'against the Sensational School,' we receive a full account of M. Ampere's classification of the sciences, while no notice at all is taken of the more recent classification of M. Comte.

The next and last book is entitled, 'Of Methods employed in 'the Formation of Science,' and under this head our author reduces the processes concerned in the formation of science to six—

1. Decomposition of facts.
2. Measurement of phenomena.
3. Explication of conceptions.
4. Induction of laws of phenomena,
5. Induction of causes.
6. Application of inductive discoveries.

He dwells, however, principally on the second and fourth—apologises for the 'scanty and imperfect treatment of the subject'—and suggests to some future writer the advantages of a separate treatise on the methods of observation and induction alone.

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers some idea of Mr Whewell's very extraordinary work; and though we did not hope to see realized in the conclusion of it the high expectations which the early volumes tended to excite, yet we did expect

* Dr Wollaston's name might have been justly introduced as the first person who confirmed the Huygenian theory by direct experiments.

certain methods, rules, and suggestions, which might at least smooth the path and diminish the ascent of scientific research. The avowed object of our author was to 'provide for every 'kind of truth, methods of research as effective as those to 'which we owe the clearest and the purest portions of our know-'ledge;' and these methods were obviously intended, not for the young and the ignorant, but, as Bacon himself expresses it, 'to 'make *learned men* more wise in the use and administration of 'learning.' As our author, however, advanced in his work, he probably saw that he had aimed at too lofty an object, and, in conformity with the opinions which we pressed upon his notice, he has retreated from his elevated position to a more secure and defensible stronghold. Yet even on this humbler level, his early aspirations recur, and the antagonist expressions of hope and fear throw a neutral shade over the pages in which the mysteries of scientific discovery are to be disclosed. 'I shall endeavour,' says he, 'to collect such rules as seem best adapted to assist us in the 'discovery and recognition of scientific truths, or *at least* such as 'may enable us to understand the process by which this truth is 'obtained. We would present to the reader the *philosophy*, and, '*if possible*, the *art of discovery*. But in truth we must acknow-'ledge, before we proceed with this subject, that speaking with 'strictness, an *art of discovery* is not possible—that we can give 'no rules for the pursuit of truth, which shall be universally and 'peremptorily applicable; and yet the helps which we can offer 'to the enquirer in such cases, are limited and precarious.' Hence it is quite obvious that Mr Whewell, like Bacon, intended his maxims for those who were discoverers in science. But in reply to our doctrine, that ideas, appropriate to the facts, could only be learned when the discovery was completed, he goes on to say—

'Scientific discovery must ever depend upon some happy thought, of which we cannot trace the origin, some fortunate cast of intellect, rising above all rules. No maxims can be given which inevitably lead to discovery. No precepts will elevate a man of ordinary endowments to the level of a man of genius; nor will an enquirer of truly inventive mind need to come to the teacher of inductive philosophy to learn how to exercise the faculties which nature has given him. Such persons as Kepler, or Fresnel, or Brewster, will have their powers of discovering truth little augmented by any injunctions respecting distinct and appropriate ideas; and such men may very naturally question the utility of rules altogether.

'But yet the opinions which such persons may entertain, will not lead us to doubt concerning the value of the attempts to analyse and methodize the process of discovery. Who would attend to Kepler if he had maintained that the speculations of Francis Bacon were worthless?

Notwithstanding what has been said, we may venture to assert, that the maxim which points out the necessity of ideas appropriate as well as clear, for the purpose of discovering truth, is not without its use. It may, at least, have a value as a caution or prohibition, and may thus turn us away from labours certain to be fruitless.'—Vol. ii. pp. 186–7.

In this passage, Mr Whewell surrenders to us the whole question, and his opinions and ours are now perfectly coincident. Let us therefore exchange the spear for the pruning-hook, and unite our labours in the great cause of substantial science. When the five volumes under our review have reached a second edition, let their author invite the aid of his scientific friends in those branches of science which he has not himself studied; let him carry into effect his own resolution 'of speaking of persons alive,' not as if they were morally dead, and unable to claim what is wrested from them, 'but with the same impartiality and the same 'spirit as if they were already numbered with the great men of the 'past;' let him learn from these living men the steps and methods by which they were led to discovery; and let him embody these personal details as historical records, whence future philosophers may draw for themselves rules and maxims of research.

Whatever the methods may be by which truth has been sought, whether by the imagination or the judgment, whether by the use of hypotheses, or the torture of facts, we are persuaded that there is but one way by which it can be found—the way by which it is discovered in the ordinary affairs of life; by a lofty estimate of its value; by an abiding conviction that it is within our reach; by patience and single-mindedness in its pursuit; by an indomitable perseverance amid obstructions and defeats; by an inquisition into every rumour and conjecture respecting its hiding-place; and, by the application of all the means and instruments at our disposal, to lay hold of the prize, insulate the gem from its matrix, and exhibit the diamond in its native purity and lustre.

Before concluding this article, we must advert to two topics which press themselves upon our notice. The first of these is the attack made by the author upon our illustrious countryman Mr Watt, and his distinguished biographer M. Arago. We had blamed Mr Whewell for not giving Mr Watt the credit of having been the first who ascertained the true composition of water; and to this charge he has made an indirect reply in his discussion of the application of the idea of substance in chemistry. In this discussion he is led to the maxim, that *imponderable fluids are not to be admitted as chemical elements of bodies*, and he applies this maxim in the following manner:—

Controversy of the Composition of Water.—'There is another con-

troversy of our times to which we may with great propriety apply the maxim now before us. After the glory of having first given a true view of the composition of water had long rested tranquilly upon the names of Cavendish and Lavoisier, a claim was made in favour of James Watt as the real author of this discovery by his son, (Mr J. Watt,) and his eulogist, (M. Arago.*) It is not to our purpose here to discuss the various questions which have arisen on this subject respecting priority of publication, and respecting the translation of opinions published at one time into the language of another period. But if we look at Watt's own statement of his views, given soon after those of Cavendish had been published, we shall perceive that it is marked by a violation of this maxim; we shall find that he does admit imponderable fluids as chemical elements; and thus shows a great vagueness and confusion in his idea of chemical composition. With such imperfection in his views, it is not surprising that Watt not only did not anticipate, but did not fully appreciate the discovery of Cavendish and Lavoisier. Watt's statement of his views is as follows:†—"Are we not authorized to conclude that water is composed of dephlogisticated air, and phlogiston deprived of part of their latent or elementary heat; that dephlogisticated or pure air is composed of water deprived of its phlogiston, and united to elementary heat and light; and that the latter are contained in it, in a latent state, so as not to be sensible to the thermometer or to the eye; and if light be only a modification of heat, or a circumstance attending it, or a component part of the inflammable air, then pure or dephlogisticated air is composed of water deprived of its phlogiston, and united to elementary heat?"

'When we compare this doubtful and hypothetical statement, involving so much that is extraneous and heterogeneous, with the conclusion of Cavendish, in which there is nothing hypothetical or superfluous, we may confidently assent to the decision which has been pronounced by one‡ of our own time in favour of Cavendish; and we may with pleasure recognize, in this enlightened umpire, a due appreciation of the value of the maxim on which we are now insisting. "Cavendish," says Mr Vernon Harcourt, "pared off from the hypotheses their theories of combustion, and *affinities of imponderable for ponderable matter*, as complicating chemical with physical considerations." '—Vol. I. p. 402.

There is a bitterness of injustice in this decision which cannot fail to meet with general disapprobation. Had it been necessary to rob Cavendish and Lavoisier of their glory by yielding to Mr Watt his unquestionable right, we might justify any ardour which their countrymen should express in defending them. But in the view which we have taken of this controversy,§ and one

* 'Eloge de James Watt, Annuaire du Bur. des Long., 1839.'

† 'Phil. Trans. 1784, p. 332.'

‡ 'The Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt's address to the British Association, 1839.'

§ See this *Journal*, vol. lxx. p. 497.

in which we have reason to believe that scientific men have generally acquiesced, the rights of all parties have been secured, without any encroachment on personal reputation or national feelings.

The weakness of Mr Whewell's argument is, however, easily exposed. It was the fashion in Mr Watt's day to consider the imponderable fluids of light and heat as chemical elements. It is the fashion of the present day, and one in which Mr Whewell rejoices, to say that calcareous spar contains the imponderable element of the luminiferous ether; and we should not blame a chemist of the Cambridge School who should thus announce his discovery of the composition of that mineral:—

Lime, . . .	56.25
Carbonic acid, . .	43.75
Luminiferous ether,	Inappreciable.
	100.00

But we should greatly blame the historian or legislator of science, were he to transfer the honour of having discovered the true composition of calcareous spar to some future chemist, who merely *omitted the inappreciable element of the luminiferous ether.* And yet this is precisely the case of Mr Watt.

The other topic which demands our attention is the present state of the 'undulatory theory,' which, in this work, is placed on a level with the theory of universal gravitation; and is represented as the final condition of optical science, and as affording the true cause of the production of optical phenomena. It is maintained by M. Comte, 'that it is not the province of 'science to study causes of phenomena or the mode of their pro-'duction;' and he applies this principle, as we have seen,* to the undulatory theory, which he ridicules and condemns. There can be no doubt that, to a certain extent, M. Comte is right. If the mind rests upon any hypothesis as disclosing the real cause of the phenomena which it explains, and thus paralyses all our efforts in searching for any other, and perhaps the true cause; then science has not in this case performed her proper functions. But if the undulatory, or any other hypothesis, is adopted, and used only as a temporary auxiliary—as a bond of cement which unites a number of insulated facts, or even as a fertile principle which may indicate new phenomena—science cannot be considered as having overstepped its limits.

* See this *Journal*, vol. lxx. p. 305—307.

It is, however, unquestionable that Mr Whewell, and others, have violated this principle, by maintaining that the luminiferous ether really exists, filling universal space, and occupying the pores of all bodies whatever; and this on the false and ridiculous assumption, that the theory is perfect, and has been demonstrated. It is interesting, nevertheless, to find, that this high ground has been gradually abandoned. The undulationists are in full retreat from this uneasy position, and are beginning to prepare for its occupation by the enemy. In the present work, Mr Whewell's tone has been lowered by many notes; and in numerous passages he speaks of the theory as only *advancing* to consistency and simplicity. The Astronomer Royal, too, to whose opinions our author seems to defer, has very recently stated, 'That the undulatory theory is entitled to the same respect which is given to a private person of high character; it is not to be rashly attacked until the supposed grounds of attack have been most thoroughly examined, although, if these grounds are valid, it possesses no immunity beyond other theories.'* Now, this is a very fair and modest demand; but if the friends of this private gentleman shall pester society by holding him up as a perfect character, and traducing all his neighbours as rogues and fools, there may be some reasons for prying into his defects, and even exaggerating his failings. If calumny and slander form a positive libel, sycophancy and adulation make a negative one.

Mr Whewell himself acknowledges that the undulatory theory does not explain the absorption of light, or the colours of natural bodies. We maintain that it affords no explanation, and has never attempted any, of the transverse fringes of grooved surfaces; that it gives no explanation of the defective lines of the spectrum, or of the superposition of different colours having the same refrangibility; that though it has afforded two contradictory explanations of the phenomena of the apparent polarity of light, neither of them is correct; and that it does not explain the phenomena of reflection from crystallized surfaces.

In other cases the theory is positively contradicted by direct experiments. The relative brightness, for example, of the *maxima* and *minima* of Newton's transmitted rings, should, by the theory, be as 1½ to 1; whereas Professor Potter, of University College, found it, by accurate photometrical measurements, to be as 3½ to 1. By this theory the central band in the fringes, produced by two mirrors slightly inclined, should be *white*,

* *Lond. and Ed. Phil. Mag.*, Jan. 1841. Vol. xviii. p. 10.

whereas it is actually *black*. By the theory, the line bisecting the angle of the knife edges in Newton's experiment, is the asymptote of the hyperbolic fringes; whereas experiment proves that the shadows of the edges are the real asymptotes. The phenomena of conical refraction, too, discovered by Professor Potter, are also incompatible with the theory; and finally, Professor Potter has recently proved, by very nice experiments, that the phenomena of diffraction within the shadows of small circular disks are not such as the theory indicates. 'I consider,' he adds, 'the 'controversy as to the undulatory theory being the *physical* 'theory of light, to be nearly terminated; and that the experi- 'ments necessary for completing the basis of a physical theory, 'are those now most desirable to be undertaken.'

But whatever be the value of the undulatory theory, it has been pursued in England, since the death of Dr Young, in a spirit, and with a temper most injurious to the interests of knowledge. Supported by a local party, and fostered by corporation influence, it has usurped the judgment-seat of science; and its abettors have not scrupled to condemn as incorrect all optical researches which do not confirm its anticipations, and all results as worthless which it cannot explain. The transactions of our learned societies are loaded with its speculations and its formulæ. One hypothesis of vibration drives out its predecessor, and every new discovery either saddles it with a fresh incubus which threatens its vitality, or draws from its overflowing treasury a duality of explanations. It utters predictions, and contrives to fulfil them; and not content with the dignity of a prophet, it wields the sceptre of a king in attempting to crush the spirit of experimental philosophy, on which the scientific glory of our country can alone repose. Thus armed with inquisitorial powers, it has enjoyed a temporary triumph. But its doom, as a physical theory, is sealed, and when it has lingered for another century as a mathematical hypothesis, the true cause of the phenomena of light will reward the diligence and genius of those who, in the spirit of genuine induction, have advanced in the straight and narrow way that leads to the Temple of Truth.

ART. II.—*Reise in Abyssinien.* Von Dr EDWARD RÜPPELL. 2 vols. 8vo. Frankfurt am Main: 1838-40.

THE extent of country which fell under Dr Rüppell's immediate observation during his journey in Abyssinia, was in lineal distance about 370 or 380 geographical miles—about the distance between London and Edinburgh. For seventy miles at each end of this tract—that is, from Massaua to the frontier town of Halai, and from Gondar to the bridge of Deldei, which crosses the Nile a short way below the point at which that river flows out of the lake of Dembea—he went and returned by the same road. From Halai to Gondar, he pursued a route considerably to the south of that which is usually travelled, through Ategerat and Entshetkab, the capital of Simen; and from Gondar to Halai, he returned through Axum and Adowa, along a route nearly coinciding with that by which Bruce entered the country. The lines of road by which he went and returned, between Halai and Gondar, enclose a parallelogram of somewhat more than a hundred miles in length, and forty in breadth.

It is not, therefore, the extent of territory traversed that lends an interest to these travels: it is the deliberate accuracy with which the observations of the traveller were made. He left Arkiko, on his way to Gondar, on the 29th of April 1832; and entered it again on the 29th of June 1833; taking a year and two months to a journey of the same length as is performed with ease, in this country of railroads and mail-coaches, in three or four days. The most prolonged halts were at Entshetkab and Gondar. During his residence in the capital, (if it may still be so called,) he made the excursion to the bridge of Deldei, just alluded to; and another into the Kulla, a low pestilential district, at the base of the lofty mountains north of Gondar. But every where his observation was vigilant and accurate. As a naturalist, the geological structure of the country—the elevations and depressions of its surface—the peculiar forms of its vegetation—its animal tribes—were the first objects of his notice. The phenomena of society were not less carefully observed. The domestic habits of the Abyssinians; the wreck of civil organization, still discernible amid the anarchy into which their state has fallen; their intellectual, moral, and physical condition; the traces of their earlier history which have survived their internal feuds—have all been diligently examined, and recorded with a degree of plainness that vouches for the authenticity of the author's statements.

Of the map which accompanies his volumes, Dr Rüppell says—

—'I have traced in it only those districts and provinces through 'which I actually travelled, and have inserted the names of those 'places only which I saw with my own eyes, and the position of 'which I ascertained, either by astronomical observations or by 'deductions from my line of march. Hence it will furnish the com-'pilers of maps with a trustworthy basis, which may be extended 'by simply adding the contributions of future travellers.' The same may be said of his book. It is a compendium of observations so carefully made—so well digested—and narrated with such scrupulous and unostentatious accuracy, that it may safely be taken as the groundwork of any future enquiries respecting Abyssinia. The scientific precision of his geographical observations lend a distinctness, hitherto wanted, to the less coherent accounts of Bruce and Salt. The observations of the latter are, like his drawings, accurate enough in many of their details, but fragmentary: they supply us with a great deal of information, out of which, however, it is difficult to form an idea of the whole of which they are parts. The observations of Bruce, *as recorded in his note-books*, are trustworthy; but, in compiling the narrative of his travels, he has trusted too much to a memory in which impressions of the reality, weakened by a lapse of years, had been often superseded by the theories of an active imagination. The strong common sense of Dr Rüppell has furnished the geographer with a test which will enable him to separate the wheat from the chaff, both of the high-minded but somewhat overweening Bruce, and his enterprising and acute, but superficial critic, Salt.

It is impossible to say now what *are* the limits of Abyssinia; for that empire has almost ceased to exist, even in name. The tribes of the Dancali, from the bay of Amphila to Zeilah, have been independent since the time of Mahomet Gragné. Even in the direction of Massaua, the emporium of the foreign trade of Abyssinia, the authority of its rulers has not for centuries extended further east than the upper declivities of the mountains on which Halai and Ategerat are situated. On the south, Shoa has been erected into an independent monarchy, while hordes of Galla render it impossible to trace a line, and say—thus far the authority of the Abyssinian state extends. On the north, its frontiers are equally vague. For a long period, Abyssinia has been the designation of an indefinite extent of territory, within vague and shifting boundaries, the sovereign authority of which was supposed to be resident at Gondar. The Ras for the time being nominated a shadow king, ruled in his name, and thus kept alive a weak sense of nationality. But after the deposition of Saglu Denghel, (during Rüppell's residence at Gondar,) this ceremony seems to have been dispensed with; and since that

time the relative importance of the Abyssinian chiefs depends entirely upon their personal valour and ability. The glimmering sense of national unity has been extinguished: there are men who speak Amharic, and men who speak the dialect of Tigré—inhabitants of Gondar, and inhabitants of Begemder or Gudjam—followers of Ras Ali, or Djesmaté Ubi; but there are no Abyssinians.

Territorial divisions, however, and classifications of the human race, grounded upon national characteristics, are not so perishable as those of political geography. The empire constructed by the kings of Axum has ceased to exist; but the mountain land which formed its centre still subsists, with all its peculiarities of structure and climate, and of animal and vegetable existence. The race of men, too, which inhabits its inmost recesses, its eastern declivities, and the plains at their base, is still essentially the same as in the days of the author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea.* The Amharic and Tigré dialects are dialects of the language engraven on the stones at Axum. The former is still spoken from Shoa to Gondar; the latter is spoken in Tigré, and forms the basis of the language in use among the rude tribes along the Red Sea, from Massaua to the Straits of Babelmandel. The natural history of a region situated within the tropics, forming part of an extensive continent, and varying, within a distance of less than 200 miles, from the level of the sea to a height of 8093, 5955, 2892, 13,077, 9713, and 6964 Parisian feet above it—sometimes shooting up into isolated peaks, sometimes depressed into narrow chasms, or extensive basins, and sometimes stretching away in extensive plains—cannot fail to extend and correct the theories of science: and the history of a people who have, under peculiar circumstances, attained and retrograded from a respectable degree of civilization, even though its connexion with modern Europe be unimportant, cannot but be an instructive page in the general history of the human race.

The valley of the Takazzé separates the districts in which the dialects of Tigré and Amhara prevail; and it also separates two tracts of country, the physical characteristics of which are materially different. Rüppell has ascertained, by barometrical observations, that the bed of the Takazzé, where he crossed it in latitude 13° 3′ N., is only 2812 Parisian feet above sea-level; and that 60 miles to the N.W., in lat 13° 42′, it is 2603. To the S.W. of these two points is the mountainous region of Simen, the highest points of which rise to upwards of 13,000 feet. From this group, two ranges of elevated country, enclosing the great depression which contains the lake of Dembea, extend, one to

the S.W. till it meets the mountain ranges beyond the Nile; the other to the south, till it joins the high table-land east of the Takazzé. The elevated plain of the province of Woggera, between the mountains and the basin of lake Dembea, is 8000 feet above the level of the sea; the surface of the lake about 5800. East of the Takazzé, a range of hills, rising in many places to a height of 9000 feet, extends parallel to the coast of the Red Sea. The eastern declivity of these mountains is rugged, abrupt, and channeled by numerous ravines: at their base is a narrow stripe of plain, scarcely rising above the level of the sea. To the west, the land is undulating, and intersected by deep glens, with a gradual slope towards the Takazzé. Proceeding westward from the hills above Ategerat, Rüppell found Tackeragio 5955 feet above the sea; and this, he says, is about the average level of the province of Temben, while the average level of the province of Avergalé, between Temben and the Takazzé, is about 2000 feet lower. The predominant mountain rock throughout the district east of the Takazzé is clay-slate or gneiss, covered in the plains with an horizontal deposit of sandstone, interrupted at one or two points by isolated masses of lava. The mountains of Simen are of volcanic formation. The surface of the plain of Woggera and the plain which surrounds the lake of Dembea, are covered with volcanic rocks, the decomposition of which forms a soil of great natural fertility. The geologist will see at once that the mountains of Abyssinia must be poor in metallic ores; and Rüppell states that, to the best of his knowledge, the country yields no mineral products that would repay the labour of excavating them. The only exception is the important deposit of fossil salt, quarried on an elevated plain to the east of the province of Agamé.

The climate of Abyssinia—with the exception of the narrow valley of the Takazzé, and the low country to the north-west of the mountains of Simen, which, being surrounded on all sides by heights, have a heated and stagnant atmosphere—is pleasant. The variations in the temperature at different periods of the four-and-twenty hours, are unimportant. Violent storms are comparatively rare. The moisture of the rainy season exercises no prejudicial influence on the health, and even then the sky is always serene during the forenoon; towards two P.M. a storm breaks, which lasts about four hours, and is followed by a cloudy night. In the western division of the country, the dry or summer season (November to June) is the most agreeable; showers fall pretty regularly at intervals of eight days, and the relative elevation of the country keeps the atmosphere cool. The eastern districts are exposed to droughts. The unretentive nature of

the sandstone subsoil increases the evil; and the beds of the rivers are too deep to admit of artificial irrigation. The vegetation of the different provinces is characterised by the peculiarities which might be anticipated from their varied geological structure and climate. The coast of the Red Sea, except in the rainy season, (December to April,) is a burnt-up waste; during that period it is covered with a lively green. It is crossed in many places by dry beds of sand, through which the water of mountain torrents filters its way to the sea. Along these are found ranges of fine forest trees; but elsewhere nothing except a few mimosas and hard dry grasses, and on the shore tamarisks and avicennias are sometimes to be seen. The eastern declivities of the coast range of mountains are covered with light brushwood; in the ravines there are large timber trees. Along the summit level of these hills, are districts which are refreshed by rains even during the dry season, and are susceptible of tillage. But on the dry slope towards the Takazzé, the crops frequently fail. There are no forests; and, even along the beds of the ravines, there are merely a few middle-sized adansonias, and some colossal trees of the sycamore fig. The hot valley of the Takazzé, and the equally hot district at the north-west base of the mountains of Simen, are characterized by a tropical vegetation. These mountains partake of the barrenness of Tigré for 8000 feet above their base on the east side; but higher up, numberless perennial streams, descending from the eternal snows that crown the highest peaks, decomposing and fertilizing the lavas, create beautiful alpine meadows. The elevation of the district is unfavourable to the growth of trees. The western declivities of the Simen mountains abound in rich pastures; and, along with all the cereals, the coffee and cotton plants and the vine flourish spontaneously.

The comparatively barren character of the district of Tigré, and its deficiency in mineral wealth, naturally leads to the inference that it must be thinly peopled. At all times and under all circumstances, this must have been the case; but sixty years of civil broils have of course made matters worse. They have even thinned the naturally fertile provinces to the south-east of the Takazzé. Woggera, which Bruce describes as the best cultivated district of Abyssinia, and the lowlands around the lake of Dembea, where traces are every where found of earlier artificial irrigation, are only peopled by a few nomade hordes of herdsmen. Between Kiratza and the bridge of Deldei, a distance of about twenty-five miles, Rüppell saw only one small village. The town population is every where inconsiderable. Gondar, the nominal capital, contains a population of not more than 6500 souls; Adowa, the emporium of eastern Abyssinia,

has about 3500: Kiraza, the best regulated town visited by Rüppell, 1500: Ategerat, Tackenaggiro, and Entshetkab, chief towns of provinces, respectively 1200, 500, and 800. According to Rüppell's estimate, the country extending from lat. 12. to 16., and long. 37. to 40.—a tract of 43,200 geographical square miles—does not contain more than 500,000 inhabitants. To the remaining provinces of Abyssinia, (with the exception of Shoa,) he assigns a superficies of about 30,000 square miles, with a population of not more than a million. The accounts which the missionaries Krapff and Isenberg have published of the country around Ankober, conjoined with what Rüppell himself saw in the country south of lat. 12., incline us to believe that this estimate of the population of southern Abyssinia, is decidedly in excess. Assuming it to be near the mark, still, we have for the whole of Abyssinia, with the exception of Shoa, a surface of about 73,200 square miles, a population of about a million and a half—less than is found crammed into the area of a circle of eight miles' radius round London; and giving for the whole kingdom an average of less than twenty-one individuals to a square mile—the average of Merioneth, the least populous county in Wales, being in 1831, about fifty-four. The 43,200 square miles, to which Rüppell attributes a population of only 500,000, contains the province of Simen, which, having been less visited than the rest by the ravages of war, may be conceived rather to exceed them in population. The average, therefore, of less than twelve persons to the square mile, which results for this portion of the country, is most probably, in so far as the ill-watered district of Tigré is concerned, excessive.

A country so thinly peopled, possessed of no mineral resources, and in great part not naturally fertile, must, under any circumstances, be a poor country. Were it in the line of road along which any considerable amount of commerce regularly passed, its agricultural resources would be called into play, wealth diffused, and population augmented. But the low ratio of population is at once sufficient to show that nothing has relieved Abyssinia from its natural poverty. The protracted civil wars already alluded to, have contributed to keep it poor. The manner in which they have done this, is strikingly illustrated in the course of Rüppell's narrative. At Halai, the frontier town, he and his companions were forced to diverge from the direct road to Gondar, lest they should fall in with the bandit troops of two contending chiefs. At Ategerat, about sixty miles to the south, they were again put to their shifts by a similar alarm. At Entshetkab, the governor durst not allow our traveller to depart, until his friend, Getana Meriam, came from Gondar with a guard of match-

lock men to protect him. 'We learned,' says Dr Rüppell, 'that on the 26th of November, Djeaz Hailu Confu, governor 'of Matsha, had entered the province of Dogusa, routed the few 'troops opposed to him, and was advancing, plundering the whole 'level country before him, to Gondar. * * * Scarcely had the capital 'recovered from this panic, when the march of another body of 'troops again alarmed it; Mersu arrived at Emfras, on his way 'to Simen through Gondar. * * * On the 16th of December, 'the town was again disturbed by the return of Mersu's discom-'fited troops. * * * Three days later we were surprised by a 'third body of brigands; Djeaz Confu passed by forced marches 'in pursuit of Hailu. Next morning Shellika Getana Jasu, 'from Simen, encamped about eight miles north of Gondar, and 'threatened to plunder the town if Mersu did not immediately 'restore the booty he had carried off with him in his retreat. 'Such scenes,' the Doctor coolly remarks, 'are of frequent occur-'rence in the present unsettled state of Abyssinia.' While the chiefs are thus engaged, bands of private adventurers every where carry on the robber trade on their private account. The governors of provinces extort what money they can from the heads of villages; and these, in their turn, repay themselves at the expense of the villagers. The numerous retainers kept by every man of consequence in Abyssinia, receive on the average a dollar *per annum*, and a loaf a-day, and eke out their means by pilfering and robbery.

The body of the people is utterly demoralized—no one dreams of bettering his condition, and each grasps with avidity at any gratification that presents itself:—

'The Abyssinian Christians procure instruction for those sons only who are destined for the priesthood; and all that they learn is to read a part of the Bible. The only aim of the clergyman is to collect by begging, as much money as may enable him to make a pilgrimage by Massana and Cairo to Jerusalem. The only fruits brought back from these pilgrimages, are hypocrisy, sectarianism, and proficiency in destructive vices. In other respects, the Abyssinian Christians show little taste for travelling; the most of them are like insects chained to the leaf on which they are born; starvation, or the dread of being plundered, alone sets them in motion, and who among them does not become a soldier, sees nothing of the world beyond the nearest market village. The indolence which is at the bottom of this apathy, is characteristic of these men in other matters. Every husbandman cultivates no more land than is required to support his own family; no one thinks of accumulating stores of provisions. They esteem every kind of mechanical handiwork dishonourable; and hence, with the exception of trade, every branch of industry is despised by them. The arts of tanning and weaving are

exclusively practised by Mahometans; silver ornaments and weapons are manufactured by immigrant Greeks or Copts; all mason-work is done by the Jews.'

They have, in fact, no inducement to be industrious. In addition to the insecurity of property among the hordes of what are by courtesy called soldiers, and their brother bandits, whatever a man possesses above a bare subsistence, is sure to be seized by the government; or, if he is a cultivator of church-lands, by the clergy. 'A tenth of the harvest is paid as a tax to government, 'or if the land belongs to a church, to its priests. In addition 'to this tithe, the government exacts annually a number of oxen 'and sheep, varying in different years, and sometimes butter or 'honey, from each district; the local governor being left to deter-'mine how much shall be paid by each individual. The exaction 'is necessarily attended by much that is arbitrary and oppres-'sive; for the local authorities receiving very small salaries, and 'only in their capacity of soldiers, they make up the deficiency by 'other expedients.' Agricultural skill is at the very lowest ebb. A little cotton is in most parts spun by the women, and made into country cloths. In this manner it is calculated that at Kiratza, (south of Gondar,) an industrious female may earn about ten dollars *per annum*. At Gondar, Dr Rüppell found smiths who manufactured knives, ploughshares, and lance-heads, of iron brought from the south-western frontier; at the market of Edaka Achfesie, (about thirty miles from Halai,) he saw wrought iron exposed for sale, from which it may be inferred that it was manufactured into tools in the country; at Kiratza alone he seems to have met with a brassfounder, (who manufactured ornaments for the churches,) and smiths able to make sword-blades, razors, and even scissors. The files used by these workmen were of very rude manufacture, and came from Shoa. The native armourers of Gondar were celebrated for their shields; but the making, or rather repairing of matchlocks, was in the hands of foreign artizans. The rude iron balls for the muskets were made by tradesmen in Gondar; but every musketeer manufactured his own gunpowder. Besides tanning and weaving, the Mahometans embroider skirts and caps; and the Jews manufacture a coarse potter's ware for domestic uses. In Gondar there were some skilful penmen, and books were even sumptuously bound; rings and neck-chains were manufactured of silver, debased with a great deal of alloy; and horse-trappings were ornamented, and arms inlaid with the same metal. The same articles of luxury were also made at Kiratza. The only manufactures in Abyssinia, are those of rude indispensable utensils, or of the few ornaments of poverty-stricken barbarians.

The home trade of Abyssinia is rather the consequence of poverty than the cause of wealth :—

'The principal occupation of the inhabitants of Gondar is trade. As it is unadvisable, on account of frequent robberies, and the wars which interrupt the communication between the different provinces, for any one to accumulate a large stock of goods; the prices of the articles most in demand, fluctuate sometimes one hundred per cent from one market-day to another. Even the relation of the dollar to the salt-bricks, which pass current instead of small coin, is subject to great variations. On this account many inhabitants of Gondar purchase on the market-day, when the price of any article is much depressed by the competition of sellers, and are pretty certain to double their capital within the month. If they transport small quantities to more distant markets, the rate of profit is at times still higher. With many articles—as, for example, salt and butter—the price varies regularly with the season: for example—immediately after the rains, butter is extremely cheap, and salt extremely dear, because the nomades on the shores of lake Dembea, bring at that season great quantities of the former to market,' [Rüppell mentions elsewhere, that he has known at that season fifty lbs. of good butter sold in Gondar for one dollar,] 'and at the same time the rising of the rivers prevents salt being brought from Agamé. Many companies of poor people, each of whom may possess a capital of some few dollars, and a couple of asses, repair regularly to the eastern provinces to purchase salt, and their profits are sufficient to maintain their families. If one of these small traders is robbed of his money or goods, or loses his ass, he continues the same drudging industry for a richer merchant, who allows him one half of the profits.'

In the course of Dr Rüppell's journey, he passed repeatedly long trains of these small dealers. A man's burden is about fifty lbs. (worth, it may be, a dollar;) an ass's about twice as much. That the profits upon the loading of two or three asses should be sufficient for a man's support, shows how scanty the supply—in other words, how wretchedly poor the population. Another proof of the prevailing poverty is the high rate of interest. Gobat, a missionary who was in Abyssinia at the time of Dr Rüppell's visit, has an entry in his diary to this effect:—'Kidam 'Mariam (the same merchant called Getana Mariam by Rüp-'pell) has become security for the loan to me of twenty dol-'lars, at ten per cent interest, for three months; otherwise, 'at Gondar, and I believe in all the interior, they lend at a hun-'dred and twenty per cent yearly interest. It is said that the 'priests of Courata, who are very rich, lend at two hundred 'and forty *per cent* yearly interest.' What little wealth indeed there is in the country, seems to be concentrated in the hands of the dignified clergy, who are protected, by the sanctity attributed to their character, by a few great merchants like Getana Mariam, and by the Mahometans. Dr Rüppell remarks, and Bruce

and others had remarked before him, the superiority of this last-mentioned class in point of intelligence and trustworthiness, over the Christian Abyssinians. Whatever may be the cause, it seems beyond doubt. The towns of Tackeraggiro, Hauasa, and Derida, in two of which the Mahometans constitute the whole population, and in the other the majority, are the most industrious and comfortable visited by Rüppell: with the exception of Kiratza, none of the rest come near them. Employments, in which a combination of honesty and intelligence are required, are, throughout Abyssinia, generally filled by Mahometans. One Mahometan family farms the customs duties levied in Gondar, and in Dobark and Adowa, the principal toll stations between that city and coast. They pay annually for the right to collect the customs of Gondar alone, 200 oz. of gold (at sixteen dollars the oz.) annually. Their ability to produce such a sum is an evidence of superior wealth in that country; and the three stations give them a control over the whole foreign commerce of Abyssinia.

The amount and value of that foreign trade may be inferred from the following statement regarding the annual exports and imports of Massaua—which is the only port for Abyssinian commerce, and which has little or no business except the transport trade of Abyssinia. The information was obtained by our author from one of the Controllers of the Customs at Massaua:—

2000 slaves, averaging sixty dollars per head,	120,000 dol.
150 horns of musk, 30 oz. each horn, at 2 dollars per oz.,	9000
300 elephants' teeth, averaging 20 dollars each,	6000
400 cwt wax, at 20 dollars per cwt,	8000
100 cwt Narea coffee, at 10 dollars per cwt,	1000
Tanned leather and raw hides to the value of	1500
Chele, (a spice in great request in India,)	1000
2000 cwt butter, at 8 dollars per cwt,	16,000
Honey, wheat, and other grain,	6000
2000 oz. gold, at 20 dollars per oz.,	40,000
	208,500

or about L.58,430.

The value and amount of the articles taken in return by the Abyssinians are not mentioned; but the principal articles are enumerated. We are also led to believe that their collective value at Massaua must nearly balance the Abyssinian exports. The duty levied is an *ad valorem* duty of ten per cent; the average sum of duties collected annually, is about 40,000 dollars; which gives the total amount of goods imported, both by sea and land, at a little less than double the value of those coming from Abyssinia.

The enumerated articles imported for Abyssinia are:—Indian goods by way of Mecca—cotton-wool, ordinary woollen cloaks, white cambrics, blue raw silk, a few silks and light velvets, pepper. Egyptian goods by way of Jidda—common red cloth, linen shirts, red and green morocco leather, blue raw silk from Syria, Turkish carpets, small looking-glasses, glass wares, sabre blades, and matchlock barrels, zinc and antimony, *spica celtica*, imitation pearls of glass. From Bosra—glass bottles of a peculiar shape, out of which the Abyssinians drink their mead; and tobacco for smoking or making snuff.

To throw some further light on the character and value of this foreign trade of Abyssinia, it ought to be mentioned that in the list of Abyssinian exports the two most valuable items, gold and slaves, also Narea coffee, are not products of the country —merely articles of a carrying trade. And, to complete the estimate, a brief sketch of the progress of the traders with their goods from the interior to the coast, will be found instructive.

The distance from Arkiko (an hour and a half distant from Massaua on the mainland) to Gondar, is in all about three hundred and ten miles. About seventy miles of this distance lie between the coast and Halai, the frontier town of Abyssinia. The Abyssinians leave their mules to recruit at Halai; and have their goods carried up and down the mountains of Taranta by the neighbouring Shohos, and their beasts of burden to and from the bottom of the mountain by camels. The price of this transport is fixed by the Shohos of Taranta, and the camel-owners of Arkiko, at their pleasure—their position gives them a monopoly. In addition to this, the Naib of Arkiko, who is sovereign of the district, and who holds Halai and several of the neighbouring villages by a sort of feudal tenure from the governor of Adowa, exacts a tax from each merchant for leave to pass through his territories. Every caravan must take a couple of Shoho guides, both going and returning, who receive a dollar each. Massaua is held by a Turkish Kaimakan; five dollars are paid to his customs for every slave introduced into the island, and an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent on all other goods. The extortions to which the Abyssinian merchants must submit, in this part of their journey, have not yet been all enumerated. Every Abyssinian trader has a house in Massaua at which he on all occasions takes up his quarters. The owner acts as his broker; and the rent he pays on each occasion depends upon the amount of business transacted. As the Indian and Arabian merchants are in general ignorant of the Abyssinian language, which (the Tigré dialect) is familiar to all the inhabitants of Massaua, the Abyssinians al-

lege, probably not without cause, that they are generally cheated by their hosts. Many of the inhabitants of Massaua purchase the Abyssinian goods, and send or carry them in person to Mocha, Loheia, and Jidda. The inhabitants of Massaua amounted in 1831-33 to about 1500; their whole income was derived from trade; and the only trade among them was in the articles exported for and from Abyssinia. The *per-centage* they levied upon them was probably, under these circumstances, a pretty heavy one. The goods imported into Massaua for Abyssinia paid the 10 *per cent ad valorem* duty, as well as those imported from it.

The exactions to which the merchants are subjected in their own country, will be more easily understood by prefixing a brief sketch of the manner in which they perform the journey. The goods are made up in packages of about 90 lbs. each; 1½ foot in length, as much in height, and about one foot in breadth; wrapt in ox-hides, and fastened with a net-work of leather straps. These are fastened two and two, to admit of their being placed on the mule's back, or removed from it with the least possible delay. When a caravan stops for the night, the servants, after unloading the beasts of burden, collect stones, and arrange them in one long line, with other rows five feet in length running from it at right angles, and with intervals of five feet between each; upon these the packages are built up into walls six feet high, and the whole covered over with poles, branches, and ox-hides. The merchants take up their quarters in these cells; the beasts are picqueted in front; a large fire is kindled at each end of the line, and round them the servants keep watch during the night. This mode of transporting goods is the only one possible in a mountainous country, destitute of artificial roads; intersected with torrents which rise suddenly without warning, and continue to rage for days; and without bridges. It renders necessary a numerous train of attendants, all of whom must be paid and fed; and of beasts of burden, many of which are lost every journey by accidents in the mountain passes. These circumstances, and the numerous bands of marauders, raise enormously the expense of transport. Then, there must be added the transit duties, extorted not only in the capital of every province, but in every village of any strength near or through which the road passes. Of these tolls no less than thirteen are enumerated on the road from Halai to Gondar, by Adowa and the pass of Lamalmon, a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles. The toll demanded at Gondar is ten dollars for each mule or ass load of foreign goods carried into the city, and half the sum for each bearer's load. At Dobark, twenty-four miles north of Gondar, a dollar for every mule-load,

(whether the goods be foreign or domestic,) and a dollar for every slave, is taken. At Adowa the duties are said to be very heavy. In the villages which claim a prescriptive right to levy tolls from travellers, it is customary to demand much more than is ultimately taken, in order to delay the merchants for a few days by negotiations, with a view to earn some money by selling them food, and making them pay for the grazing of their cattle. The small capitals invested in this trade—the narrowness of the markets—the weight of the charges—and the multiplicity of petty and teasing details to be attended to, are of a nature to render it impossible that it can be carried on by any one but a native born and bred to it. The trade from Massaua to the interior must, from the necessity of its nature, be left to the inhabitants themselves.

As for the trade to Massaua the conclusion arrived at by Dr Rüppell seems incontrovertible:—'Since the amount of the capital 'annually imported is very small, and the families of all the mer-'chants of Massaua and Abyssinia who are concerned in its circu-'lation must live on the profits it yields, the rate of profit must 'be enormously high. Speculative purchases, in expectation of 'a rise of prices, are, however, never heard of here, and the 'slightest excess in the supply of any article occasions a glut in 'the market. Under such circumstances any European trader, 'who sent a considerable amount of goods to Massaua, might be 'certain of sustaining a loss. A London merchant, who, in 1810, 'misled by the flattering accounts of Lord Valentia, and Salt, 'dispatched a large cargo to this market, lost his entire capital; 'and similar speculations undertaken more recently on a smaller 'scale by some Frenchmen, were equally unsuccessful.'

It is by no means a superfluous task to recall attention to these lessons at present. The spirit of romance may walk in the homeliest attire as well as silk of tissue—men dream about pounds, shillings, and pence, as well as about feats of chivalry—there are Quixottes upon 'Change as well as in the mountains of La Mancha. Romance is the buoyant spirit of enterprize unchecked by knowledge of the realities of life: it can run riot in schemes of mercantile aggrandizement, as well as in the visions of a higher ambition. The same bold ignorance which made the London merchant hazard his whole fortune upon the representations of two inexperienced young men, prompted the visionary adventure of the Vixen as the forerunner of a profitable trade with the chivalrous savages of Circassia; and the same spirit seems at this moment projecting a trade with that hopeful country, the condition of which we have just been passing under review. Dr Beke, an agent of the Geographical Society, writes to this effect from Ankober, the capital of Shoa, in the month of June

last:—'From Shoa, I believe a Christian has *never* been known 'to go down to the coast for the purpose of trading. The legiti- 'mate commerce of the country carried on by Christians, has 'therefore yet to be formed *ab initio;* and I need scarcely remark, 'that, under existing circumstances, it would be far more to the 'temporal advantage, as well as indirectly to the moral and reli- 'gious improvement of the people, if it were not attempted in the 'first instance to turn that commerce into their hands, but at once 'take it into our own, and *by example* to teach them what they 'should do. That, in a pecuniary point of view, the undertaking 'might at the outset be attended with disadvantages, is not un- 'likely: still it would be hard if, with the facilities which we pos- 'sess, we could not soon drive from the field the Mahometan 'slave-dealers of the coast, who, even in their peddling way, find 'the trade sufficiently lucrative: * * The article of cotton alone 'presents a sufficient return for our imports, at least at the 'commencement; and, by degrees, many other articles of native 'produce would, no doubt, be found deserving of the attention 'of the legitimate dealer, and the natives would soon be stimu- 'lated to devote their industry to the culture of them.'

This is purely visionary. It is the 'peddling way' of the native traders that is the secret of their success. Whoever would compete with them, must condescend to trade in the same 'peddling 'way.' The detail given above, of the manner in which the trade is conducted in Abyssinia, shows that it could not be profitably carried on there by any European trader; and the difficulties in the way of a direct trade with Shoa, are still greater. It must be confessed, too, that it seems rather a strange preparation for stimulating the enterprize and industry of a people, to begin by driving the only industrious and enterprising portion of them out of the field. And yet, if the information of Dr Beke be correct, the attempt is about to be patronized from high quarters. He says—'The importance which the British 'government attaches to an intimate connexion with this coun- 'try in particular, is evinced by *the splendid embassy* which (from 'the news arrived last night) is on the point of arriving at *the* 'court of Shoa; a leading feature of whose instructions, I trust, 'will be the securing to British subjects the right of trading on 'fair terms, with full protection to their persons and property.' Who, we would be glad to know, is to give the protection?

But, to return to our author. The value of his work consists mainly in its accumulation of trustworthy facts for reasoners on statistics, morals, and general physics. It is not, however, altogether without attractions of a lighter kind; for, incidentally, we obtain from its perusal a tolerably intimate knowledge of the

daily life of the Abyssinians—their modes of conducting business, and their amusements. Of the nature and amount of this information, however, it is not very easy to convey a satisfactory idea by extracts, on account of the peculiar manner in which it is communicated. It seems rather to drop from the author than to be intentionally told by him. He is like a dry matter-of-fact man, allowing amusing stories to escape from him unconsciously, scarcely aware of his own wit, 'until he breaks his shins 'over it.' There is something *piquant* even in the laconic dryness of his statements; and the frequency of their recurrence is what carries the reader without weariness through the two volumes; but it is not easy to chip off specimens like a mineralogist, and exhibit them—the characteristic particles are so minute.

The first impression produced by Dr Rüppell's indications of the tone of Abyssinian society is, that the nation must be undergoing a process of *barbarising*. A moment's reflection, however, corrects this error. The nation never was civilized. The passages in Bruce which mislead us, are his sketches of individual character, in which the strength of passion diverts attention from costume. That lofty traveller's account of the melancholy that seized him when possessed by the apprehension that he might be obliged to spend the whole remainder of his life amid a 'barbarous people,' affords a more correct estimate of the average tone of society among them. A glimpse at their history shows, that they must have been barbarians. From the restoration of the race of the monarchs of Axum to the throne, under Icon Amlca, about 1260, the sovereigns of Abyssinia were the generals of an army encamped in the provinces subject to them. The military, the governing *caste*, took their tone from the court; the settled inhabitants of the country, except when a fit of missionary zeal seized their rulers, were left in peaceable possession of their rude superstitions and domestic prejudices. In the fourteenth century, we find Isahak conquering the 'heathen provinces 'of Dembea, Woggera, and Kosageh.' The building of Gondar falls so late as the time of the great civil war in England. Dr Rüppell was assured, that the nominal conversion of the inhabitants of the mountains of Simen to Christianity, and of the low country to the north-west, took place within the memory of man. And several striking instances of remains of old heathen superstitions were noticed by him in the course of his journey. For example:—

'On the 30th of May we commenced our journey at a later hour than usual, on account of the cold; and I had by this means an opportunity of noticing a curious relic of old Pagan worship. Women from the neighbouring villages assembled in considerable numbers at a copious spring,

which gushed up under a clump of fine trees; washed their hands and feet in the water, and then prostrated themselves before a rough-hewn cube of freestone, in which were two depressions of an elliptical form. The block had the appearance of a kind of altar. I could procure no satisfactory explanation of the ceremony. The Abyssinians of the caravan with which I travelled, said that it was a remnant of heathen infidelity which lingered among the inhabitants of the district, but either could not or would not give any further account of the matter.'

This occurred in a valley not many miles to the south-west of Ategerat, immediately after crossing the summit-level which divides the waters flowing in the direction of the Red Sea, from those which have their course towards the Takazzé. The following incident was witnessed by Dr Rüppell on his way from Gondar to hunt in the low grounds which lie to the north of that city:—

'At the request of Saifu, I halted at the summit-level, while he and his attendants performed the following ceremony. Our guns were collected, and laid on the ground in a heap, with their muzzles pointed towards the district where we expected to find the elephants and other wild beasts; and our whole stock of powder was poured out on a skin of leather. Saifu read several prayers or magical formulas over the arms; and at the close of his incantations, a red sheep, (the colour is a matter of essential importance on such occasions,) brought from Gondar for that purpose, was led thrice in a circle round the heap, and its throat cut so that the blood flowed out upon the arms, and even sprinkled the powder, and the knife meant to be used in cutting up the game. The Abyssinians then devoured the flesh of the animal raw; although on no other occasion did I see any other meat than beef eaten without a slight preliminary scorching. The ceremony lasted so long, that the sun had set for some time before we resumed our journey.'

Nor does the civilization which prevailed among the dominant *caste* seem to have been at any time of a very high order. The Greek and Ethiopic inscriptions discovered by Salt and Rüppell at Axum, and the Adulitic inscription preserved by Cosmas, indicate the manner in which the Axumite kings extended their sovereignty over the tribes in their vicinity. That Axum should attain a greater amount of wealth than any other town in these regions, seems the natural result of its position—nearly midway on the shortest road which connects the fertile districts south of the Takazzé with the sea-coast. Adowa and Massaua are the most important places in that country in our days; for the very same reasons that made Axum and Adulé the most important in the days of the author of the 'Periplus of the Red Sea.' His treatise proves that the bulk of the inhabitants were at that time mere barbarians; and that their ruler was remarkable for possessing a smattering of Greek letters—was γραμματων Ἑλληνικων εμπειρος. This

might be about a century earlier than the date of the ungrammatical Greek inscriptions preserved by Salt and Cosmas; and the descriptions of the conduct of the natives of the ancient Adulé might almost serve to describe that of the inhabitants of the modern Arkiko.* The Christianity engrafted at a later date upon the slight tincture of Greek civilization acquired by the more wealthy Axumites, was a mere verbal logic, even more superficial than that in which European literati prided themselves in the middle ages, and a ritual of empty forms. There is nothing in Abyssinian literature to expand and strengthen either the affections or the intellect. The few churches and bridges of the country seem to have been the handiwork of foreigners—of Greeks in earlier, and the Portuguese in more recent times. The court of Abyssinia—driven while civilization was yet in its infancy from Axum, and remaining without a permanent capital till the foundation of Gondar about the middle of the seventeenth century—necessarily retained the ferocity and recklessness of the camp. The Abyssinians of the present day are barbarous enough; but there is no reason to believe their ancestors were any better.

The glimpses of Abyssinian society afforded by Rüppell, read very much like a caricature of the chivalry of the middle ages—that is, as we find it in books, for probably the realities are not so very dissimilar. Lik Atkum, who even by Rüppell's rather flattered picture, and still more in the homely likeness traced by the orthodox missionary Gobat, appears a good-natured gossip, excessively vain of a very small portion of knowledge, may pass muster for the Giraldus Cambrensis of his age and country. The ladies of rank in Abyssinia seem by temperament well fitted to sustain their parts in 'parliaments of love;' though our plain-speaking author describes their deportment in less flattering terms than might have been used by a troubadour. It is difficult to fancy the ladies of the moral court of Arthur—where only four married men were restrained by their condition from

* "Adulé is an emporium situated near the bottom of the gulf. Opposite to it is an island called Oriné, about twenty-two miles from the bottom of the gulf, having the land on both sides. Here ships now come to anchor, for fear of attacks from the shore. Formerly they moored close to the island called Diodorus, at the bottom of the gulf, to which there is access from the main by a ford, by which the barbarians entered the island." By the way, had Rüppell observed that the author of the *Periplus* calls Adulé a neat village—κωμη ευκαιτος—he would have been less perplexed by the insignificance of the ruins; and, had he remembered that ships anchored at the Island, less at a loss to account for their distance from the shore. Adulé was not a harbour.

tilting for the chance of a new bride; and where, of these, there were 'three who loved their neighbours' wives, and one who 'loved his own,'—resembling the following sketch—and yet, who knows?

'Uhi gave me a sign to take a place near him; but the throng of guests where he sat was so great, and so little disposition was evinced by them to make way for a stranger, that I was about to withdraw, when a pretty young lady, who was seated next to the chief, invited me to sit at her feet. This lady, a person of rank, and a near relation of Uhi, would needs have me pass the night in her hut; and I must confess, that at a later hour, when rolled up and shivering beneath the twinkling stars of a cold wintry sky, I repented my rejection of the tempting invitation. Next morning, this same lady scolded my friend Getana Mariam lustily for neglecting to send for her to partake of a liberal donation of mead sent us by Uhi.'

As a *pendant* to this portrait of the *belle dame*, not *sans mercie* of the court of Entshetkab, (who may figure as an Isolde in Abyssinian romance, if that people ever become civilized enough to see the romantic days of their country, as we do, at the distance which lends 'enchantment to the view,') it is but fair to allow the reader a glimpse of the chivalrous games of the heroes who surrounded her:—

'The ceremonies practised on the eve of the invention of the cross in Abyssinia, are intended to perpetuate the recollection of the fire-signals, by means of which the Empress Helena communicated from Palestine to Constantinople the intelligence of the discovery. Soon after sunset a large bonfire blazed on the top of the hill, in the vicinity of each cluster of houses of which Entshetkab is composed. At a later hour, bands of men assembled, each of whom carried a bunch of burning reeds about eight feet long. In long procession, they marched from house to house of the village dignitaries, performing before each a grotesque dance, accompanied by warlike songs, and receiving a trifling present for their exertions. It was amusing enough to see so many half-naked, bronze-coloured men, winding in measured movements among the multitudinous torches; and yet I grumbled internally at their spinning out their entertainment till midnight; for one torch thrown in wanton mischief or thoughtlessness might have set our straw-huts in a blaze—an accident that might not have been unwelcome to some of them, as affording a chance of plunder.

'Next morning, every male person in the district, old enough to bear arms, assembled, some on horse and some on foot, before the governor's house; and marched thence in a body to kindle, at sunrise, a pile heaped up on a hill some mile or two to the south. The procession was opened by about twenty musicians, whose instruments were for the most part long trumpets, which gave out a monotonous ear-piercing sound, like that of the horns used by Swiss herdsmen; there were also some kettle-drums, hollowed out of wood, among them. The governor's sore leg

prevented him joining the procession, which was led by his brother on horseback, followed by about fifty men on horses or mules, and four hundred on foot, each armed with spear and shield, and every footman carrying, though it was broad daylight, a burning torch. After warming themselves at the bonfire for about half-an-hour, they returned, preceded as before by the music, to the village. A halt was made on a broad meadow between my house and that of Uhi. Here the horsemen kept galloping about in confusion, pelting each other with mimic lances of reeds. . . . The procession next moved to the hillock on which the governor sits in judgment, where that dignitary awaited them. Here the horsemen again went through their evolutions. The riders were bold enough, but awkward; many of them were unhorsed. The military dances of the footmen followed, and lasted till mid-day; after which the crowd dispersed by degrees. In the afternoon, the heads of villages brought presents of sheep and goats to the governor, who entertained them next day with mead and raw beef. And thus ended the most sacred feast in the Abyssinian calendar.'

The warlike array of these heroes when on actual service, if not quite so imposing as a band of the mailed chivalry of Europe, is at least as picturesque in its own fashion:—

'At an early hour, Uhi's army began to climb the hill by the winding footpath which we had descended the day before. A part of the disorderly train had reached the summit four miles off, while the hindmost were still in the valley, and yet no gaps were discernible in the long line of march. Here was a troop of women of the lower class, laden like beasts of burden with large dishes, and the most miscellaneous assortment of all indescribable kinds of property; there a knot of ladies of quality on their mules, surrounded by their female attendants, most of them young, on foot. In many places were groups of priests—some in leather shirts, others in yellow mantles. The most remarkable party was a band of four-and-twenty kettle-drummers on white mules. They wore red jackets, and caps of the same colour, terminating in two sharp points. They sat quite back on the rumps of their beasts, with a large and a small drum before each. Uhi was distinguished by the suite of distinguished warriors, on their beautiful mules, who clustered round him. . . . . At the top of the hill we were met by a horde of priests in parti-coloured garments, some of whom had velvet canopies held over their heads, whilst others carried Greek crosses of silver on long sticks. They received Uhi, and the females who accompanied him, with a prolonged quavering cry of joy. An ox was killed, and the warm quivering flesh devoured raw. The scene of this barbaric feast had only been a few days clear of snow, and from the want of wood it was impossible to light a fire. No human beings but an Abyssinian army would have lingered in such a spot for a small slice of raw flesh: to the beauties of the sublime panorama, splendidly lit up by the sun, which stretched away to the north, all of them were dead.'

These adroit trencher-men were equally clever in their capacity of plunderers. 'Long trains,' says Dr Rüppel, speaking

of the exploits of another band, 'of men, by courtesy called 'soldiers, laden with booty, and yearning for more, rambled 'about in all directions, accompanied by women. Nothing 'was left: the most worthless trumpery, the stones for 'pounding grain, old water-pots, and such like, were carried 'away, and the looms burnt out of sheer love of mischief.' A lad who had waited on the missionary Gobat for months, edifying his master by his diligence in reading the Scriptures, set off one fine summer morning to seek his fortune in the wars, and thought himself well rewarded with a few pieces of cotton cloth and an old matchlock. When in this, or some equally honest manner, a young fellow has collected a few dollars, he gets married with all the recklessness of the future which has been deemed exclusively characteristic of the Irish peasant:—

'As soon as a young man, by a lucky foray, or any other means, comes into the possession of a few dollars, he looks about him for a wife. Among the lower ranks, the only preparations are purchasing a coverlet and new cotton shirt for his bride, and getting up a present of money for her parents. The negotiation is managed by his own parents, or some friend entrusted with full powers. As most prisoners of war in Abyssinia are emasculated, and a great number perish under the operation, the number of females, as compared with the males, is always in excess, and a rejected wooer is almost unheard of. There is rarely any religious ceremony at a marriage, lest it should interfere with the facility of divorce. Marriages are only regarded as indissoluble when the parties partake in the communion sacrament. If the parties are in good circumstances, the marriage is celebrated by gormandising and tippling for several days. At the end of these the bridegroom and his friends make a feint to carry off the bride by force. After the marriage, the sham ravishers go about begging presents for the young couple. Girls are married very young—sometimes in their ninth year: no proportion is observed in the ages of the contracting parties. A marriage seldom lasts many years, for the most trivial quarrel occasions a separation—both parties in general forming new connexions after the lapse of a few days. * * * The levity with which divorces are resorted to in Abyssinia, entitles us to say that all married couples live there in perfect harmony, for the slightest dispute would separate them."

It will be observed, that the parallel between Abyssinia and Ireland is confined to the thoughtlessness and the early age at which marriages are contracted. The constancy and fidelity so honourably characteristic of the Irish peasant, are not to be found among the Abyssinians. Rüppell saw at Ategerat a female only seventeen years old, who had been seven times divorced, and was on her way to Gondar to be married for the eighth!

There are no such striking individual portraits in Dr Rüppell's narrative as we find in the pages of Bruce. There was no Michael

Suhul in the days of the more recent traveller; but neither was there the imaginative disposition, which enabled our countrymen to sympathize with and portray that most striking of barbarian warriors. Some characteristic sketches, executed in a quiet subdued style, are, however, scattered through the work. Uhi, for example, is quite the kind of person to exercise control over a rude people:—

'Uhi was then in his thirty-second year, a raw-boned man of not more than middle stature. There was something dignified in the appearance of his head and gait; and his lively eyes bespoke spirit and address. His complexion was sallow, and his voice thin. His head was uncovered, and short thick curls clustered round it. His dress was simply one of the country cotton cloths, with a deep border of silk, thrown carelessly round him: according to the custom throughout Abyssinia, a curved knife hung at his right side. His conversation had no affectation about it: his answers were prompt, laconic, and full of matter. He has the reputation of being brave, magnanimous, and liberal. It must be confessed that his attempts to re-establish order in Tigré, have been characterized by a frankness and loyalty which unfortunately is thrown away upon the present generation of Abyssinians. * * * He allowed a smile to escape him at the confidence I expressed in the security afforded by his protection; and said, that in critical political times every thing depended upon turning the moment to account, and that therefore every man was best left to act freely as events rendered advisable.'

The hasty sketch of the oldest surviving son of Sabagadis seems equally truthful, though the subject is less agreeable. His is one of those unfeeling selfish natures which can only arrive at perfection in such a state of society.

'Oeled Michael was in his thirty-fourth year. He was below the middle size; his features were regular and fine, but expressionless. He spoke little, and every thing about him produced upon me the impression of a cold calculating tyrant. According to Demetrius, he takes especial pleasure in killing an enemy by a long shot, and has by practice become so skilful, that he has killed not less than seventy-two men in this manner.'

The manner in which the 'worshipful society' of the towns pass their time, is not unlike that in which the inhabitants of some other towns pass theirs—lounging from house to house, to diminish the weight of their own *ennui* by inflicting a portion of it on their neighbours:—

'The wealthy residents in Gondar pass their time much after this fashion—Great part of the forenoon is spent in paying visits, sometimes with an eye to business, sometimes to pay court to persons of consequence, and sometimes to get rid of time that hangs heavy on their hands. Visits to powerful patrons are repeated daily. About mid-day they dine, and afterwards indulge in a siesta. Five hours before sunset they again sally forth a visiting, but this time their calls are prolonged for hours, which

are spent in drinking mead. Men and women participate in these evening potations, and their conversation is extremely free. If no saint's day occur to furnish an excuse for a feast, several families will unite to bear the expense of killing an ox; each consuming its own portion at home with a few friends who are invited to partake.'

Our author repeats none of the conversations at these *tertullias* —if a word expressive of Spanish decorum and Spanish temperance may be applied to such orgies. But our loss by this omission cannot be great.

It is not merely to call up a smile that the grotesque resemblances borne by Abyssinian manners to those of chivalry, or of the peasantry of the sister kingdom, have been indicated. A better use may be made of the similarities which occur between savage and civilized communities—scarcely less disagreeable to human pride than that recognized between men and monkeys. They teach us to see our own defects in the vices of a rude people, and the elements of our morality in their undeveloped virtues. It is a lesson at once of pride and humility, and an extension of the sympathies of humanity.

ART. III.—1. *The Church History of Britain.* By THOMAS FULLER, D.D. New Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1831.

2. *The Worthies of England.* By THOMAS FULLER, D.D. New Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.

3. *The History of the Holy War.* By THOMAS FULLER, D.D. New Edition. 12mo. London: 1840.

4. *The Holy State and the Profane State.* By THOMAS FULLER, D.D. New Edition. 8vo. London: 1841.

5. *Good Thoughts in Bad Times, and Good Thoughts in Worse Times.* By THOMAS FULLER, D.D. New Edition. 12mo. London: 1840.

THE republication, within the last few years, of all the principal works of this singular author, affords us an opportunity, by no means unwelcome, of canvassing his merits, and assigning him his proper niche in the temple of our literature. Nor is it necessary, we are sure, to make any apology for dedicating a few of our pages to such a subject. He cannot be unworthy of attention, who was a favourite author of Coleridge and Lamb, and of whom the former could (certainly in a moment of unreflecting enthusiasm) write thus: 'Next to Shakspeare, I am not certain whether Thomas Ful-

'ler, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense 'and emotion of the marvellous;—the degree in which any given 'faculty, or combination of faculties, is possessed and mani- 'fested, so far surpassing what one would have thought pos- 'sible in a single mind, as to give one's admiration the flavour 'and quality of wonder.' Let this statement of a critic, the soundness of whose judgments cannot always be relied upon, require what abatement it may, we may safely say, that there is scarcely any writer, the analysis of whose intellectual character is more amusing than that of Fuller.

We set about our task the more willingly, as we believe it to be an act of bare justice. We are convinced that posterity has dealt hardly by his memory, and that there are hundreds who have been better remembered with far less claims to that honour. Thus, it is singular that Mr Hallam, in his recent 'History of 'Literature,' should not have bestowed upon him any special notice; dismissing him with only a slight allusion, in a note upon another subject.* Yet Fuller was not only one of the most voluminous—an equivocal indication of merit, it must be allowed—but certainly one of the most original writers of our language. If he had merely resembled those of his dull contemporaries, who wrote apparently for writing's sake,—without genius or fancy, without any of those graces of thought or diction, which have a special claim on the historian of literature;—if his folios had been collections of third-rate sermons, or heavy commentaries, or dull matters of fact—of common-place spread out to the last degree of tenuity, scarcely tolerable even in the briefest form in which truisms can be addressed to our impatience, and perfectly insupportable when prolonged into folios—there would be reason good for the critic's neglect. But it is far otherwise: though Fuller's folios, like those of many of his contemporaries, are sometimes covered with rubbish, and swollen with redundancies, they are, as is the case also with some of them, instinct with genius. Like Taylor, and Barrow, and Sir Thomas Brown, he wrote with a vigour and originality, with a fertility of thought and imagery, and a general felicity of style, which, considering the quantity of his compositions, and the haste with which he produced them, impress us with wonder at his untiring activity and preternatural fecundity. He has scattered with careless prodigality, over the pages of his many works, thoughts and images which, if collected, properly

* Hallam, vol. iii. p. 104.

disposed, and purified from the worthless matter which encrusts, and often buries them, would have ensured him a place beside those who, by writing less and elaborating it more, by concentrating their strength on works of moderate compass and high finish, have secured themselves a place not only in the libraries but in the pockets of their readers; and are not simply honoured with an occasional reference, but live in perpetual and familiar quotation.

Before proceeding further with the analysis of Fuller's intellectual character, it may be advisable to give a rapid sketch of the principal events of his life.

He was born in 1608 at Aldwincle, in Northamptonshire. His father was minister of St Peter's in that village. His early education seems to have been conducted under the paternal roof, and that so successfully, that at twelve years of age he was sent to Queen's College, Cambridge; the Master of which was his maternal uncle, Dr Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. In 1624-5, he took his degree of B.A.; and that of M.A. in 1628. He then removed to Sidney College, and, after a short interval, was chosen minister of St Bennet's, Cambridge, where his great talents as a preacher soon rendered him extremely popular. Preferment now came rapidly. In 1631, he was chosen fellow of Sidney College, and made a prebendary of Salisbury. The same year was signalized by his maiden publication. Like many other men of powerful imagination, who have eventually distinguished themselves as prose writers, he first toyed a little with the muses. His first work was poetical, and we may be sure that it was steeped in the quaintness which was equally characteristic both of the age and of the individual. The very title smacks of that love of alliteration of which his writings are so full. It was entitled *David's Heinous Sin, Hearty Repentance, and Heavy Punishment.* It is now extremely scarce. Peace to its ashes! its author's prose writings have a better and a surer claim to remembrance.

Soon after entering priests' orders, he was presented to the rectory of Broad Winsor, in Dorsetshire. In 1635 he repaired again to Cambridge, to take his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and, on his return to Broad Winsor, got rid of another kind of bachelorship in a happy marriage. This event took place in 1638, but his felicity was not of long continuance. After giving birth to one son, his wife died about the year 1641. In the quietude of Broad Winsor, 'he began to complete,' to use a curious phrase of one of his biographers, 'several works he had 'planned at Cambridge;' but, getting sick of solitude, and impatient to know something more of public affairs, he repaired to

London, where his pulpit talents soon obtained him an invitation to the lectureship of the Savoy. In 1640 he published his deservedly celebrated *History of the Holy War*, which gained him some money and more reputation. Of the convocation, which assembled at Westminster in 1640, he was a member, and has left us a minute account of its proceedings in his *Church History*. In 1642, he preached at Westminster Abbey on the anniversary of the king's inauguration; and the sermon contained some dangerous allusions to the state of public affairs. His text was characteristic:—'Yea, let him take all, so that my lord 'the king return in peace.' The sermon, when printed, gave great umbrage to the Parliamentary party, and involved the preacher in no little odium. In this year he published his best and most popular work, entitled *The Holy and Profane State*. Refusing to take an oath to the Parliament, except with certain reservations, Fuller now left London and repaired to the king at Oxford, by whom he was well received. The king was anxious to hear him preach. Fuller complied, but, strange to say, he managed to displease the royalists as much as he had before displeased the patriots. His ill success on both occasions may be taken as an argument of his sincerity and moderation, whatever may be thought of his worldly wisdom.

During his stay at Oxford he resided at Lincoln College, but he was not long to escape the cup which, in those sad times, came round to all parties. Sequestration was pronounced against him, and was embittered by the loss of all his books and manuscripts. This misfortune was partly repaired by the generosity of Henry Lord Beauchamp and Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex—the latter of whom bestowed upon him the remains of his father's library. In order to obviate the suspicion of indifference to the king's cause, he now sought and obtained, from Sir Ralph Hopton, a chaplaincy in the royal army; and employed his leisure, while rambling through the country, in collecting materials for his future work, *The Worthies of England*. It appears that, in his capacity of chaplain, he could, on occasion, beat 'drum ecclesiastic' as well as any of the preachers in Cromwell's army; for we are told, that when a party of the royalists were besieged at Basinghouse, Fuller animated the garrison to so vigorous a defence, that Sir William Waller was compelled to abandon the siege. When the royal forces were driven into Cornwall, Fuller, taking refuge in Exeter, resumed his studies, and preached regularly to the citizens. During his stay here, he was appointed chaplain to the princess Henrietta Maria, (then an infant,) and was presented to the living of Dorchester. He was present at the siege of Exeter, in the course of

which an incident occurred, so curious in itself, and narrated by Fuller (who vouches for the truth of his statement) in so characteristic a style, that, though it has been frequently referred to before, we shall make no apology for presenting it again to the reader; leaving him to philosophize upon it in any way that may seem to him most proper. The extract is from the *Worthies of England*:—'When the city of Exeter was besieged by the Parliamentary forces, so that only the south side thereof towards the sea was open unto it, incredible numbers of larks were found in that open quarter, for multitude like *quails* in the *wildernesse*, though (blessed be God) unlike them both in *cause* and *effect*, as not desired with man's destruction, nor sent with God's anger, as appeared by their safe digestion into wholesome nourishment; hereof I was an *eye* and *mouth* witnesse. I will save my credit in not conjecturing any number, knowing that herein, though I should *stoop* beneath the *truth*, I should *mount* above *belief*. They were as fat as plentiful; so, that being sold for twopence a-dozen and under, the poor who could have *no cheaper* as the rich no *better meat*, used to make pottage of them, boyling them down therein. Several natural causes were assigned hereof .... However, the *cause of causes* was *Divine Providence*.'

After the taking of Exeter, Fuller once more repaired to London, where he obtained the lectureship at St Clement's, Lombard Street; and subsequently that of St Bride's, Fleet Street. He does not appear to have discharged the functions of either long, 'having been forbidden' (to use his own language) 'till further order the exercise of his public preaching.' Silenced though he was, however, this did not prevent his being presented in 1648 to the living of Waltham. For this he was indebted to the Earl of Carlisle, to whom he had become chaplain. To men of less activity of mind, and less zealous to do good, compulsory silence might be no unacceptable concomitant of a rich living. This, and the following year, he chiefly spent in the preparation of one of the quaintest of all his writings; his *Pisgah-sight of Palestine and the Confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testaments acted thereon.* The work was illustrated by several curious engravings, in which the artists seem to have vied in quaintness with the author; and which are as characteristic of the spirit of the age, as the letter-press which accompanied them. In the two or three following years he published several tracts and sermons, which have long since passed into oblivion. In 1654 he married again, and into a noble family; his lady being the sister of Viscount Baltinglass. In 1655, as Mr Chalmers tells us, he persisted in the dis-

charge of his ministerial functions, 'notwithstanding Crom-'well's prohibition of all persons from preaching, or teaching 'schools, who had been adherents of the late king.' We shall not stop to enquire whether the biographer has been altogether just to Cromwell, in omitting to state that the ordinance in question was immediately modified, on Archbishop Usher's representation of its hardship, and its application limited to such clergymen as had been *political* offenders. It is more to our purpose to observe, that we may account for Fuller's continuing to preach, without accusing him either of rash zeal, or praising him for conscientious resistance; inasmuch as he was duly authorized so to do by the Court of 'Triers,' before whom he had been examined. Calamy has given us a droll account of Fuller's perplexities, when summoned to this ordeal. He, doubtless, had some misgivings as to whether he might be able to answer satisfactorily, all the inquisitorial enquiries of this strange court; and whether he might not get *limed* by some of their theological subtleties. In this dilemma, he applied to the celebrated John Howe, (then one of Cromwell's chaplains,) whose catholic spirit ever prompted him to exert whatever influence he possessed in behalf of the good of all parties. 'You may observe, sir,' said Fuller to him, 'that I am a somewhat corpulent man, and I am 'to go through a very *strait* passage. I beg you would be so 'good as to give me a shove, and help me through.' Howe gave him the best advice in his power. When the 'Triers' enquired, 'whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace in 'his heart?' Fuller replied, in terms of cautious generality, that 'he could appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that he 'made a conscience of his very thoughts;'—implying, doubtless, that it was not without the most diligent investigation of his motives, that he had ventured on the sacred office. With this answer they were satisfied, and it was, perhaps, well for Fuller that it was not more specific.

In 1656, he published his *Church History of Great Britain*, to which was appended, *The History of the University of Cambridge*, and *The History of Waltham Abbey*. His *Church History* called forth some animadversions from Dr Heylin, to which Fuller replied. In 1658, Lord Berkely, one of his many patrons, made him his chaplain, and presented him to the rectory of Cranford in Middlesex. Just before the Restoration, he was reinstated in his lectureship in the Savoy, as also in his prebend at Salisbury; and, shortly after that event, was appointed chaplain extraordinary to the king, and created Doctor of Divinity by *mandamus*. He was within sight of a Bishopric, when death brought all his earthly prospects to a close, in 1661. He was

buried in his church at Cranford, in the chancel of which there is a monument to his memory. The Latin inscription, which has the rare merit of telling but little more than the truth, closes with an antithetical conceit, so much in Fuller's vein, that it would have done his heart good, could he but read the following sentence:—'Hic jacet Thomas Fuller . . . . Qui dum 'viros Angliæ illustres opere posthumo immortalitati consecrare 'meditatus est, ipse immortalitatem est consecutus.' This alludes to the '*Worthies of England*,' partly printed before his death, but published by his son.

Fuller is one of the few voluminous authors who is never tedious. No matter where we pitch, we are sure to alight on something which stimulates attention. Nor do we know any author so voluminous, to whom we could so fearlessly apply the *ad aperturam libri* test. Let the subject be ever so dry or barren, he is sure to surround it with some unlooked-for felicity, or at least some entertaining oddity of thought or expression: the most meagre matter of fact shall suggest either some solid reflection, or some curious inference, or some ingenious allusion, or some humorous story; or, if nothing better, some sportive alliteration or ludicrous pun. To this must be added, that his reflections and his images are in general so exceedingly novel, (often, it is true, far-fetched and quaint enough, but frequently very beautiful,) that they surprise as well as please; and please in a great measure by surprising us. Probably there is no author who so often breaks upon his readers with turns of thought for which they are totally unprepared; and it would be amusing to watch the countenance of any intelligent man while perusing his pages. We will venture to say, that few other writers in the English language, could produce more rapid variations of expression. We should see the face, in succession, mantling with a smile—distended into a broad grin—breaking out into loud laughter—now arching the eyebrows to an expression of sudden wonder and pleased surprise—now clouded with a momentary shade of vexation over some wanton spoiling of a fine thought—now quieted again into placidity, by the presentation of something truly wise or striking, and anon chuckling afresh over some outrageous pun or oddity. The same expression could not be maintained for any three paragraphs—perfect gravity scarcely for three sentences.

The activity of Fuller's suggestive faculty must have been immense. Though his principal characteristic is wit, and that too so disproportionately, that it conceals in its ivy-like luxuriance the robust wisdom about which it coils itself, his illustrations are

drawn from every source and quarter, and are ever ready at his bidding. In the variety, frequency, and novelty of his illustrations, he strongly resembles two of the most imaginative writers in our language, though in all other respects still more unlike them than they were unlike one another—Jeremy Taylor and Edmund Burke. Each, indeed, has his peculiar characteristics, even in those very points in which they may be compared. The imagination of Jeremy Taylor takes its hue from his vast learning, and derives from classical and historical allusions more than half its sources of illustration; that of Fuller, from the wit which forms the prime element in his intellectual constitution. Burke, on the other hand, had no wit, or next to none; but the images his mind supplies, are full of splendour and beauty. Still, in a boundless profusion of imagery of one kind or another, available on all occasions and on all subjects, and capable of clothing sterility itself with sudden freshness and verdure, they all resemble one another, and are almost unequalled among English prose writers. Most marvellous and enviable is that fecundity of fancy, which can adorn whatever it touches—which can invest naked fact and dry reasoning with unlooked-for beauty—make flowerets bloom even on the brow of the precipice, and, when nothing better can be had, can turn the very substance of rock itself into moss and lichens. This faculty is incomparably the most important for the vivid and attractive exhibition of truth to the minds of men; and, taken in connexion with other qualities, which neither Taylor nor Fuller possessed, namely, method and taste, will do more to give books permanent power and popularity, than even the very truths they contain. Indeed, that, to a great extent, may be said of every discourse, which Fuller says more particularly of sermons, 'that though reasons are the pillars of 'the fabric, similitudes are the windows which give the best 'lights.'

We have said that Fuller's faculty of illustration is boundless; we think we may safely say so, since it can diffuse even over the driest geographical and chronological details an unwonted interest. We have a remarkable exemplification of this in those chapters of his *Holy War* in which he gives what he quaintly calls 'a Pisgah-sight, or short survey of Palestine in 'general;' and a still stronger, if possible, in his 'Description 'of the Citie of Jerusalem.' In these chapters, what in other hands would have proved little more than a bare enumeration of names, sparkles with perpetual wit, and is enlivened with all sorts of vivacious allusions. One or two short specimens of the arts by which he manages to make such a 'survey' attractive,

will be found below;* but much of the effect is lost by their being presented in a detached form.

The principal attribute of Fuller's genius is unquestionably wit; though, as Coleridge has well observed, 'this very circumstance has defrauded him of his due praise for the practical wisdom of the thoughts—for the beauty and variety of the truths into which he shaped the stuff.' If it be enquired what was the character of his wit, it must be replied, it is so various, and assumes so many different shapes, that one might as well attempt to define wit itself; and this, seeing the comprehensive Barrow has contented himself with an enumeration of its forms, in despair of being able to include them all within the circle of a precise definition, we certainly shall not at present attempt. Suffice it to say, that all the varieties recorded in that singularly felicitous passage are exemplified in the pages of our author. Of *his* wit, as of *wit* in general, it may be truly said, that 'sometimes it lieth in pat allusion to a known story, or in seasonable application of a trivial saying, or in forging an apposite tale; sometimes it playeth in words and phrases, taking advantage from the ambiguity of their sense, or the affinity of their sound; sometimes it is wrapped in a dress of humorous expression; sometimes it lurketh under an odd similitude; sometimes it is lodged in a sly question, in a smart answer, in a quirkish reason, in a

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* 'Nain, where our Saviour raised the widow's son, so that she was twice a mother, yet had but one child.' 'Mount Carmel, the Jewish Parnassus, where the prophets were so conversant.' 'Aphek, whose walls falling down, gave both death and gravestones (!) to 27,000 of Benhadad's soldiers.' 'Tyre, anciently the Royal Exchange of the world.' 'The river Kishon, the besom to sweep away Sisera's army.' 'Gilboa, the mountain that David cursed, that neither dew nor rain should fall on it; but of late, some English travellers climbing this mountain, were well wetted, David not cursing it by a prophetical spirit, but in a poetical rapture.' 'Gilgal, where the manna ceased, the Israelites having till then been fellow-commoners with the angels.' 'Gibeon, whose inhabitants cozened Joshua with a pass of false-dated antiquity. Who could have thought that clouted shoes could have covered so much subtility?' 'Gaza, the gates whereof Samson carried away, and being sent for to make sport in the house of Dagon, acted such a tragedy as plucked down the stage, slew himself and all the spectators.' 'Macphelah, where the patriarchs were buried, whose bodies took livery and seisin in behalf of their posterity, who were to possess the whole land.' 'Edrei, the city of Og, on whose giant-like proportions the Rabbis have more giant-like lies.' 'Pisgah, where Moses viewed the land; hereabouts the angel buried him, and also buried the grave, lest it should occasion idolatry.'

'shrewd intimation, in cunningly diverting or cleverly retorting 'an objection; sometimes it is couched in a bold scheme of speech, 'in a tart irony, in a lusty hyperbole, in a startling metaphor, in 'a plausible reconciling of contradictions, or in acute nonsense; 'sometimes a scenical representation of persons or things, a coun- 'terfeit speech, a mimical look or gesture, passeth for it; some- 'times an affected simplicity; sometimes a presumptuous blunt- 'ness giveth it being; sometimes it riseth only from a lucky hit- 'ting upon what is strange; sometimes from a crafty wresting 'obvious matter to the purpose. Often it consisteth in one knows 'not what, and springeth up one can hardly tell how. Its ways 'are unaccountable and inexplicable; being answerable to the 'numberless rovings of fancy and windings of language.'

Of all the preceding varieties of wit, next to the 'play with words 'and phrases,' perhaps Fuller most delighted in 'pat allusions to 'a known story;' 'in seasonable application of a trivial saying;' 'in a tart irony' and 'an affected simplicity;' in the 'odd simi- 'litude,' and the 'quirkish reason.' In these he certainly excelled. We have noted some brief specimens, which we here give the reader. Speaking of the Jesuits he says, 'such is the 'charity of the Jesuits, that they never owe any man any ill- 'will—making present payment thereof.' Of certain prurient canons in which virtue is in imminent danger of being tainted by impure descriptions of purity, he shrewdly remarks—'One 'may justly admire how these canonists, being pretended virgins, 'could arrive at the knowledge of the criticisms of all obscenity.' Touching the miraculous coffin in which St Audré was deposited, he slyly says—'Under the ruined walls of Grantchester or 'Cambridge, a coffin was found, with a cover correspondent, 'both of white marble, which did fit her body so exactly, as if '(which one may believe was true) it was *made* for it.' On Machiavel's saying, 'that he who undertakes to write a history 'must be of no religion,' he observes, 'if so, Machiavel himself 'was the best qualified of any in his age to be a good historian.' On the unusual conjunction of great learning and great wealth in the case of Selden, he remarks, 'Mr Selden had some coins 'of the Roman emperors, and a great many more of our English 'kings.' After commenting on the old story of St Dunstan's pinching the Devil's nose with the red-hot tongs, he absurdly cries out—'But away with all suspicions and queries. None 'need to doubt of the truth thereof, finding it in a sign painted 'in Fleet-Street, near Temple Bar.' The bare, bald style of the schoolmen, he tells us, some have attributed to design, 'lest 'any of the vermin of equivocation should hide themselves under 'the *nap* of their words.' On excessive attention to fashion in

dress, he says—'Had some of our gallants been with the Israel-'ites in the wilderness, when for forty years their clothes waxed 'not old, they would have been vexed, though their clothes were 'whole, to have been so long in one fashion.' Speaking of the melancholy forebodings which have sometimes haunted the death-bed of good men, he quaintly tells us, 'that the Devil is most 'busy in the last day of his term, and a tenant to be *outed* cares 'not what mischief he does.' Of unreasonable expectations he says, with characteristic love of quibbling, 'those who *expect* what 'in reason they *cannot* expect, *may* expect.' He thus happily illustrates the aid which the memory derives from method; 'one 'will carry twice more weight trussed and packed up in bundles, 'than when it lies untowardly flapping and hanging about his 'shoulders.' The court jester he wittily and truly characterizes thus—'It is an office which none but he that hath wit *can* per-'form, and none but he that wants wit *will* perform.' Of modest women, who nevertheless dress themselves in questionable attire, he says—'I must confess some honest women may go thus, but 'no whit the honester for going thus. That ship may have 'Castor and Pollux for the sign, which, notwithstanding, has St 'Paul for the lading.' He thus speaks of anger—'He that 'keepeth anger long in his bosom, giveth place to the Devil. 'And why should we make room for him who will crowd in too 'fast of himself. Heat of passion makes our souls to crack, 'and the Devil creeps in at the crannies.' Of marriages between the young and the old, he shrewdly remarks—'They that marry 'ancient people, merely in expectation to bury them, hang 'themselves in hopes some one may come and cut the halter.' Of the affectedly grave he tells us, 'these sometimes not only cover 'their defects, but get praise. They do wisely to counterfeit a 'reservedness, and to keep their chests always locked—not for 'fear any should steal treasure thence, but lest some should look 'in and see that there is nothing in them.' After telling us that an undutiful child will be repaid in the same coin by his own children, he says, 'One complained that never father had so undutiful a child as he had.' 'Yes,' said the son, with more truth than grace, 'my grandfather had.' By way of illustrating the superior efficacy of example, he says—'A father that whipt 'his son for swearing, and swore himself while he whipt him, 'did more harm by his example than good by his correction.' Of the intellectual deficiencies in the very tall, he observes, 'that oft-times such who are built four stories high, are observed to 'have little in their cockloft;' and of 'naturals,' that 'their 'heads are sometimes so little, that there is no room for wit; 'sometimes so long, that there is no wit for so much room.' And

again; 'generally nature hangs out a sign of simplicity in the 'face of a fool, and there is enough in his countenance for a hue 'and cry to take him on suspicion. Yet some by their faces may 'pass current enough till they cry themselves down by their speak-'ing, for men know the bell is cracked when they hear it tolled.'

Of the 'quirkish reason' mentioned as one of the species of wit in the above-recited passage of Barrow, the pages of our author are full. What can be more ridiculous than the reason he assigns, in his character of the 'good wife,' for the *order* of Paul's admonitions to husbands and wives in the third chapter of the epistle to the Colossians? 'The apostle first ad-'viseth women to submit themselves to their husbands, and then 'counselleth men to love their wives. And sure it was fitting 'that women should first have their lesson given them, because 'it is hardest to be learned, and therefore they need have the 'more time to learn it. For the same reason we first begin with 'the character of a good wife.' Not less droll, or rather far more so, is the manner in which he subtilizes on the command, that we are not 'to let the sun go down on our wrath.' 'Anger 'kept till the next morning, with manna, doth putrefy and cor-'rupt; save that manna, corrupted not at all, (and anger most of 'all,) kept the next Sabbath. St Paul saith, "Let not the sun 'go down on your wrath," to carry news to the antipodes in 'another world of thy revengeful nature. Yet let us take the 'apostle's meaning rather than his words, with all possible speed 'to dispose our passion; not understanding him so literally that 'we may take leave to be angry till sunset; then might our wrath 'lengthen with the days, and men in Greenland, where day lasts 'above a quarter of a year, have plentiful scope of revenge.* One more specimen of the 'quirkish reason,' and we will have done. Of memory he says—'Philosophers place it in the 'rear of the head; and it seems the mine of memory lies there,

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* On this passage Charles Lamb makes the following characteristic remarks—'This whimsical prevention of a consequence which no one 'would have thought of deducing, setting up an *absurdum* on purpose to 'hunt it down—placing guards as it were at the very outposts of possi-'bility—gravely giving out laws to insanity, and prescribing moral fences 'to distempered intellects, could never have entered into a head less enter-'tainingly constructed than that of Fuller, or Sir Thomas Browne, the 'very air of whose style the conclusion of this passage most aptly imi-'tates.' Lamb has made a small selection from the racy sayings of Fuller, very few of which, however, are included in those with which we have here presented the reader. In truth, they are so numerous, that they may be picked up in every page.

'because there men naturally dig for it, *scratching it* when they 'are at a loss!'

Of all the forms of wit, Fuller affects that of the satirist least. Though he can be caustic, and sometimes is so, he does not often indulge the propensity; and when he does, it is without bitterness—a sly irony, a good-humoured gibe, at which even its object could hardly have helped laughing, is all he ventures upon. Perhaps there is no mental quality whatever, which so much depends on the temperament and moral habitudes of the individual, as this of wit; so much so indeed, that they will often wholly determine its character. We are inclined to think, that he who is master of any one species of wit, might make himself no mean proficient in all; and whether it shall have the quality of waspish spleen, or grave banter, or broad and laughing humour, depends far more on moral than on intellectual causes. Imagine Fuller's wit in a man of melancholic temperament, querulous disposition, sickly health, morbid sensibility, and irritable vanity—and we should have a satirist whose malignity would repel, still more than his wit would attract. As it is, we enjoy his sallies without any drawback, even when they are a little satirical; so innocent, so childlike, so free from malice, are they. He was, we know, of a joyous temperament and boundless good-nature; endowed with that happy buoyancy of spirit, which, next to religion itself, is the most precious possession of man; and which is second only to religion, in enabling us to bear with ease the trials and burdens of humanity. In Fuller, both conspired to render him habitually light-hearted. With such a temperament, added to unfeigned piety and unfeigned benevolence; with a heart open to all innocent pleasures, and purged from the 'leaven of malice and uncharitableness,' it was as natural that he should be full of mirth, as it is for the grashopper to chirp, or the bee to hum, or the birds to warble, in the spring breeze and the bright sunshine. His very physiognomy was an index to his natural character. As described by his contemporaries, he had light flaxen hair, bright, blue, and laughing eyes, a frank and open visage. Such a face was a sort of guarantee, that the wit with which he was endowed could not be employed for any purpose inconsistent with constitutional good-nature. Accordingly, never was mirth more devoid of malice than his; unseasonable and in excess it doubtless often is, but this is all that can be charged upon it. His gibes are so pleasant, so tinctured by an overflowing *bonhommie*, that we doubt whether the very subjects of them could forbear laughing in sympathy, though at their own expense. Equally assured we are, that, as he never uttered a joke on another with any malice, so he was quite ready

to laugh when any joke was uttered upon himself. Never dreaming of ill-will to his neighbour, and equally unsuspicious of any towards himself, it must have been a bitter joke indeed in which he could not join. It is rarely that a professed joker relishes wit when directed against himself; and the manner in which he receives it may usually be taken as an infallible indication of his temper. He well knows the difference between laughing at another, and being laughed at himself. Fuller was not one of that *irritabile genus*, who wonder that any should be offended at their innocent pleasantry; and yet can never find any pleasantry innocent but their own! There is a story told, which, though not true, *ought* to have been true, and which, if not denied by Fuller, would have been supposed to authenticate itself. It is said that he once 'caught a Tartar' in a certain Mr Sparrowhawk, of whom he asked, 'What was the difference between an owl 'and a sparrowhawk?' The reply was, that 'an owl was '*fuller* in the head, and *fuller* in the face, and *fuller* all over!' We believe that if the retort had been really uttered, it would have been received by the object of it, not with that curious expression of face so common on such occasions, in which constrained mirth struggles with mortified vanity, and simulated laughter vainly strives to cover real annoyance, but with a peal of hearty gratulation.* As the temperament of Fuller was

* The story is, however, more than doubtful; it is virtually denied by Fuller himself, in his reply to Heylin's *Examen Historicum*. The circumstances which led to the denial are curious. Fuller, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, had related of Laud, that having once demanded of a lady, who had lately become a proselyte to Popery, the reason of the change, he received for answer, that 'she hated a crowd.' Upon being further pressed to explain so dark a saying, she said, 'Your Lordship 'and many others are making for Rome as fast as ye can, and therefore, 'to prevent a press, I went before you.' This anecdote roused the indignation of Heylin, who, by way of showing the impropriety of recording in print idle reports to the disadvantage of individuals, tells of a 'retort' on Fuller, substantially the same with that related of Mr Sparrowhawk, but disguised in a form, and attended with circumstances, which rob it of more than half its point; and make Fuller appear to greater disadvantage than that of having merely been discomfited by a happy repartee. Fuller thus replied:—'*My* tale was *true* and *new*, never printed before; 'whereas his is *old* (made, it seems, on one of my name, printed before 'I was born) and *false*, never by man or woman retorted on me. I had 'rather my name should make many causelessly merry, than any justly 'sad; and, seeing it lieth equally open and obvious to praise and dispraise, 'I shall as little be elated when flattered—"Fuller of wit and learning," 'as dejected when flouted—"Fuller of folly and ignorance."'

most cheerful, and a pledge for the innocence of his wit, so he jested by what may be called a necessity of his nature—on all subjects, at all times, under all circumstances. Wit, in one or other of its multitudinous shapes, was sure to be the attire of his thoughts and feelings. With the kindest heart in the world, he could not recite even a calamitous story without investing it with a tinge of the ludicrous. It would seem as if a jest were the natural expression of all emotion; and that he is no more to be wondered at for mingling his condolence and his lamentations with merriment, than are other men for accompanying them with tears and sighs. An epitaph in his hand would have been a sort of epigram, not free from grotesque humour; and his ordinary pulpit discourses must, we are convinced, have often contained passages which severely tried the gravity of his audience. In confirmation of all we have said, we may remark, that he actually finds it impossible to suppress his vivacious pleasantry even in the most tragical parts of his 'histories,' and tells the most rueful tidings in so droll a manner as sets all gravity at defiance. One or two odd specimens we cannot refrain from laying before the reader. He thus recounts a 'lamentable accident' which befell a congregation of Catholics at Blackfriars:—'The sermon began 'to incline to the middle, the day to the end thereof; when 'on the sudden the floor fell down whereon they were assem-'bled. It gave no charitable warning groan beforehand, but 'cracked, broke, and fell, all in an instant. Many were 'killed, more bruised, all frighted. Sad sight, to behold the 'flesh and blood of different persons mingled together, *and* '*the brains of one on the head of another!* One lacked a leg; 'another, an arm; a third, *whole and entire, wanting nothing* '*but breath, stifled in the ruins.*' Was ever such a calamity so mirthfully related? But one of the most singular instances of the peculiarity in question, is contained in his account of the capture and execution of the principal conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot. It is so characteristic, that we shall offer no apology for making one or two extracts.

'Meantime Catesby, Percy, Rookwood, both the Wrights, and Thomas Winter, were hovering about London, to attend the issue of the matter. Having sate so long abroad, and hatching nothing, they began to suspect all their eggs had proved addle. Yet, betwixt hope and fear, they and their servants post down into the country, through Warwick and Worcester, into Staffordshire. Of traitors they turn felons, breaking up stables, and stealing horses as they went. But many of their own men, by a far more lawful felony, stole away from their masters, leaving them to shift for themselves. The neighbouring counties and their own con-

sciences, rise up against these riotous roisterers, as yet unknown for traitors. At last Sir Richard Walsh, High Sheriff of Worcestershire, overtook them at Holbeck in Staffordshire, at the house of Mr Stephen Littleton; where, upon their resistance, the two Wrights were killed, Rookwood and Thomas Winter shrewdly wounded. As for Percy and Catesby, they fought desperately for their lives, as knowing no other quarter but *quartering* would be given unto them; and, as if they scorned to turn their backs to any but themselves, setting back to back, they fought against all that assaulted them. Many swords were drawn upon them, but "gunpowder" must do the deed, which discharged that bullet which dispatched them both. Never were two bad men's deaths more generally lamented of all good men; only on this account—that they lived no longer, to be forced to a further discovery of their secret associates. It must not be forgotten, how, some hours before their apprehension, as these plotters were drying dank gunpowder in an inn, a miller casually coming in, (haply not heeding the black meal on the hearth,) by careless casting on of a billet, fired the gunpowder, up flies the chimney with part of the house; all therein are frightened, most hurt; but especially Catesby and Rookwood had their faces soundly scorched, so bearing in their bodies, not *στιγματα*, "the marks of our Lord Jesus Christ," but the print of their own impieties. Well might they guess how good that their cup of cruelty was, whose dregs they meant others should drink, by this little *sip* which they themselves had unwillingly tasted thereof. The rest were all at London solemnly arraigned, convicted, condemned. So foul the fact, so fair the proof, they could say nothing for themselves. Master Tresham dying in the prison, prevented a more ignominious end.' * * * * 'They all craved testimony that they died Roman Catholics. My pen shall grant them this their last and so equal petition, and bears *witness to all whom it may concern, that they lived and died in the Romish religion.* And although the heinousness of their offence might, with some colour of justice, have angered severity into cruelty against them; yet so favourably were they proceeded with, that most of their sons or heirs, except since disinherited by their own prodigality, at this day enjoy their paternal possessions.'

So exuberant is Fuller's wit, that, as his very melancholy is mirthful, so his very wisdom wears motley. But it is wisdom notwithstanding; nor are there many authors, in whom we shall find so much solid sense and practical sagacity, in spite of the grotesque disguise in which they masque themselves. Nothing can be more true than the remark already quoted from Coleridge, that Fuller's wit has defrauded him of some of the praise of wisdom which is his due. There was nothing, however, of the reality, whatever there might be of the appearance of profane, or inhuman levity, in his mode of dealing with sacred or serious subjects. His was the natural expression of much hilarity conjoined with much wit. He would have been mirthful, whether he had had much wit or not; having also much wit, his mirth

expressed itself in the forms most natural to him. He spoke only as he felt; and though we may think that another mode of speech would have been more proper, and better adapted to the ordinary feelings of mankind under the circumstances, we cannot consent to rank the *facetiæ* of Fuller on grave subjects, with the profane heartless witicisms of those with whom nothing is sacred, and who speak lightly because they feel lightly. His whole life, and even his whole writings, prove him to have been possessed of genuine veneration for all that is divine, and genuine sympathy with all that is human.

The limits within which wit and humour may be lawfully used, are well laid down by himself in his *Holy and Profane State*, in the essays on *Jesting* and *Gravity*, and in his character of the *Faithful Minister*. It would be too much to say that he has always acted strictly up to his own maxims; but it may be safely asserted that he seldom violates the most important of them, and that, when he did, it was in perfect unconsciousness of so doing. Of *profane* jests, he says, in his strong manner—'Jest not with the 'two-edged sword of God's word. Will nothing please thee to wash 'thy hands in but the font? or to drink healths in but the church 'chalice?' On *inhuman* jests, he says—'Scoff not at the natural 'defects of any which are not in their power to amend. Oh, it 'is cruelty to beat a cripple with his own crutches!' In another place, he quaintly says, 'It is *unnatural* to laugh at a natural.' Speaking of the *Faithful Minister*, he says, 'that he will not use 'a light comparison to make thereof a grave application, for fear 'lest his poison go further than his antidote.' But his sermons on the book of 'Ruth,' contain many curious instances of his oblivion of this maxim; of which, a striking one is given by the editor of the recent edition of his *Holy and Profane State*. In his essay on *Gravity*, he touchingly pleads for a charitable construction of the levities of a mirthful temperament. 'Some 'men,' says he, 'are of a very cheerful disposition; and God 'forbid that all such should be condemned for lightness! Oh, 'let not any envious eye disinherit men of that which is their '"portion in this life, comfortably to enjoy the blessings 'thereof!" Yet gravity must prune, not root out our mirth.' Gravity must have had hard work to do this in his own case; for as he himself says in another place—beautifully commenting on a well-known line of Horace—'That fork must have strong 'tines wherewith one would thrust out nature.'

The imagination of Fuller, though generally displaying itself in the forms imposed by his overflowing wit, was yet capable of suggesting images of great beauty, and of true poetic quality. Though lost in the perpetual obtrusion of that faculty to

which every other was compelled to minister, it is brilliant enough to have made the reputation of any inferior writer; and we believe that what Coleridge has said of his wisdom, might as truly be said of his fancy;—his wit has equally defrauded both of the admiration due to them.

Fuller's imagination is often happily employed in embodying some strong apophthegm, or maxim of practical wisdom, in a powerful and striking metaphor; the very best form in which they can be presented to us. There occur in his writings many sentences of this kind, which would not be altogether unworthy of Bacon, and in which, as in that far greater genius, we have the combination of solid truth, beautiful imagery, and graceful expression;—where we know not which most to admire—the value of the gem, the lustre of the polish, or the appropriateness of the setting.

In many respects, Fuller may be considered the very type and exemplar of that large class of religious writers of the seventeenth century, to which we emphatically apply the term 'quaint.' That word has long ceased to mean what it once meant. By derivation, and by original usage, it first signified 'scrupulously elegant,' 'refined,' 'exact,' 'accurate,' beyond the reach of common art. In time it came to be applied to whatever was designed to indicate these characteristics—though excogitated with so elaborate a subtlety, as to trespass on ease and nature. In a word, it became applied to what was ingenious and fantastic, rather than tasteful or beautiful. It is now wholly used in this acceptation; and always implies some violation of true taste, some deviation from what the 'natural' requires under the given circumstances. The application of the word to external forms has, of course, undergone similar modifications. Now, the age in which Fuller lived, was the golden age of 'quaintness' of all kinds;—in gardening, in architecture, in costume, in manners, in religion, in literature. As men improved external nature with a perverse expenditure of money and ingenuity—made her yews and cypresses grow into peacocks and statues—tortured and clipped her luxuriance into monotonous uniformity—turned her graceful curves and spirals into straight lines and parallelograms—compelled things incongruous to blend in artificial union, and then measured the merits of the work, not by the absurdity of the design but by the difficulty of the execution;—so in literature, the curiously and elaborately unnatural was too often the sole object. Far-fetched allusions and strained similitudes, laboured conceits and pedantic quotations, the eternal jingle of alliteration and antithesis, puns and quirks, and verbal pleasantries of all kinds—these too often formed the choicest objects

of the writer's ambition. The excellence of the product was judged, not by its intrinsic beauty, but by the labour it involved, and the ingenuity it displayed.

But while much of the 'quaint' literature of that age is now as little relished as the ruffs, wigs, and high-backed chairs of our great-great-grandfathers, there is not a little which will be held in everlasting remembrance. Not only are the works of powerful, although often perverted genius, full of thoughts, and images, and felicities of expression—which, being the offspring of truth and fancy, will be beautiful through all time; but the aspect in which the 'quaint' itself appears to us, will depend upon the character of the individual writer, and the nature of the subjects he treats. The constitution of Fuller's mind had such an affinity with the peculiarities of the day, that what was 'quaint' in others seems to have been his natural element—the sort of attire in which his active and eccentric genius loved to clothe itself. The habit which others perhaps slowly attained, and at length made (by those strong associations which can for a while sanctify any thing in taste or fashion) a second nature, seems to have cost him nothing. Allusions and images may appear odd, unaccountably odd, but in him they are evidently not far-fetched; they are spontaneously and readily presented by his teeming fancy: even his puns and alliterations seem the careless, irrepressible exuberances of a very sportive mind—not racked and tortured out of an unwilling brain, as is the case with so many of his contemporaries. We are aware, of course, that it is the office of a correct judgment to circumscribe the extravagances of the suggestive faculty, and to select from the materials it offers only what is in harmony with good taste. All we mean is, that in the case of Fuller, the suggestions, however eccentric, were spontaneous, not artificial—offered, not sought for. The water, however brackish or otherwise impure, still gushed from a natural spring, and was not brought up by the wheel and axle. His mind was a fountain, not a forcing-pump. Thus his very 'quaintness' is also 'nature'—nature in him, though it would not be so in others; and we therefore read his most outrageous extravagances with very different feelings from those with which we glance at the frigid conceits and dreary impertinences of many of his contemporaries. Nor do we simply feel indulgence towards them as spontaneous; their very spontaneity insures them an elasticity and vivacity of expression, which we should seek in vain in writers whose *minds* had less affinity with the genius of the day. And we are not to forget that there are certain *subjects* to which the 'quaint' style of those times is much better adapted than to others; and in which it appears not destitute of a certain fantastic grace and fitness.

We mean subjects in which little of passion or emotion would be expected. When conviction or persuasion is the object, and directness of purpose and earnestness of feeling are essential, we do not say to success, but merely to gain a hearing, nothing can be more repulsive, because nothing more *unnatural*, than the 'quaint' style;—nothing being more improbable than that far-fetched similitudes and laboured prettinesses should offer themselves to the mind at such a moment; except, indeed, where universal custom has made (as in the case of some of our forefathers) quaintness itself a second nature. When lachrymatories were the fashion, it might, for aught we can tell, have been easy for the ancient mourner to drop a tear into the little cruet at any given moment. But ordinarily, nothing is more certain than that the very sight of such a receptacle would, as it was carried round to the company, instantly annihilate all emotion, even if it did not turn tears into laughter. Not less repellent, under ordinary circumstances, are all the forms of the 'quaint,' when the object is to excite emotion, strong or deep. But it is not so with certain other subjects, in which the 'quaint' itself is not without its recommendations. In enforcing and illustrating moral maxims, for example, in calmly inculcating lessons of life and manners, in depicting varieties of human character—in all which cases no continuous reasoning, no warmth of passion, is expected or required; the fancy may well be indulged in her most sportive and playful moods, and allowed to attire the sententious aphorisms she is commissioned to recommend in any way that seems to her best. She may travel in any circuit, however wide, for her illustrations —may employ analogies, the very oddity of which shall ensure their being remembered—may lock up wisdom in any curious casket of antithesis or alliteration—nay, may not disdain even a quip or a pun, when these may serve to stimulate attention, or to aid the memory. The very best specimens of the quaint style, at all events, are on such themes. Such, to mention a single example, is Earle's *Microcosmography;* such, also, are the best and most finished of Fuller's own writings—as his *Profane and Holy State*, his *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*, his *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, and his *Mixed Contemplations.* The composition in such works often reminds us of some gorgeous piece of cabinet work from China or India, in which ivory is richly inlaid with gems and gold. Though we may not think the materials always harmonious, or the shape perfectly consistent with our notions of elegance, we cannot fail to admire the richness of the whole product, and the costliness and elaboration of the workmanship.

We have said, that in many respects Fuller may be considered

the master of the quaint school of the seventeenth century. It is by no means to be forgotten, however, that he is almost entirely free from many of the most offensive peculiarities of that school. As those qualities of quaintness he possesses in common with his contemporaries, are, as we have already intimated, natural to *him*, so from those which could hardly be natural in *any*, he is for the most part free. Thus he is almost wholly untainted by that vain pedantry, which so deeply infects the style of many of the greatest writers of his age; more especially Burton, Jeremy Taylor, Donne, and Browne. His quotations are very rare and generally very apt, introduced for use, not ostentation. You nowhere find that curious mosaic work of different tongues, which is so common in the pages of Burton and Taylor. You never find him, as you do this last writer, enforcing some common-place of moral wisdom by half-a-dozen quotations from different writers, as though afraid to allow even a truism to walk abroad, except under the guard of some venerable names; or as though men would not believe their own senses, unless they had the authority of antiquity for doing so. From all the forms of learned pedantry, Fuller may be pronounced almost entirely free. His reading was various and his learning great; though not to be compared to those of the above writers, whose powers, vast as they were, often sank beneath the load of their more prodigious erudition.

Fuller's style is also free, to a great extent, from the Latinisms which form so large an element in that of many of his great contemporaries. Both in style and diction, he is much more idiomatic than most of them. The structure of his sentences is far less involved and periodic, while his words are in much larger proportion of Saxon derivation. Something may, no doubt, be attributed to the character of his mind; his shrewd practical sense leading him, as it generally leads those who are strongly characterized by it, to prefer the homely and universally intelligible in point of expression. Still more, however, is to be attributed to the habits of his life. He was not the learned recluse which many of his contemporaries were, and neither read nor wrote half so much in the learned tongues. He loved to gossip with the common people; and when collecting materials for his historical works, would listen, we are told, for hours together, to their prolix accounts of local traditions and family legends. Many, very many of the good old English words now lost, may be found in his writings. One passage of vigorous idiomatic English, and which is, in many other respects a striking exemplification of Fuller's manner, we cannot refrain from quoting. It is from his 'Essay on Tombs.'

'Tombs are the clothes of the dead. A grave is but a plain suit, and a rich monument is one embroidered. Most moderate men have been careful for the decent interment of their corpses; both hereby to prevent the negligence of heirs, and to mind him of his mortality. Virgil tells us, that when bees swarm in the air, and two armies meeting together, fight as it were a set battle with great violence—cast but a little dust upon them, and they will be quiet:—

"Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,
"Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt."

'Thus the most ambitious motions and thoughts of man's mind, are quickly quelled when dust is thrown on him, whereof his fore-prepared sepulchre is an excellent remembrancer. Yet some seem to have built their tombs, therein to bury their thoughts of dying; never thinking thereof, but embracing the world with greater greediness. A gentleman made choice of a fair stone, and, intending the same for his grave-stone, caused it to be pitched up in a field a pretty distance from his house, and used often to shoot at it for his exercise. "Yea, but," said a wag that stood by, "you would be loath, sir, to hit the mark." And so are many unwilling to die, who, notwithstanding, have erected their monuments.

'Tombs ought, in some sort, to be proportioned, not to the wealth, but deserts of the party interred. Yet, may we see some rich man of mean worth, loaden under a tomb big enough for a prince to bear. There were officers appointed in the Grecian games, who always, by public authority, did pluck down the statues erected to the victor, if they exceeded the true symmetry and proportion of their bodies.

'The shortest, plainest, and truest, epitaphs are best.—I say, "the shortest;" for when a passenger sees a chronicle written on a tomb, he takes it on trust some great man lies there buried, without taking pains to examine who he is. Mr Camden, in his *Remains*, presents us with examples of great men that had little epitaphs. And when once I asked a witty gentleman, an honoured friend of mine, what epitaph was fitted to be written on Mr Camden's tomb—"Let it be," said he, "*Camden's Remains.*" I say also, "the plainest;" for except the sense lie above ground, few will trouble themselves to dig for it. Lastly, it must be "true;" not as in some monuments, where the red veins in the marble may seem to blush at the falsehoods written on it. He was a witty man that first taught a stone to speak, but he was a wicked man that taught it first to lie.

'To want a grave is the cruelty of the living, not the misery of the dead. An English gentleman, not long since, did lie on his death-bed in Spain, and the Jesuits did flock about him to pervert him to their religion. All was in vain. Their last argument was, "If you will not "turn Roman Catholic, then your body shall be unburied." "Then," answered he, "I will stink;" and so turned his head and died. Thus love, if not to the dead, to the living, will make him, if not a grave, a hole. A good memory is the best monument. Others are subject to casualty and time; and we know that the pyramids themselves, doting with age, have forgotten the names of their founders. To conclude; let us be careful to provide rest for our souls, and our bodies will provide rest

don streets in the evening, a tenter-hook caught his cloak. "At whose suit?" said he, conceiving some bailiff had arrested him. Thus guilty consciences are afraid where no fear is, and count every creature they meet a sergeant sent from God to punish them.'

The *historical* works of Fuller are simply a caricature of the species of composition to which they professedly belong;—a systematic violation of all its proprieties. The gravity and dignity of the historic muse are habitually violated by him. But not only is he continually cracking his jokes, and perpetrating his puns; his matter is as full of treason against the laws of history as his manner. His very method—if we may be allowed such an abuse of language—consists in a contempt of all method. He has so constructed his works as to secure himself the indulgence of perpetual digression—of harbouring and protecting every vagrant story that may ask shelter in his pages—of rambling hither and thither, as the fit takes him—and of introducing all sorts of things where, when, and how, he pleases. To this end he has cut up his 'histories' into little paragraphs or sections, which often have as little connexion with one another as with the general subject. Any curious fact, any anecdote, is sufficient warrant in his opinion for a digression; provided only it has any conceivable relation to the events he happens to be relating. A chronological connexion is always deemed enough to justify him in bringing the most diverse matters into juxtaposition; while the little spaces which divide his sections from one another, like the little compartments in a cabinet of curiosities, are thought sufficient lines of demarcation between the oddest incongruities. His *Worthies of England* is in fact a rambling tour over the English Counties, taken in alphabetical order, in which, though his chief object undoubtedly is, to give an account of the principal families resident in each, and of the illustrious men they have severally produced, he cannot refrain from thrusting in a world of gossip on their natural history and geography; on their productions, laws, customs, and proverbs. It may be said that this was an unfinished work; that we have not the fabric itself, but only the bricks and mortar of which it was to be constructed. We reply that the general plan is sufficiently disclosed, and could not have been materially altered had he lived to complete the work. But is his *Church History* a whit better in this respect? Never was there such a medley. First, each book and section is introduced by a quaint dedication to one or other of his many admirers or patrons. Nicholson in his *English Historical Library* is rather severe on his motives for such a multiplication of dedication. Second, the several paragraphs into which the *Church History* is divided, (most of them introduced by some quaint title,) are many of them as

little connected with church history as with the history of China. Thus, in one short 'section,' comprising the period from 1330 to 1361, we find 'paragraphs' relating to 'the ignorance of the 'English in curious clothing—to 'fuller's earth,' which, he tells us, 'was a precious commodity'—to the manufacture of 'woollen 'cloth,' and to the sumptuary laws which 'restrained excess in 'apparel.'

Here is a strange mixture in one short chapter! Church history, as all the world knows, is compelled to treat of matters which have a very remote relation to the church of Christ; but who could have suspected that it could by possibility take cognizance of fuller's earth and woollens? Even Fuller himself seems a little astonished at his own hardihood; and lest any should *at first sight* fail to see the perfect congruity of such topics, he engages, with matchless effrontery, to show the connexion between them. His reasons are so very absurd, and given so much in his own manner, that we cannot refrain from citing them. 'But enough of this subject, which let none con-'demn for a deviation from church history. First, because it would 'not grieve me to go a *little* out of the way, if the way be good, 'as the digression is, for the credit and profit of our country. 'Secondly, it reductively belongeth to the church history, seeing 'many poor people, both young and old, formerly charging the 'parishes, (as appeared by the account of the church officers,) 'were hereby enabled to maintain themselves!!'

It may well be supposed, after what we have said, that his 'histories' are not to be judged by the ordinary rules applied to that class of compositions. They possess intrinsic value only as collections and repertories of materials for other and less eccentric writers. In this point of view he often modestly represents them; and in fact, as we conjecture, for the very purpose of securing the larger license of rambling. The praise of method and regularity (if indeed he formed any notion of them) he coveted little, compared with the free indulgence of his vagrant and gossiping humour. He loved, like Edie Ochiltree, 'to 'daander along the green lanes,' to leave the dusty high-road of continuous history, and solace himself in every 'bye-path 'meadow' that invited his feet by its softness and verdure. Even as a collector of materials, his merits have been strongly called in question by Bishop Nicholson. 'Through the whole 'of his *Church History*,' says the critic, 'he is so fond of his own 'wit, that he does not seem to have minded what he was about. 'The gravity of an historian (much more of an ecclesiastical one) 'requires a far greater care, both of the matter and style of his 'work, than is here to be met with. If a pretty story comes in

'his way that affords scope for clinch and droll, off it goes with 'all the gaiety of the stage; without staying to enquire whether 'it have any foundation in truth or not; and even the most 'serious and authentic parts of it are so interlaced with pun and 'quibble, that it looks as if the man had designed to ridicule the 'annals of our church into fable and romance. Yet if it were 'possible to refine it well, the work would be of good use, since 'there are in it some things of moment hardly to be had else-'where, which may often illustrate dark passages in more serious 'writers. These are not to be despised where his authorities are 'cited, and appear credible. But in other matters where he is 'singular, and without his vouchers *μαμνσο απιστειν.*'

That Fuller has intermingled a great deal of gossip and rubbish with his facts, is indeed most true; but then, usually, he neither believes such matter for truth himself, nor delivers it for truth to others; so that the worst that can be said of him on that score is, that he is content to merge his historic character in that of a retailer of amusing oddities. But that he is careless in the admission or investigation of facts, we cannot admit, without better proof than Nicholson has furnished; and we much fear that the censure of the critic was excited rather by Fuller's candour, than by either his partiality or his negligence. If he had been a more thorough partizan, and on the side of his censor, we should have been spared some of the indignation of this censor of historians. With indolence in his researches, at all events, Fuller cannot be justly taxed. Frequently compelled, in his capacity of chaplain to the royal army, to change his quarters, often writing without the advantage of books and access to documents, it was impossible that he should not fall into serious errors; but he diligently availed himself of such resources as were within his reach. As already intimated, he would spend hours in patiently listening to the long-winded recitals of rustic ignorance, in hopes of gleaning some neglected tradition, or of rescuing some half-forgotten fact from oblivion. His works every where disclose the true antiquarian spirit, the genuine veneration for whatever bears the 'charming rust,' or exhales the musty odour of age; and it is plain, that if his opportunities had been equal either to his inclinations or his aptitudes, he would have been no mean proficient in the arts of spelling out and piecing the mouldering records of antiquity—of deciphering documents —of adjusting dates—of investigating the origin of old customs, and the etymology of old names—of interpreting proverbial sayings—of sifting the *residuum* of truth in obscure tradition, and of showing the manner in which facts have passed into fable. Like many men of the same stamp, however, he had not the faculty of

discriminating the relative value of the facts thus elicited; but frequently exhibits the most insignificant with as much prominence as the most valuable; like them, too, he often mistakes probability for demonstration, and magnifies conjecture into certainty. In some respects he bore a sort of resemblance (though in others how different!) to Herodotus and Froissart. The charm of continuous narrative, indeed, for which they are so justly eminent, he possessed not; still less the happy art of a picturesque and graceful disposition of his materials. But in his diligent heed to traditional stories, in the personal pains and labour which he was willing to take in the accumulation of his materials, in the eagerness and the patience with which he prosecuted the chase, in the large infusion of merely curious and amusing matter amongst the sober verities of history, by which both his *Worthies* and his *Church History* are equally marked, there is some resemblance. The traditions, and 'the reports,' and the 'sayings,' of the common people, were as dear to him as was the ὡς λεγουσι to the father of history. Like them, too, he usually lets us know for what he vouches, and what he merely gives on the report of others; and we believe that, as in their case, his substantial facts will be found more nearly true the more carefully they are investigated. But, after all, his professedly historical works are not to be read as *histories;* their strange want of method, the odd intermixture of incongruous and irrelevant matter they contain, and the eccentricities of all kinds with which they abound, will for ever prevent that. They are rather books of amusement; in which wisdom and whim, important facts and impertinent fables, solid reflections and quaint drolleries, refined wit and wretched puns, great beauties and great negligences, are mingled in equal proportions. Read as books of amusement, there are few in the English language which a man, with the slightest tincture of love for our early literature, can take up with a keener relish; while an enthusiast, whether by natural predisposition or acquired habit, will, like Charles Lamb, absolutely riot in their wild luxuriance.

Faulty as Fuller's histories are, it will be seen that he yet possessed in great perfection many of the most essential conditions of excellence in that department of composition. His spirit of research, his love of minute investigation, his fine imagination, his boundless vivacity, his freedom from prejudice, his liberality and candour, would seem to have ensured success; and that success would doubtless have been eminent, had he not given such license to his inordinate wit, so freely indulged his oddities of manner, and set all method at defiance. These defects have gone far to neutralize his other admirable qualifications for historical com-

position; and what was absurdly said of Shakspeare, might, with some propriety, be said of him, 'that a pun was the Cleopatra for 'which he lost the world, and was content to lose it.'

In a moral and religious point of view, the character of Fuller is entitled to our veneration, and is altogether one of the most attractive and interesting which that age exhibits to us. His buoyant temper, and his perpetual mirthfulness, were altogether at variance with that austerity and rigour which characterized so many of the religionists of his time; but his life and conduct bore ample testimony that he possessed genuine and habitual piety. Amidst all his levity of manner, there was still the gravity of the heart—deep veneration for all things sacred; and while his wit clothed even his religious thoughts and feelings with irresistible pleasantry, his manner is as different from that of the scorner, as the innocent laugh of childhood from the malignant chuckle of a demon. In all the relations of domestic and social life, his conduct was most exemplary. In one point, especially, does he appear in honourable contrast with the bigots of all parties in that age of strife—he had learnt, partly from his natural benevolence, and partly from a higher principle, the lessons of 'that 'charity which thinketh no evil,' and which so few of his contemporaries knew how to practise. His very moderation, however, as is usually the case, made him suspected by the zealots of both parties. Though a sincere friend of the Church of England, he looked with sorrow (which in his *Church History* he took no pains to disguise) on the severities practised towards the Puritans; and every where adopts the tone of apology for their supposed errors, and of compassion for their undoubted sufferings. His candour and impartiality in treating some of the most delicate portions of our ecclesiastical history—as, for example, the Hampton Court controversy, and the administration of Laud—are in admirable contrast with the resolute spirit of partizanship which has inspired most of the writers of the Church of England. There were not wanting persons, however, who, as we have seen, insinuated that his candour in these and other instances, was nothing but a peace-offering 'to the powers that 'were' at the time he published his *Church History*. But, not to urge that he has said too much on the other side to justify such a supposition, his whole manner is that of an honest man, striving to be impartial, even if not always successful. Had he been the unprincipled time-server this calumny would represent him, he would have suppressed a little more. Coleridge says that he was 'incomparably the most sensible, the least preju-'diced, great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men.' If this statement be confined to 'religious prejudices,' there are,

it must be confessed, few of his age who can be compared with him. As to prejudices of other kinds, he seems to have shared in those of most of his contemporaries. It is hard, or rather impossible, to be wholly beyond one's age. He believed in witches; he was a resolute stickler for the royal prerogative of curing the king's evil; though whether his loyalty or philosophy had most to do with his convictions on that point, may well admit of doubt. It is true that he treats the idle legends, and fabled miracles of Romish superstition, with sovereign contempt; but then his Protestantism came to the aid of his reason, and, considering the superstitions he has himself retained, the former may be fairly supposed to have offered the more powerful logic of the two.

Though Fuller cannot be accused of sharing the bigotry and bitterness of his age, he is by no means perfectly free from a very opposite vice with which that age was nearly as chargeable—we mean flattery. His multitudinous dedications to his numerous patrons, contained in the *Church History*, are, many of them, very striking, and even beautiful compositions, and full of ingenious turns of thought; but they certainly attribute as much of excellence to the objects of them, as either history, or tradition, or charity, can warrant us in ascribing. Something may, however, be pardoned to the spirit of the age, and something to the gratitude or necessities of the author. But that any author, even a hungry one, could be brought to write them, is a wonder; that any patron could, either with or without a blush, appropriate them, is a still greater one. It is in the conclusion to his character of the 'Good King,' in his *Holy State*, that our author has fallen most unworthily into the complimentary extravagance of the times. He, of course, makes the reigning monarch, Charles I., the reality of the fair picture, and draws his character in language which truth might well interpret into the severest irony.

It would be improper to close this analysis of one of the most singular intellects that ever appeared in the world of letters, without saying a word or two of the prodigies related of his powers of memory. That he had a very tenacious one, may easily be credited, though some of its traditional feats almost pass belief. It is said that he could 'repeat five hundred strange 'words after once hearing them, and could make use of a sermon '*verbatim*, under the like circumstances.' Still further, it is said that he undertook, in passing from Temple Bar to the extremity of Cheapside, to tell, at his return, every sign as it stood in order on both sides of the way, (repeating them either backwards or forwards,) and that he performed the task exactly. This is pretty

well, considering that in that day every shop had its sign. The interpretation of such hyperboles, however, is very easy; they signify, at all events, thus much—that he had an extraordinary memory. That many of the reports respecting it were false or exaggerated, may be gathered from an amusing anecdote recorded by himself. 'None alive,' says he, 'ever heard me pretend to 'the *art* of memory, who, in my book, (*Holy State*,) have decried 'it as a trick, no art; and, indeed, is more of fancy than memory. 'I confess, some ten years since, when I came out of the pulpit 'of St Dunstan's East, one (who since wrote a book thereof) 'told me in the vestry, before credible people, that he, in Sidney 'College, had taught me *the art of memory*. I returned unto 'him, *that it was not so*, for *I* could not remember *that I had* 'ever seen him before! which, I conceive, was a real refutation.'

One is prepared to meet with all sorts of oddities of manner about such a man; for it would be strange that a person so eccentric in all his writings, should not have been eccentric in his private habits; but really the following account of his method of composition passes belief. It is said that he was in 'the habit of 'writing the first words of every line near the margin down to the 'foot of the paper, and, that then beginning again, he filled up 'the vacuities exactly, without spaces, interlineations, or contrac-'tions;' and that he 'would so connect the ends and beginnings 'that the sense would appear as complete as if it had been writ-'ten in a continued series, after the ordinary manner.' This, we presume, is designed to be a compliment to the ease with which he performed the process of mental composition, and the accuracy with which his memory could transfer it to paper. But though he might occasionally perform such a feat for the amusement of his friends, it never could have been his ordinary practice.

As we quoted, at the commencement of this article, the opinion entertained of our author by Coleridge, we shall conclude it by citing that of Charles Lamb, than whom there could not be a more competent judge. 'The writings of Fuller,' says he, 'are usually designated by the title of quaint, and with suffi-'cient reason; for such was his natural bias to conceits, that I 'doubt not, upon most occasions, it would have been going out 'of his way to have expressed himself out of them. But his 'wit is not always *lumen siccum*, a dry faculty of surprising; on 'the contrary, his conceits are oftentimes deeply steeped in hu-'man feeling and passion. Above all, his way of telling a story, 'for its eager liveliness, and the perpetual running commentary 'of the narrator happily blended with the narration, is perhaps 'unequalled.'

ART. IV.—*The Stade Duties considered.* By WILLIAM HUTT, Esq., M.P. London: 1839.

2. *Reply, grounded upon Records, to the Pamphlet published by William Hutt, Esq., M.P., in the year* 1839; *entitled* '*The Stade Duties considered.*' Hanover: 1841.

3. *Des Stader-Elb-zolles Ursprung, Fortgang, und Bestand, Eine publicistische Darstellung, von* Dr Adolph Soetbeer, Hamburgh: 1839.

ALTHOUGH it falls to our lot, on the present occasion, to state a case which, in our judgment, amounts to a very grave charge against the government of the King of Hanover, it is not our intention to say one word in reference either to the political predilections of that sovereign, or to the singular position in which he stands with respect to his subjects. The matter of our complaint has fortunately not yet been made a party question, and we are most anxious that it should not become so; because we are sure that no British Cabinet, whether Whig or Tory, ought to hesitate what course to pursue, in a case of such grievous wrong and injury to British commerce, as that of the Hanoverian Stade Tolls.

Of all the various channels by which British goods find their way into Germany, that of the river Elbe is by far the most important; so much so, that this noble river receives, in fact, five-sixths of the whole of the British produce and manufactures annually imported into Germany direct from this country. Nor is this all; for to so great an extent does the British flag enter into the colonial and carrying trade of Hamburgh, that of the whole tonnage of shipping annually frequenting that port, about one-half is British property.* Some of the most eminent merchants in Hamburgh are our own countrymen; and there is a colony of nearly three thousand of the Queen's subjects, who have become regularly domiciled in that free and flourishing city. Our inter-

* The annual value of British imports into Hamburgh, is estimated in a recent authentic work—'Soetbeer, Ueber Hamburg's Handel,' at from four and a half to five millions sterling. Now, the declared value of British exports to Germany, (exclusive of the exports to the Prussian ports and Trieste, which are inconsiderable,) is, at least, five millions annually; so that Hamburgh absorbs fully five-sixths, if not more, of the direct British trade. The proportion between ships under the British flag, and those under all flags, annually arriving at Hamburgh,

course with Hamburgh naturally increases with the multiplication of steam-vessels, and of the railways which now traverse Germany in so many directions. This intercourse is especially encouraged by the enlightened policy of the senate of Hamburgh, which, so far as relates to its own revenues, has kept, and we trust will long continue to keep, its haven a practically free port—exempting altogether from duties a great proportion of articles of trade: and as to the remainder, contenting itself with a small *ad valorem* duty on importation or transit. But it unfortunately happens to be out of the power of the government of Hamburgh to do all in this respect, which its own interest, and the still greater interest of Great Britain, require to be effected; for, within the walls of Hamburgh, we find the very singular establishment of the Custom-house of a foreign power, under the name of the 'Stader Elb-zoll Comptoir,' where large sums of money are exacted by the Collector of the King of Hanover, under the pretence of the authority of a Tariff of a most extraordinary nature; and which we shall show, in the sequel, to be not only vexatious and oppresive to a high degree, but to have in its present shape no foundation whatever in legal right.

The Stade Duties derive their name and origin from the little old fortified town of Stade, situated on the small river Schwinge, about four English miles from the Elbe, and twenty-five miles below Hamburgh. Nearer the mouth of the Schwinge is the Hanoverian custom-house of Brunshausen, from which the duties are usually called, at Hanover, the Brunshausen Tolls. At this place, taxes are demanded by the King of Hanover upon all ships passing upwards from the sea, and upon their cargoes. As a general rule, the ship is obliged to come to an anchor, whilst the master goes on shore to Brunshausen to pay the tolls; but British ships were so far relieved by a regulation of

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will be seen by the following comparative statements, extracted from the same work:—

Year.	British Ships. Number.	Tonnage.	Ships of all Nations. Number.	Tonnage.
1836,.....	754	71,067	2656	159,193
1837,.....	792	79,664	2795	168,466
1838,.....	883	84,127	2907	175,674
Totals,.....	2429	234,858	8358	503,333
Average of three years,...	809	78,286	2786	167,777

King George II., as to be allowed to proceed to Hamburgh without bringing to an anchor;—the master or agent being, however, required to deposit the ship's papers at the Brunshausen office, for transmission to the Custom-house at Hamburgh, where the final search of the vessel and examination of the goods take place. The stoppage of the vessels off Brunshausen, is enforced by a gun-brig anchored there; being the entire Royal navy of his Hanoverian Majesty. The Hamburgh flag alone is exempt from toll.

The payments to which commerce is thus subjected are of various kinds.

First—Taxes on the cargo. The printed tariff under which these are levied lies before us, and a more revolting instrument for the oppression—we might almost say suppression—of trade, it has never been our lot to see. This tariff, which bears date the 29th May 1821, taxes in detail 2368 enumerated articles of commerce—imposing frequently upon the same article various duties; so that the number of different duties which come into operation is actually no less than 6688! There are 35 different duties upon iron; 32 duties upon yarn or twist; 18 duties upon sugar; 42 duties upon leather; 36 duties upon oil; 126 duties upon wood; and so on with respect to other important articles of trade. We doubt whether such a tariff has its parallel in the civilized world. Our own tariff of customs, the length and complexity of which is now so generally and justly condemned, taxes specifically but 1152 articles. The tariff of the German Customs-Union charges only 43 articles, the rest being either duty free, or paying all alike, according to the simple standard of weight. But the Hanoverian tariff resorts to all modes and devices of taxation—by weight, by measure, by number, by value; and, what is worse, it vests in the custom-house officers the sole discretion of determining by what standard they will charge the duty. The collector imposes that kind of duty which will produce the most money in the particular case. We shall presently expose the barefaced illegality of this proceeding. The consequence of it to the merchant is most serious. He cannot calculate, or inform himself beforehand, how much his goods will have to pay at Brunshausen. In vain does the Hull or New York merchant write to his correspondent at Hamburgh, to ascertain the rate of Stade-duty to which an intended consignment would be subject. The agent, in reply, sends him a copy of the Stader-Elb-Zoll tariff; but all that he can learn from this is, that his goods are subject to perhaps forty different duties; and that the Hanoverian custom-house will decide in due time which

particular duties it will apply! Not only, however, does the Hanoverian collector thus exercise an arbitrary power of taxation, but the proceedings in case of erroneous entries, or of mistakes in the ship's papers, are vexatious to a high degree. For such errors, and for alleged undervaluations, arbitrary fines are imposed on the master or merchant; and, although parties aggrieved are at liberty to appeal to the higher financial authorities of the kingdom, the cases in which they obtain redress are 'few and far 'between.' It rests practically with the subordinate officers to fix the duty, and also the fine. We shall presently explain, that the maximum duty to which the King of Hanover is entitled by treaty, *is one-sixteenth per cent ad valorem;* but, upon careful examination of the duties levied on a number of British ships and cargoes for several years past, it appears that the average rate of duty levied has been equal to at least *one-half per cent ad valorem, or eight times more than the legal rate!* In many instances, also, the duties collected amount to three-fourths per cent, seven-eighths per cent, and one per cent *ad valorem*, and even much more; *or from twelve to sixteen times and upwards beyond the legal standard!*

Secondly—There are taxes on the ship, under two names—the Brunshausen ship-toll, and the oar-duty of the town of Stade. The rates vary according to the description of the vessel, leaving here also a large discretion to the collector. They exceed for the most part the ancient legal rates; and, with respect to the oar-duty, it was originally a remuneration for rowing the ship-master up the river Schwinge to the custom-house to pay the toll. This service is no longer performed, but the oar-duty keeps its place in the tariff, and continues to be enforced.

Thirdly—There is a class of petty exactions connected with the Stade tariff, under the names of commission, ship's expenses, return-certificate, &c., which swell the amount of the payments considerably; but upon which we are not disposed to dwell, because we understand that the Government of Hanover does not attempt to defend them. In the semi-official pamphlet purporting to be a reply to Mr Hutt, the Hanoverian government disclaims all responsibility for these charges, declaring that they are the invention of the Hamburgh brokers for their own emolument. We trust, therefore, that the Government of King Ernest will lend its active aid towards their abolition; and likewise for the relief of the poor fishermen of Heligoland, whose lobsters and haddocks suit the taste of the Brunshausen officers so well, that a part of every such cargo, on its way to Hamburgh, is retained by these functionaries as a sort of tithe in kind. This illegal proceeding is, we believe, disap-

proved of by the higher financial authorities; but we regret to say the fishermen (who are British subjects) have not yet succeeded in obtaining redress.

A multitude of cases are on record in which British traders have been harassed by the Stade authorities, in what we cannot but consider a most unjustifiable way. We select the following from among those stated by Mr Hutt:—

'Some time ago, Messrs Gee, Loft, and Co., of Hull, merchants of great wealth and of the highest integrity, shipped for Hamburgh by the Fairy, Captain Gell, a vessel which was loaded by them with a general cargo, *three bales of cottons, or merchandise.* In the bill of lading, the articles were inadvertently entered as *bales of cotton twist*—the difference of the Stade duty was about 7s. only. All the ship's other papers described the goods with technical correctness, and in no other respect was there any other informality. For this error alone in the bills of lading, the Fairy was seized by order of the Hanoverian custom-house, to be released only on Messrs Gee, Loft, and Co., paying to the King of Hanover the sum of L.215, 17s. 6d. This enormous fine was paid, and all applications for reconsideration were unavailing; not a farthing was ever restored! All suspicion of fraudulent intention must in this case be out of the question; the undoubted honour and integrity of the parties on the one hand, and the miserable benefit attainable by an act of smuggling (7s.) on the other, alike preclude the possibility of such a construction of the irregularity. It was, in truth, one of those trifling inaccuracies in the ship's papers which may be detected in the clearance of most of the ships that enter our ports with a general cargo; yet it was punished, like an act of outrage and criminality, with a fine of L.215 and expenses, in the law courts of Hanover.'—(P. 11.)

In the semi-official Reply to Mr Hutt, the above statement is substantially admitted, but it is contended that the case of the 'Fairy' was one of fraud, meriting confiscation.—'The action 'for defraudation brought in by the toll-officer was found well 'grounded by the court, but instead of confiscation they awarded 'a penalty of about L.150 only, (not L.215, 17s. 6d.) *by way 'of lenity!* The high board of the kingdom, intending to make 'an example of this case, tending to prevent other frauds, *declined 'the moderation of the fine!*'—(*Reply*, p. 32.)

From Mr Hutt's collection we take also the following:—

'An American ship arrived, partly laden with tea; the master delivered his papers, manifest, &c., all in due course. It was then discovered that there is a considerable difference in the duty at Stade upon tea, according as it is imported in chests, boxes, or lbs.—(It should be observed, that no one knows or understands these duties—not even the merchants or brokers; every one being accustomed to pay whatever is demanded without a question.)—The difference on this occasion was stated to amount to a considerable sum—a hundred thousand marks. The ship was consigned to one of the most influential merchants of

Hamburgh, Mr Parish, who, considering that the high duty was improperly charged, made application to have it restored. He applied with bad success—the answer being, that the sum was already carried to account, and the Hanoverian officers never restored; but they *fined the captain ten dollars for not making a proper report.*'—(HUTT, *Appendix*, p. 70.)

This case is not denied in the semi-official Reply; and although the name of the ship is not mentioned, yet the name of the highly respectable mercantile house to whom she was consigned being stated, forbids the inference of misrepresentation. We can vouch at any rate for the occurrence being by no means a singular one in the annals of the Stade tolls.

To these instances of vexatious procedure, we will here only add one of recent date. It would be easy to multiply cases, but our limited space forbids their insertion, nor is it requisite for our purpose. The following is already publicly known. We insert it according to the version of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*:—

'HAMBURGH, JUNE 3.—COMMERCIAL NEWS.—We hasten to bring to your knowledge a case connected with the Stade toll, which will not a little astonish the mercantile community. Although the case itself is only one of the many grievances wherewith the Stade toll is already chargeable, it is nevertheless invested with particular importance, as happening at a moment when a commission is sitting to investigate the antiquated claims at issue. From what has transpired, it appears that in the month of April 1840, the English brig Thornley, Captain Foreman, arrived at Hamburgh from Liverpool, laden with a general cargo, part whereof consisted of a quantity of East India Coruscos nuts, the Stade duties upon which were paid by the consignee, according to the value specified in the Liverpool cocket. It further appears that in May 1841, being thirteen months later, the same vessel came again to Hamburgh, laden with a cargo of coals, where, upon arriving, the captain was informed by the Hanoverian authorities that in the former year he had violated the Stade regulations, inasmuch as the declared value of the Coruscos nuts, herein before referred to, was below their market price, and that consequently he must pay the additional duty claimed upon the difference of valuation, together with a fine. The captain sought to establish his entire innocence in the matter by representing that he was merely the carrier of the goods, and knew nothing of their value beyond what was specified in the cocket, and this the more naturally, as the wording of the bill of lading ran as usual, "contents unknown." Assuming, besides, that there existed just ground for the infliction of a penalty, still it would not admit of application to the carrier, but rather to the shipper, or the consignee of the goods; from neither of whom, owing to the lapse of time since the close of the transaction, would the carrier have the means of obtaining restitution. Conclusive as these arguments appear, they were nevertheless treated by the Hanoverian authorities with contumely, the captain being at the same time informed that his return certificate (without which he could not repass Brunshau-

sen) would be withheld until he should pay, or lodge security for the amount demanded of him. Finding, eventually, all remonstrance vain, and that neither the British consul nor the commissioner of the British government, Mr Ward, could afford him any immediate redress, the captain was compelled to yield, to avert further unpleasant consequences, and to avoid a legal process, the result of which, he might be pretty certain, would be adverse to him. These are the leading facts of the case.'

Such are the means by which the King of Hanover does not scruple to raise a considerable revenue from the commerce of the Elbe. The amount of that revenue has, we believe, never been officially communicated by Hanover to any other power; and can therefore only be estimated by conjecture. Mr Hutt has, we must admit, overstated it; but, on the other hand, Dr Soetbeer's calculation of 500,000 marks currency, or L.33,000 per annum, appears somewhat under the mark; as the following statement, which we have taken some pains to compile from official records preserved in Hamburgh, will show:—

Statement of the number of Ships which have paid the Stade Duties at Hamburgh, with the amount of such payments, and the average rate per ship, during the six years from 1834 *to* 1839 *inclusive*:—

Nations.	Number of Ships.	Amount of Tolls levied on Merchandize and Vessels, together with Ships' Expenses and Commission. Computed in Sterling.			Average Amount per Ship in Sterling.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
British,	4,400	78,036	9	0	17	15	0
Danish,	1,703	14,576	8	0	8	11	0
Hamburgh,	1,496	17,382	11	0	11	12	0
Hanoverian,	1,280	4,944	14	0	3	17	0
Dutch,	936	7,506	14	0	8	0	0
Bremen,	494	2,788	3	0	5	13	0
Oldenburgh,	483	1,682	4	0	3	10	0
French,	416	6,942	9	0	16	14	0
United States,	241	8,404	0	0	34	17	0
Prussian,	194	4,821	14	0	24	17	0
Other States,	775	9,348	8	0	12	1	0
Total, 1834 to 1839,	12,418	156,433	14	0	12	12	0
Yearly average for all Ships,	2,070	26,072	6	0	12	12	0
Yearly average for British Ships,	733	13,006	1	0	17	15	0

The preceding statement refers to Stade duties paid at Hamburgh; but from the official records, it also appears that, in addition to the ships above specified, the further number of 15,362 passed by Stade, and became liable to the tolls; but are understood to have discharged at Altona, and other places than at Hamburgh. Adding, therefore, these vessels to the 12,418 respecting which the particulars are given, the whole number of ships whereon the Stade tolls were levied during the six years from 1834 to 1839, may probably have reached 27,780, or an average of 4630 (instead of 2070) annually. It is, however, to be observed, that the class of vessels discharging and paying toll at Altona, or elsewhere than at Hamburgh, consist chiefly of colliers, and vessels of small burthen; and that, consequently, the averages of L.12, 12s. and L.17, 15s., shown respectively by the preceding table, are much too high to be applicable to this smaller class of vessels. The *probability* seems to be, that the total amount of Stade tolls levied annually is about L.45,000; of which British commerce pays one-half, or L.22,500.

We have thus seen to how large an amount the commerce of the Elbe is subjected to Hanoverian taxation; but it cannot be too often repeated that Hanover claims the right of increasing even the present rates, and *that* in a way which would peculiarly affect British manufactured goods. To explain this, let us take the important articles of calico and cotton twist. In the three years 1835 to 1837, Hamburgh imported from Great Britain 96,104 bales of twist, and 49,979 bales of calico. The Hanoverian Custom-house charged these by the package—the twist paying six schillings, and the calico thirty-two schillings (Hamburgh money) per bale, which, together, produced a revenue equal to L.11,125 sterling. Now, if the officers, instead of charging by the bale, had enforced the rates for number, measure, or weight, according to the provisions of the Tariff,*—charging the twist by the bundle, and the calico by the piece, or ell—as they are entitled to do upon the assumption of the legality of the present Tariff, the duties upon the above-mentioned quantities of twist

* The Tariff of 1821 contains the following declaration under the head of Cattune (Calico,) p. 24:—

'The rate per package here, and with all articles specifically rated according to number, measure, or weight, is merely substituted; so that its admission in this, or an altered mode, or its total abolition, is entirely at the pleasure of the authorities of the customs, who reserve to themselves the right of demanding specific declaration.'

and calico would have amounted to no less than L.91,074 sterling, being an increase of more than eight-fold! To concede to Hanover the right of enforcing her present tariff, would thus be virtually enabling her at pleasure to annihilate our trade by the Elbe; for it is absurd to suppose that British manufactures could continue to be introduced into Germany by way of Hamburgh, if Hanover should ever actually enforce the payment of what she claims as the full extent of her legitimate rights.

That British merchants should patiently submit to a system of exaction such as that we have described, was hardly to be expected; and, in fact, for many years past, frequent and strong appeals have been made by them to the British Government to procure either the entire abolition of the Stade tolls, or their reduction to a legal standard. It became, therefore, the duty of the British Cabinet to remonstrate with that of Hanover upon this important subject; and in the reign of William IV., whilst that monarch still wore the double crown which was severed by his death, Lord Palmerston called upon the Hanoverian administration to revise the Stade tariff, upon a legitimate basis, and in accordance with the existing interests of commerce. How it has happened that such a revision has never yet taken place, will be in some measure understood, by stating the nature of the defence set up on behalf of the King of Hanover; and the grounds on which the British Government deemed it their duty to insist upon the revision of the tariff, and the reform of its vexatious abuses.

The Stade tolls are undoubtedly of ancient origin; in as far as it appears that in early times a toll of some sort was levied at that place. But what was the nature of that ancient toll, or in what manner the existing tariff is derived from it, has never yet been explained by the Hanoverian Government. In the 'authentic history,' as it is termed, which is prefixed to the semi-official Reply to Mr Hutt, the origin of the toll is attempted to be traced to various different sources—to an act of Charlemagne—an ecclesiastical donation of Louis the Pious—a grant of the Emperor Conrad in 1038—a transfer by the Emperor Henry IV. in 1062 to the Archbishopric of Bremen—and a subsequent *privilegium* of the German Empire in 1259, requiring all ships sailing up the Elbe to stop off Stade and pay tribute. We have taken some pains to ascertain whether the documents thus relied on really offer any thing like a fair foundation for the superstructure of the *modern tariff;* but we must say that we cannot discover any such basis. We cannot see that any thing beyond a market-toll was originally granted or contemplated. The Archbishops of Bremen seem to have converted the simple right

of holding a market at Stade into a feigned privilege of a compulsory market; requiring all vessels passing up from the sea to lay to and pay a transit toll, as a sort of composition for the assumed right of sale in the forced market. How far the alleged *privilegium* of 1259 may have legalized the forced market claimed, is now very unimportant; because all these *droits d'étape*, or forced harbour duties, in the German rivers, were entirely abolished by an express article of the Treaty of Vienna.

The main question at issue between Great Britain and Hanover, is with respect to the validity of the treaty concluded in the year 1691 between Sweden and Hamburgh—to which treaty is annexed a tariff, dated in 1692, of duties to be thenceforward paid at Stade (then in the possession of Sweden) by the subjects of all nations; with the exception of the citizens of Hamburgh, who are thereby exempted from the toll. This tariff is far more favourable to commerce than the existing tolls; for, besides being simpler and less multifarious, the rates are very much lower; the principle of the Tariff of 1692 being an *ad valorem* taxation of one-sixteenth per cent. The concluding words of this tariff are as follows:—'Forasmuch as various other sorts of wares, 'especially of gold, silver, or jewels, &c., may hereafter appear, 'which are not included under the foregoing heads, in such 'cases recourse shall be had to the well-founded rule of the old 'Toll Rolls, that the same must always be declared according 'to the true value; and for the same for every 100 marks worth 'shall one schilling toll be paid.'

Sixteen Hamburgh schillings making one mark, the duty thus imposed is in the *ratio* of one-sixteenth per cent *ad valorem;* and this duty is in fact specifically applied to various articles enumerated in the tariff. The clause cited applies the *ad valorem* duty to all unenumerated articles. The tariff comprises twenty different heads or classifications; under one of these heads, entitled 'French and English galanterie wares,' various articles of gold, silver, &c., are specified; and it is with reference to these that the words, 'especially of gold, silver, or jewels,' occur; but the clause is clearly general in its operation, and was evidently designed to comprehend all goods whatever not previously enumerated in the tariff.

We beg particularly to notice the fact, that the principle of one-sixteenth per cent was not introduced for the first time by the tariff of 1692; but that this rate of charge on non-enumerated goods is declared to have been *the well-established rule of the old toll-rolls.* The correctness of this assertion has been tried by the examination of one of these old toll-rolls, dated in the year 1606; which is in every respect an official document, and was

regularly deposited in the Imperial Chancery of the German Empire, at Ratisbon. This old tariff concludes thus :—"Whatsoever else, whether gold or silver, or other merchandise, whereof mention has not been made in this toll-roll, shall pay to the toll one Lubeck schilling for every 100 marks worth of gold and silver, or other such (unmentioned) merchandise.'

After this, can any doubt remain that the rate of one-sixteenth per cent was the ancient recognized basis of the Stade tolls? A comparison of the tariff of 1606 with that of 1692, shows, not only that this was the case, but that, in the latter tariff, the rates are nowhere reduced, but in many instances raised; on account, it may be presumed, of the increasing value of the articles. The *ad valorem* principle of charge, however, was essentially the same in both tariffs.

Not only do the old tariffs limit the rates upon non-enumerated goods to one-sixteenth per cent, but in respect of a very large proportion of enumerated articles, the option is given to the importer, if dissatified with the rates, to produce his invoice, and pay one-sixteenth per cent *ad valorem*. We lay the more stress upon this equitable provision, because it has been seen that the modern tariff has *illegally transferred the option to the custom-house officers alone*—a most dangerous alteration, and one which has led to much of the oppression now sustained by the public at the hands of those functionaries.

The British government maintains against Hanover the validity of the treaty of 1691. It has consequently demanded the restoration of the tariff annexed to that treaty; the re-establishment of the principle of one-sixteenth per cent *ad valorem* as the rule of charge upon non-enumerated goods; and the re-transfer from the custom-house to the merchant of the option in the mode of payment, to which the latter is entitled by ancient usage, and by the treaty. The King of Hanover pointedly refused compliance with these demands; and for some time appeared determined to enforce his present exactions to the full extent. But the question having been brought under the notice of Parliament by Mr Hutt, (whose speeches on this subject, and on the Sound dues, entitle him to the thanks of all interested in British commerce,) a strong expression of opinion went forth from both sides of the House; which so far abated the pertinacity of Hanover, that Lord Palmerston succeeded in inducing the government of that country to consent to a revision of the existing tariff; and it was further agreed that British and Hanoverian Commissioners should meet at Hamburgh, for the purpose of effecting such a revision, and of framing a new tariff suitable to

the present state of commercial intercourse. Accordingly, a mixed Commission was appointed, which met at Hamburgh in the spring of the year 1841.

At the first conference, as we are informed that the British Commissioner, Mr Ward, called upon his Hanoverian colleagues to agree upon a basis upon which their future proceedings should rest; and proposed that the new tariff should be framed upon the basis of one-sixteenth per cent *ad valorem*; that the option as to the mode of payment should be restored to the merchant; that all exactions—such as commission, ships' expenses, &c., not sanctioned by the tariff of 1692—should be entirely abolished; and that no fines should be inflicted but such as were of reasonable amount, and had been previously fixed and notified to the commercial world. The Hanoverian Commissioners not only objected to these proposals, but, strange to say, refused to negotiate upon any given basis whatever; contending that none was necessary beyond that furnished by the tariff of 1821—the table of duties actually in force. Now, waiving the question how far the appointment of a revising Commission was equivalent to an admission by Hanover of the illegality of the present tariff; we can conceive no greater absurdity than to attempt to revise, *item* by *item*, a tariff containing 6688 different duties, without first fixing the principle upon which each particular duty should be subjected to revision. We appeal to common sense whether the object which the two Governments jointly professed to have in view, was likely to be attained by such an attempt? The lives of the Commissioners would scarcely have been long enough to accomplish such a task.

The disagreement of the Hamburgh Commissioners with respect to a basis, brought back the negotiations into the hands of the two Governments. The nature of these negotiations may be pretty correctly ascertained, after perusal of the publications placed at the head of this article. Mr Hutt's pamphlet, and Dr Soetbeer's essay, will enable the reader to understand generally the case of Great Britain; and the 'Reply grounded upon 'Records,' will put him in possession, to a certain extent, of that of Hanover. This Reply is altogether a very singular production. The *naïveté* of its Anglo-German style is amusing; but the author deserves credit for the ingenuity which he has displayed in making the most of a bad case. The following is, we believe, a correct outline of the reasons alleged by Hanover for refusing to admit the *maximum* of one-sixteenth per cent *ad valorem*, established by the treaty of 1691, and for maintaining the legality of the modern tariff of 1821. The validity of these reasons will be estimated by considering *seriatim*

which may, and for aught we know, have been on the part of Great Britain.

tends, in the first place, that Great Britain, not rty to the treaty of 1691, has no right to ap- the validity of that treaty is a question exclu- er and Hamburgh, the representatives of the Britain replies, that she does not affect to ntracting party, but from the knowledge h, one of the parties, and with whose identical, has uniformly regarded it he tariff of 1692, as the basis of a s validity no more than Hanover f 1821, proposed as the Hano- treaty of 1691 is not to be hen, unless some other legal , it follows that British sub- ny thing at all.

s the treaty of 1691, on the ground about by bribery of the Swedish Commis- further, that it has never been acted upon; that Britain has never appealed to it; but, on the contrary, gave her sanction to the present tariff at the Congress of Vienna. Britain answers, that the treaty was formally ratified by both the contracting parties. It received the ratification of Charles XI., King of Sweden, on the 31st October 1691; and on the 15th August 1692, that monarch ordered its promulgation, as a part of the laws of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, of which he was then sovereign. The ratification of the treaty by Hamburgh was published by authority of the Senate on the 26th August 1692; and copies of the treaty, with the tariff annexed, and of the ratifications, were printed in the same year, for public use, both at Hamburgh and at Stade. Even, therefore, if the alleged bribery could be proved, which it has not yet been, it would not in the smallest degree invalidate the treaty; after its formal ratification by the sovereigns of the contracting states. A more dangerous doctrine to the peace of the world can scarcely be conceived, than that it is competent to a power affected by an ancient treaty, to avoid the fulfilment of that treaty, by impugning the means by which it was brought about. History has many strange tales to tell of the ways and means whereby treaties have been negotiated; and if this supposed test were to be generally applied, we fear that sad havoc would be made in the diplomatic relations of Europe. We are sure that no such doctrine will be found in any of the authorities on international law. Vattel, on the contrary, expressly holds, that no treaty can be questioned after the formal ratification of it by the competent

sovereign powers; and that no state is at liberty to repudiate a treaty afterwards, either on the score of being aggrieved by it, or on any other account; for it is proper, he contends, for those who make such engagements to consider well the results before they enter into them. Now, Hanover having succeeded to the rights and obligations of Sweden, as regards the duchies of Bremen and Verden, King Ernest is as much bound by the treaty at this day as King Charles XI. was on the day after his ratification of it.

The same answer is also applicable to the plea of non-user; for, even if the treaty had never been acted on, Hanover would be under an obligation, both moral and legal, to observe it, when called on by the state with whom the contract was made and ratified. But this plea is, we understand, entirely at variance with historical facts; for, if we are not misinformed, there is ample proof on record, that the treaty in question was recognized and appealed to in many instances, by the governments of Sweden and Denmark, whilst they successively held the duchies mentioned, up to the year 1715; and by Hanover herself, after she acquired in that year the possession which was finally confirmed to her by the peace of Stockholm in 1719. These historical instances, coupled with the fact of the city of Hamburgh having, from the date of the treaty down to the present time, constantly invoked it, and protested against its violation, would seem to refute sufficiently the allegation of non-user. The fact is, that the tariff of 1692 was in force when the town of Stade came into the possession of Hanover; and no other tariff was recognised at that period, either by Hanover or any other power.

With respect to the non-interference of Great Britain in times past, we can easily imagine that the accession of the House of Hanover to the British throne, may have made it a delicate matter for a British minister to press upon his sovereign the reduction of this branch of his foreign revenue. According to Horace Walpole, indeed, the duchies of Bremen and Verden were acquired for Hanover by English influence, and with L.150,000 of English gold; but, however this may have been, the inference is unfair, that the silence of the British government in past times, with respect to these tolls, ought to be construed as a sanction of Hanover's present claims. Still less can it be said, that Great Britain, as a party to the Congress of Vienna, confirmed the existing tariff of duties; because it is well known that that tariff was not communicated to any power, or published by Hanover, until the end of the year 1821; so that the British government could not possibly have had any cognizance of it, at the period of the Session of the Congress of Vienna.

But, should these arguments not prevail, Hanover has others

in store; for she claims to enforce the present tariff by virtue of the *privilegium* of the Emperor of Germany in 1259, before alluded to; and in pursuance of guarantees which she professes to find in the treaty of Westphalia, and in the general act of the Congress of Vienna. Lastly, she insists upon her indefeasible right to these duties *as an ancient Sea-Toll.*

The imperial privilege of the year 1259, is thus recited in the semi-official reply to Mr Hutt. 'Omnes mercatores de mari 'venientes cum rebus suis non transeant sed ad civitatem Sta-'densem una cum navibus applicent, et tres aquas ibi jaceant.' In what way this ancient privilege can be connected with the present Tariff, the British Government might well require to be explained, if it were worth while. But the enquiry is scarcely necessary; because the privilege was evidently of the nature of a staple or forced harbour duty, such as anciently existed at Hamburgh, Magdeburgh, and other places on the Elbe, as well as at Cologne, and elsewhere on the Rhine, and other rivers. These forced harbour duties were among the greatest burthens upon trade in the middle ages, and were happily abolished by the 116th article of the general act of the Congress of Vienna. They are consequently now illegal, whether at Stade or at any other place.

To the alleged guarantee by the peace of Westphalia in 1648, Britain replies, that its validity must depend upon the fact, whether or not the Stade toll had a legal existence previous to that year. The Westphalian treaty confirmed all tolls rightfully existing, but it by no means assured doubtful titles; on the contrary, it expressly abolished all tolls and duties which had been established illegally, and without the consent of the Emperor and Electors. It is certain that the tariff of 1821 could not have been so confirmed; because it had no existence in the year 1648. The tariff then in force appears to have been the old toll-roll of 1606; which we have before described as being founded on the principle of one-sixteenth per cent *ad valorem;* and this, if any, must have been the tariff guaranteed by the peace of Westphalia.

But neither, says Britain, has any guarantee been given by the treaty of Vienna; for the Stade duties are either a river-toll, or a sea-toll. If they are a river-toll, they have never been regulated as they ought to have been, by the common consent of the river-bordering states of the Elbe; if they are a sea-toll, the river-bordering states have no power either to regulate or guarantee them; and Hanover can only be entitled to them, in as far as they are sanctioned by treaty, or are levied in return for some corresponding benefit afforded to navigation.

The 108th, and subsequent articles of the Vienna act, provide that the powers whose states are separated or crossed by the same navigable river, shall regulate *by common consent* all that relates to its navigation; and that for such purpose Commissioners shall be appointed by those powers. The river duties are to be placed on a uniform system; and the tariffs and custom-houses regulated in the particular manner which the act has prescribed. Now, it is not pretended that the Stade tolls have yet been subjected to any revision or regulation of this nature. What the Elbe Navigation Commission did at Dresden in June 1821, (as appears by the 15th article of the Act of that Commission,) was to *renounce* or *postpone* discussion with respect to the Stade toll—Denmark and Hamburgh protesting at the same time for their rights according to the treaty of 1691. The river-bordering states left the question open—pending the negotiations which Hanover was directed to commence with Hamburgh and Denmark. These negotiations led to no result; and, in point of fact, the Commissioners of the river-bordering states have never either entered upon an examination of the tariff, (which was not presented to them until six months after their resolution of June 1821,) nor have they fulfilled any of their functions in respect of its regulation. The question has been left *in statu quo*, from the year 1815 down to the present time.*

There is a manifest inconsistency in the Government of Hanover claiming these tolls *under a guarantee of the river-bordering states*, pursuant to the treaty of Vienna; and at the same time maintaining *that they are sea-tolls, over which the river-bordering states of the Elbe had no sort of control.* We think that this is a kind of special pleading of which Great Britain has much reason to complain. Hanover has, of course, the right to shape her own case in the way she finds most conducive to her own object; but that must, indeed, be a bad cause which it is thought necessary to defend by separate pleas altogether inconsistent with each other. The question is, however, quite immaterial to British interests. For it has already been shown, that if the Stade toll be a river-toll, the provisions of the treaty of Vienna remain to be exercised, before any sort of guarantee can be attributed to that

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* The Elbe Navigation Commission has been appointed to meet again at Dresden during the winter of 1841-42. Up to the time of these sheets going to press, we have not received any report of the proceedings of that Commission; but its past history inspires no confidence that the result of its present deliberations, will be of any real utility as regards the reduction of the Stade Tolls.

treaty; and if a sea-toll, the right must depend entirely upon the treaty of 1691; as Hanover never has done any thing for commerce or navigation, entitling her to the smallest remuneration in the shape of a compensating duty. Let the Stade duties be called a sea-toll; and in that case let Hanover, if she can, show any other foundation of right than the treaty of 1691. If she cannot do this, then she is bound to accede to the just and reasonable demand of Great Britain, to reduce the tariff to the basis of one-sixteenth per cent; and to abstain from any longer violating those principles of public law, which have been so well and happily settled among civilized nations.

The merchants of London, of Hull, and of other British ports, have for years past been memorializing the Government, and petitioning Parliament, for the redress of these grievances; but hitherto no relief has been obtained. We are very far from attributing any sort of blame to her Majesty's late Government in this matter; on the contrary, we think the straightforward, uncompromising course taken by Lord Palmerston, was precisely that which a British Minister ought to pursue. The question of international law is most clearly on the side of the merchants; and they are entitled to the protection of their Government against the exactions in which Hanover persists, not only in violation of the first principles of international justice, but in the very face of an existing treaty. Lord Palmerston distinctly and formally notified to the Government of Hanover, that Britain would no longer consent to the continuance of the Stade-tolls, except on the legal basis of one-sixteenth per cent. The present advisers of the Crown have only to follow the road which has thus been opened and made clear for them. Let them abate nothing from Lord Palmerston's conditions of settlement; and the Stade tariff will speedily be placed upon a legal and reasonable footing. This is the first step. Whether it may hereafter be expedient to negotiate a total discontinuance of these tolls in return for an equivalent compensation, is more than can yet be determined; but it is clear that the British Government cannot be a party to any such negotiation, until the tariffs shall first have been placed upon the legal basis, according to which alone any estimate for compensation would be admissible. When the King of Hanover shall have reduced the tolls from L.45,000 to L.5000 per annum, it will be time enough to talk of purchasing an absolute exemption for British commerce—but not till then.

There remains only one consideration to be noticed, to which, in our judgment, not the smallest weight ought to be attached.

It has been thought by some, that the coercion of Hanover in respect of the Stade tariff, would lead to her accession to the German Customs-Union. Now, if it be really the interest of the people of Hanover to accede to that union, it is the duty of the Hanoverian Government to promote the accession; but, if it is not their interest, can it be supposed that that Government will so far outrage its duties as to join the Union, merely upon the supposition that such a proceeding might be prejudicial to British interests on the Continent? In point of fact, we believe it to be a matter of the utmost indifference to the interests of this country, whether Hanover does or does not become a member of the German Zollverein, and we deprecate any meddling in this matter on the part of Britain. Even if it were possible to bring about an arrangement for the perpetuation of the North-Western or Hanoverian Customs-Union, we should dislike exceedingly to see the British Government engaged in such a negotiation. The result would be of small importance in itself, and could not possibly be lasting; for it would be repugnant to the national feelings of all Germany. Let us not be diverted by any such speculations or apprehensions from the real object now in view—which is, to open the navigation of the Elbe to British shipping, by reducing the illegal tolls levied there in the name of the King of Hanover. The abolition of the Stade tolls would make Hamburgh in reality a free port; and would be, under present circumstances, the simplest and surest measure that could be effected for furthering the prosperity of our trade with Germany.

ART. V.—*Moral Philosophy, or the Duties of Man, considered in his Individual, Social, and Domestic Capacities.* By GEORGE COMBE. 12mo. Edinburgh: 1840.

WE beg it may be distinctly understood that in speaking freely of Phrenology, and of Mr Combe as the High Priest of its doctrines, we have not the very slightest intention of treating him disrespectfully as a man, or member of society. On the contrary, we well know and sincerely respect his worth, his abilities, his untiring activity of mind, and his humane and liberal principles. But our regard for the individual must not be allowed to restrain our right of pronouncing judgment, in such terms as we think merited, upon his doctrines—a right, of the exercise of which it would be peculiarly inconsistent and ungraceful in him to complain; seeing no one has ever more largely and

freely exercised it, even with respect to men whom the world generally revere as lights and ornaments of their species.

We must observe further, that it is not our intention, at present, to enter into the general question as to the truth of phrenology. In order to have space sufficient for noticing even a small part of the later exhibitions of the sect, we are obliged to leave them in possession—of course, for argument's sake only—of the whole of their principles. And this we can easily afford to do. Whatever opinion may, at any time, have been entertained by ourselves or others as to the truth of these principles, this we must now say, that viewed, at least, in comparison with the claims and pretensions which have been reared upon them, these principles themselves, and all the arguments by which they have been sought to be established, become downright sober sense—absolute and well-deduced scientific truth. As the amazing absurdity of some of these claims and pretensions could not possibly be heightened by the most direct proof of the falsehood of phrenology, so neither can it be in aught diminished by the admission of its truth. This admission, then, we hypothetically make, in the terms furnished by Mr Combe himself; namely, 'That the brain 'consists of a congeries of organs—that each organ manifests a 'particular mental faculty—and that, other conditions being 'equal, the power of manifesting each faculty bears a proportion 'to the size of its organs.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 6.)

The work, of which the title is prefixed to this article, is such as might claim, both in regard to the occasion of its composition and the circumstances of its publication, an exemption from any very strict criticism—a claim which would undoubtedly be strengthened by the modest estimate, uniformly made by Mr Combe, of his individual pretensions. But if Mr Combe, the man—nay, if Mr Combe, the author—is distinguished for the humility of his bearing, not so, assuredly, is Mr Combe the phrenologist. Reared on the pedestal of his glorious science, Mr Combe looks down, as from a situation of high and commanding authority, on the miserable mortals who yet stand on the depressed level of the old philosophy; and intellectual giants of the mightiest stature shrink before him into the veriest pigmies!—Considering, then, the magnitude of the claims put forth by Mr Combe on behalf of phrenology, we might content ourselves with saying, that it was for him to judge whether such claims should be brought forward at all, until he was in a condition to do them full justice. But we despise to rest on a plea which would be a mere *argumentum ad hominem*. We observe, then, that besides its being stated, in the preface to the present work, that the lectures of which it consists were intend-

ed originally to be, 'though popular in regard to style and illustration,' yet 'systematic in arrangement and extent,' there has been, during the five years that have elapsed since their delivery, abundance of opportunity for revision—opportunity that seems, by different avowals, to have been carefully employed. Under these circumstances, and still more, as we propose to consider this work in connexion with another publication of Mr Combe's, which has now run through several editions,* we conceive ourselves warranted in treating it as a full manifesto of the claims of phrenology to *Ethical discovery*. We do this with the less scruple, from our feeling convinced that the errors and fallacies with which both of these teem, are not attributable, in any considerable degree, to haste or oversight—not to the circumstances *in* which, but to the principles *on* which they are composed—that, namely, of founding a system of ethical truth on data derived from phrenology.

In examining the Phrenological Theory of Morals, we confess we have found ourselves somewhat in the predicament of the Hebrew prophet with the Assyrian monarch's dream: first the dream was to be discovered, and then expounded. And we must say we have found infinitely more difficulty in ascertaining what Mr Combe's theory is, than in forming an estimate of its merits under the most consistent account of it that we are able to give.

Mr Combe's style, so far as regards mere verbal perspicuity, is not liable to exception: that is to say, his combinations of words are, at least, always intelligible. There is no affectation; no flagrant innovation in the use of terms; no attempts to pass off mysticism or obscurity for profundity. Every thing he writes is marked with the most perfect simplicity, both of purpose and of manner. But if there is not a want of meaning, there is often a want of *definite* meaning; and the difficulty thus created is rather increased than diminished by a resort to the means usually found so beneficial in such cases—namely, a reference to the context or scope of the passage. The *paragraph* involves the *sentence* in a cloud; the *section* makes a riddle of the *paragraph*. To describe these works as abounding with logical fallacies almost to an unequalled degree, would be to describe them truly; but it would not express their prevalent character. To say that there is a fallacy, implies that there is the *form* of an apparent argument. But in numerous instances in Mr Combe's writings, where we might suppose his object

* '*Constitution of Man in Relation to External Objects.*'

was to argue a point, there is not even this. His propositions, even if related to one another, are not related to a common purpose; and the difficulty in dealing with him is to know what is the point which he is maintaining.* Many of the leading propositions brought forward in these works are of that vague and indistinct sort, that they may be understood in half-a-dozen different meanings; and the meaning shifts, with or without variation of the expression, according to the purpose for which the proposition is used. A proposition will be stated in one sense; proved, or attempted to be proved, in another; assumed as proved in a third. In the art of assumption, indeed, and in insinuating more than is expressed, Mr Combe is a perfect master; and he not only assumes what he has not proved, but sometimes what he has disproved. or at least disowned. The consequence of all this is, that, though in reading Mr Combe's work, we had seldom occasion to turn back upon a sentence, it is with infinite difficulty that, out of his whole explication, we have been able to frame any thing like a connected abstract of his views; or even to find any individual doctrine presenting such a shape as to fit it for being made a subject of examination. We have been especially puzzled—though we have been provoked to notice these works mainly by the boasts which the phrenologists make of the accessions they are said to have brought to mental and moral science—we have, we say, been especially puzzled how to treat these boasts. Could we find, in the writings of the phrenologists, any difficulty of acknowledged moment even pretended to be solved; any obscurity even sought to be illustrated; any controversy to be settled,—did they offer to show, or could we conceive any possible mode in which their principles could be made subservient to such purposes, we might know how to deal with them. But what is to be done with men, who, while perpetually sounding the greatness of their exploits, or rather talking of such exploits as too notorious and too well recognized to be worth proclaiming—men who habitually compare their pretended new mode of investigation with the processes otherwise universally admitted as legitimate—who do not scruple to represent the 'new 'philosophy' as bearing the same relation to the old, which astronomy, since the days of Copernicus and Newton, bears to the

* As an illustration of our meaning, we would refer to the introductory chapter on the *Constitution of Man*. It presents some very intelligible and even just sentiments; but the difficulty alluded to will be found when we attempt to make out what is the particular idea which they have been brought together to develope.

astronomy of earlier periods—what, we say, is to be done with men, who, holding this language, do not even make a show of approaching any of the real difficulties of the subjects upon which they proclaim themselves to have thrown a flood of light; who do not afford an indication of even knowing what those difficulties are; who scarcely betray an acquaintance with the aims and objects, or only with the most superficial aims and objects, of mental and moral science; and who, in asserting what their 'Science' has accomplished, or is to accomplish, leave us utterly at a loss to discover what they allude to, or where, when, or how, all this has been done, or is to be done. We know of nothing to resemble the position in which an examiner of phrenological pretensions finds himself placed, but the case of the hungry guest, mentioned in the well-known Arabian tale, when his rich host, setting him down to an empty table, proceeded coolly to describe, and press him to partake of, the savoury dishes and rich liquors which were *not* placed before him. But, if we can find literally *nothing* corresponding to the *pretensions* of the phrenologists, let us endeavour to give some account of what we *do find*; and thus ascertain if their science is not worth what *they say*, what it *is* worth.

As Mr Combe's account of the differences of opinion among moral theorists fails to bring out the real points at issue, we must briefly state what those points are.

The general question which forms the subject of a theory of morals, may be taken, as stated by Mr Combe, to be simply this—*what constitutes virtue?* This question, however, has been treated under two different meanings. One class of enquirers have taken it to import—what do the words virtue and vice, right and wrong, *mean?*—or, if these words express ideas too simple to be defined, to what *class* of our mental acts, or states, does the discrimination of right and wrong belong? Thus, although we cannot define *yellow* or *bitter*, we can tell that both are *sensations*; one of sight, the other of taste. We want to know, in like manner, what *right* and *wrong* are. Now, all the accounts that have been given of the nature of the *idea* of right, resolve it ultimately either into a feeling or a judgment; and neither supposition is free from very great difficulty.

That it cannot be a mere judgment of the intellect, seems evident from this, that the perception of a thing's being right, essentially involves a motive to the performance of it. Now, *motive* necessarily implies something *felt*, something desired or disliked, something agreeable or disagreeable—all which is wholly different from what is merely *true* or *false*. But, on the other hand, if the sense of right be a mere *feeling* of any kind, it must, as a

feeling, and consequently as a *motive*, admit of being compared with other feelings; which would destroy the very conception of it;—the motive presented by the sense of right being, in the true apprehension of it, necessarily supreme. If our description of the nature of the idea of virtue, then, does not make it supreme, it cannot be a true description.

Nor will it remove the difficulty to suppose both a feeling and a judgment. If the feeling alone does not distinguish the right, the motive which the feeling supplies is not the sense of right; if the judgment alone does not supply the motive, it does not completely distinguish the right; and the combination of the two evolves no new element.

Such are the difficulties which attend the solution of the question, 'what constitutes virtue,' under one of its meanings.

In the other meaning, enquirers, without seeking to define the idea of virtue, and simply assuming that we have such an idea, ask what quality in actions is it that excites the idea? If truth is right, charity is right, justice is right, we must be sensible of some common quality in all, which is the cause or ground of their being all right. Now, all the solutions given of this question have been liable to one of two objections. Either the ground assigned has not been an *ultimate* ground, or not a *universal* one. The ground assigned by some, of conformity with the divine commands, seems defective in the one way—that of utility, in the other.

These statements will receive incidental illustration as we proceed. At present we wish only to furnish a general idea of the *sort* of difficulties which ethical philosophy presents. These difficulties Mr Combe undertakes to remove by means of phrenology,—by holding, that is to say, 'that the brain consists of a 'congeries of organs—that each organ manifests a particular 'mental faculty—and that, other conditions being equal, the 'power of manifesting each faculty bears a proportion to the 'size of its organs.' This is Mr Combe's postulate, and we, as above stated, concede it; and the theory offered by Mr Combe may be a true, or it may be a false one; but if it is not legitimately deduced from these principles, it is not a theory founded on *phrenology*.

The main ground on which Mr Combe rests the necessity and advantage of phrenology, is frequently described by him in this manner:—Before we can know what conduct it is wise or right for man to pursue, we must know the *constitution* of man, the constitution of external nature, and the relation of the one to the other. The basis of this knowledge must be a true philosophy of mind, and such a philosophy phrenology alone supplies.

Now, admitting that some degree of knowledge of the kind here generally described is necessary, even to enable men to preserve existence at all—admitting that an increase of such knowledge will serve to increase the amount of human virtue and happiness—we entirely deny that a knowledge of our *mental* constitution in particular, is in any considerable degree necessary either for the discovery of human duty, or the furtherance of human welfare. That no knowledge of mind—no minute or scientific knowledge, such as phrenology pretends exclusively to furnish—is required in order to learn either the principle of morality, or its applications, we draw from Mr Combe's admission, that—of the two questions, what actions *are* virtuous, and what *constitutes* them virtuous—the answer to the first is 'fortunately not difficult—'most individuals agree,' &c. Now, if we can discover, as implied here, what *is* virtuous without an exact system of mental philosophy; we can discover *why* it is virtuous;—the answer to the latter question being merely the generalization (however difficult *that* may be) of the answers given, in each particular case, to the first.

But, in the next place, admitting a true philosophy of mind to be thus required—admitting phrenology to be the true philosophy—admitting that previous systems of mental philosophy are true only in so far as they correspond with phrenology,—admitting all this, we say that Mr Combe was bound to show how the *specific or distinguishing* doctrines of phrenology * have contributed to the purpose in question; and this Mr Combe has not done, on any one occasion, or in any one particular, that we have been able to discover.

Waiving this, however, let us see how phrenology can *at all*—simply *as* a system, and whether more or less perfect than other systems—how it can at all be made subservient to the purposes of ethical science.

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* Mr Combe has been pleased to allow that minds of the *very highest* order, under the 'old philosophy,' had made some approximation to the truth as revealed by phrenology. The following passage is, in its way, exquisite—'His' (Dr Thomas Brown's) 'lectures will remain 'a monument of what the human mind was capable of accomplishing, in 'investigating its own constitution by an imperfect method. In proportion as phrenology becomes known, the admiration of his genius will 'increase; for it is the highest praise to say, that in regard to many 'points of great difficulty and importance in the philosophy of mind, he 'has arrived, by his own reflections, at conclusions harmonizing with those obtained by phrenological observation'!!—(*Elements of Phrenology*, 1 ed., p. 70.)

The duty of a man can be performed, we are told, or his highest happiness attained, only by using his *faculties*, according to their adaptations—using them in harmony with one another—using them all without abusing them. Now, how can a man, the phrenologists wisely argue, use his faculties without knowing what those faculties are, their uses, adaptations, relations to one another and to the external world? Herein, then, consists the superiority of the '*new* philosophy' over that now so happily in the way of being superseded, that it gives us, for the first time, an exact list of the various faculties.

'When, therefore, we study the mental organs and their functions, we go directly to the fountain-head of true knowledge regarding the natural qualities of the human mind. Whatever we shall ascertain to be written in them, is doctrine imprinted by the finger of God himself. If we are certain that these organs were constituted by the Creator, we may rest assured that they have all a legitimate sphere of action. Our first step is to discover this sphere, and to draw a broad line of distinction between it and the sphere of their abuses; and *here the superiority of our method over that of philosophers, who studied only their own consciousness and the actions of men, becomes apparent.* They confounded abuses with uses; and because man is liable to abuse his faculties, they draw the conclusion, prematurely and unwarrantably, that his whole nature is in itself evil.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 7.*)

Now, all these representations, so frequently brought forward by Mr Combe, as to the necessity of a knowledge of our faculties, their uses, adaptations, and so forth, have a show of novelty, and look extremely well, as the phrase is, *upon paper*. Any one who will take the trouble to consider them, will find that they are altogether founded on false analogies. But we shall content ourselves with showing that, in the actual explanations furnished by Mr Combe himself, of the manner in which we distinguish virtue from vice, these representations are fairly thrown overboard—that the determination of right and wrong, according to his own description of the mode of such determination, supposes no knowledge whatever of the faculties employed; and that Mr Combe's favourite position turns out to be (as might be expected) an inversion of the natural order of our judgments;—that is, that, instead of our actions being right or wrong *because* the faculties are used or abused, the faculties can only be said to be used or abused because the action is right or wrong.

'In my last lecture, I endeavoured to point out the foundations on which moral philosophy, inferred from the constitution of nature, rests.

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* We were not aware before that *all* the philosophers who studied 'only their own consciousness and the actions of men,' drew the conclusion that man's whole nature is in itself evil.

The mental organs and faculties being the gift of God, each has a legitimate use and sphere of activity, though liable to be abused; and the rule for discriminating between uses and abuses is, that every act is morally *right* which is approved of by the moral sentiments of Benevolence, Conscientiousness, and Veneration, operating along with enlightened intellect; while all actions disapproved of by these faculties are *wrong*. Such is the *internal* guide to morality with which man has been furnished.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 29.)

Here the employment of a *faculty*, whether it is used or abused, is spoken of as synonymous with *act* or *action*; the *use* of a faculty as synonymous with a *right*—the *abuse* of it, with a wrong action. If the action—no matter what faculty it is an exercise of—if the action is approved by Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness, then the action is right. A common test thus applies to all the faculties—a test not operating in respect of any specific peculiarities in the nature of one faculty or of another. All this will yet appear more strongly. At present let us examine the merits of the theory itself, simply as presented.

Those who will set themselves to consider in what sense an action, or the use of a faculty, can be said to be *approved* by Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness, will find this not so easy a matter to determine as may at first sight appear. Mr Combe has warranted us to ascribe to the expression two different, though not very reconcilable meanings. According to the first of these, an action approved by Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness, is an action which those feelings impel us to perform. Now, in the first place, it seems a little strange to be told, along with this, that each of these faculties is itself just as liable to be abused as any of those whose use or abuse it indicates. 'Any one moral sentiment, acting by itself, 'may run into excess. Benevolence, for instance, may instigate 'to Generosity at the expense of Justice; Veneration may 'prompt a person to run after sermons abroad, when he should 'be discharging his domestic duties, or instructing his children 'at home—which actions also are abuses.'* Here then is a puzzle—*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* Or if each of these, or, at all events, the one faculty of Conscientiousness, seems able to distinguish the use or abuse of the other two, why may it not do the same office, singly, with any of the whole thirty-two? and in what respect, then, are Benevolence and Veneration distinguished from the common herd?

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* *Const. of Man*, chap. ii. § 4. See also p. 46, *Mor. Phil.*, where is a case of a man's doing wrong by following the impulse of *two* out of the three guides.

But, further, in the sense in which Benevolence and Veneration are spoken of as *approving*, there seems to be no reason for saying that one faculty approves more than another. In the same way in which Benevolence approves of giving alms to a beggar, Destructiveness approves of knocking him down. Different men, then, will *approve* of different actions, just according to the relative size of their organs. All this accordingly seems to be expressly admitted by Mr Combe:—

'We meet with some individuals in whom the organs of the selfish propensities are too large, and the moral organs deficient; these are the morally blind. We see individuals who, with moderate organs of the propensities, have received large organs of Benevolence and Veneration, but deficient organs of Conscientiousness: these have a moral squint. But we meet also with innumerable persons in whom the organs of the propensities are moderate, and the moral and intellectual organs well developed; who thereby enjoy the natural elements of a sound moral vision; and who need only culture and information to lead them to moral truths as sound, certain, and applicable to practice, as the conclusions of the optician himself.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, pp. 9, 10.)

And again:—

'Phrenology shows that different individuals possess the faculties in very different degrees: I do not mean therefore to say that in each individual, whatever the proportion of his organs may be, the dictates of his moral and intellectual powers are rules of conduct not to be disputed. On the contrary, in most individuals one or several of the moral or intellectual organs are so deficient in size, in proportion to the organs of the propensities, that their individual perceptions of duty will be far short of the highest standard. The dictates of the moral and intellectual powers, therefore, which constitute rules of conduct, are the collective dicta of the highest minds illuminated by the greatest knowledge.'—(*Const. of Man*, chap. ii. § 4.)

A sound moral judgment, then, is the judgment of a man with a properly shaped head;* but who is the judge of a properly shaped head, or what is the principle of judging? What right

* Hence is derived a very satisfactory explanation of the *variety* of *theories* of morals that have been formed. 'The idea of resolving morality into intellectual perceptions of utility, into obedience to the will of God, or into any other single principle, has arisen, probably, from the organ of the mental faculty on which that one principle depends, having been largest in the brain of the author of the theory; in consequence of which he felt most strongly the particular emotion which he selected as its foundation.'—(*Mor. Phil*, p. 25.) Upon this principle, would it not have been necessary, in order to satisfy Mr Combe's readers of *his* competency to propound a just theory of morals, that they should possess a certified description of his head, with relative measurements? We

has he of the six inch conscience, to say to him of the four and three quarters, my head is better shaped than thine? What right has the man whose large Conscientiousness and Veneration lead him to build churches and distribute tracts, to say to him who, bountifully provided with Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, and Secretiveness, exercises himself in picking pockets and forging notes, *my* predominant organs are the ones entitled to supremacy, *yours* are not so? We desire to know on what *phrenological* data Mr Combe grounds the superiority of Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness? It is very easy to say, these are the higher—the ruling faculties. But why? Have *these organs* any visible or tangible mark of authority? We further desire to know, what is the *criterion* of their *due relative proportion*, in point of size?

To these questions we can find no reply but what is contained in the following passage:—

'In surveying the moral and religious codes of different nations, and the moral and religious opinions of different philosophers, every reflecting mind must have been struck with their diversity. Phrenology, by demonstrating the differences of combination of the faculties, enables us to account for these varieties of sentiment. The code of morality framed by a legislator, in whom the animal propensities were strong, and the moral sentiments weak, would be very different from one instituted by another lawgiver, in whom this combination was reversed. In like manner, a system of religion, founded by an individual in whom Destructiveness, Wonder, and Cautiousness were very large, and Veneration, Benevolence, and Conscientiousness deficient, would present views of the Supreme Being widely dissimilar to those which would be promulgated by a person in whom the last three faculties and intellect decidedly predominated. Phrenology shows that the particular code of morality and religion which is most completely in harmony with the whole faculties of the individual, will necessarily appear to him to be the best, while he refers only to the dictates of his individual mind as the standard of right and wrong. But if we are able to show, that the whole scheme of external creation is arranged in harmony with certain principles, in preference to others, so that enjoyment flows upon the individual from without when his conduct is in conformity with them, and that evil overtakes him when he departs from them, we shall then obviously prove that the former is the morality and religion established by the Creator, and that individual men, who support different codes, must necessarily be deluded by imperfections in their own minds. That constitution of mind, also, may be pronounced to be the best, which harmonizes most completely with the morality and religion established by the Creator's ar-

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would suggest, also, that a standard skull should be deposited in some public place, by which to test the sufficiency of all persons pretending to offer theories of morals.

rangements. In this view, morality becomes a science, and departures from its dictates may be demonstrated as practical follies, injurious to the real interest and happiness of the individual, just as errors in logic are capable of refutation to the satisfaction of the understanding.'—(*Const. of Man*, chap. v. § 3.)

The process, then, of determining what is virtue, is this:—First, find what sort of conduct it is, under which 'enjoyment 'flows upon an individual;' and what sort of conduct it is, under which 'evil overtakes him;' then find a man who approves of the one sort of conduct, and disapproves of the other. Such a man's skull is rightly shaped, because he approves of this conduct; and this conduct is right, because approved by a man with a rightly shaped skull.

Such is the phrenological theory under *one* of the senses in which an action is said to be *approved* by Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness. The other sense will appear from the following passage:—

'We are now able to understand the origin of the various theories of the foundation of virtue to which I alluded at the commencement of this lecture, and which have been the themes of so much discussion among philosophers. Most of the authors whom I have quoted, recognise one of these three great foundations of virtue. According to them, first, all actions are virtuous which *tend to promote the happiness of sentient and intelligent beings*, and they are virtuous because they possess this tendency; secondly, all actions are virtuous which are *conformable to the will of God*, and they are so for this reason, and no other; thirdly, all actions are virtuous which are *in conformity with the dictates of our moral sense or moral faculty*, which conformity is the sole characteristic of virtue. The partisans of each of these foundations of virtue, have denied the reality or sufficiency of the other foundations. These differences of opinion may be thus accounted for.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 21.)

The differences are accounted for, simply by observing that the partisans of each opinion were right in what they affirmed, wrong in what they denied; each of the three foundations of virtue named, being a real foundation, but not the only one; the characteristic of a virtuous action, according to Mr Combe, being the possession of these three qualities at once.

Here, then, Mr Combe gives up the last vestige of a pretence, that any knowledge of the *faculties* employed in the performance of an action, is necessary to enable the agent to determine the morality of the action;—that pretence on which, as we have seen, he had grounded the special excellence of phrenology. Surely a man requires no knowledge of his faculties, to know whether an action does good or evil. Whether it does good or evil, or whether it is according to the divine law or not, are *external facts*,

not varying in any degree with the faculties of the individual, or any thing in their nature. So, to know whether it is approved by conscience or not, is matter of immediate feeling.

Had it not been, however, that we were desirous to show the utter futility of phrenology for any purpose whatever connected with ethics, we might have saved the maintaining of this point; because, even granting the use of phrenology in the way Mr Combe urges, that use would relate, not to the *principle* of morals, but its *application*—two things which he wholly confounds. Immediately after giving us to understand, at the outset of his explication, that virtue consists in acting according to the adaptations of our constitution, we find him observing, that man is 'endowed with reason qualifying him to discover 'both the adaptations themselves, and the consequences of 'acting in conformity with, or in opposition to them. Hence, 'in order to determine, by the light of reason, what constitutes 'one active, virtuous, or vicious, he must become acquainted 'with his bodily and mental constitution and their relations,' —which is much the same as if one should say—honesty consists in paying one's debts; hence, in order to know what constitutes honesty, we must know what a man's debts are. Rightly stated, Mr Combe's syllogism, demonstrating the morality of particular actions, would stand thus:—Virtue consists in using our faculties according to their adaptations: such an action is an abuse of such a faculty: therefore, such an action is vicious. Now, the use of phrenology, as we have found that use described, would at most be, to prove the *minor*—that is, to tell what *is* virtue; a question which Mr Combe himself *admits to be one of no difficulty*. His business was, to tell what *constitutes* virtue—in other words, to establish the *major* proposition. Now, the principle contained in that proposition we have found resolved by Mr Combe into this, that virtue consists in doing what is at once useful, commanded by God, and approved by conscience. Let us see how phrenology helps to establish *this* principle.

Mr Combe plainly admits, in the extracts above given, that each of the three foundations of virtue which he particularizes, had already been assigned by different philosophers (owing to the different shape of their respective skulls) as the *sole* foundation of virtue; so that, all that phrenology can claim, even on Mr Combe's own showing, is the glory of putting these three systems together. But in what possible way, we beg to ask, can phrenology have effected this very important step in science? —(its importance we shall yet have an opportunity of estimating) —how does phrenology make it appear that, to constitute an

action virtuous, it must needs possess all these three qualities? Mr Combe, we believe, would answer, that phrenology has, for the first time, satisfactorily established the *existence* of the three faculties of Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness. Thus—'Phrenology enables us to prove that conscientiousness 'is not a factitious sentiment, reared up in society, as many 'moral philosophers and metaphysicians have taught, but a pri-'mitive *power*, having its specific *organ*,' (*Mor. Phil.*, p. 172.) But, with the leave of the phrenologists, before we can assign a certain *organ* to a certain *faculty*, we must know that the faculty *exists*; and how can the faculty be shown to exist, but by observation and consciousness? Either the faculty is proved to exist by those means, or it is not. If it *is*, what more have we to learn from phrenology?—if it *is not*, how can it be said that such an organ is always found in connexion with a faculty, the *existence* of which is not proved? A man who denies the existence of conscience, may be right, or he may be wrong; but if he does deny it, how can you meet his denial but by arguments derived from consciousness or observation? *

But it is not enough to show the mere *existence* of the three faculties which the phrenologists call the moral faculties; we must be shown what right they have to rule the others. How is this done? Let us see—

'These emotions are *felt* to have a commanding authority con-'ferred on them; so that whatever actions they denounce as dis-'agreeable to them are *felt* to be wrong, and whatever actions 'they feel to be agreeable, are pronounced to be right; *and we* '*can give no other account of the order of our nature, except that* '*it has pleased God so to constitute us.*'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 19.)

Here then is the truth of the very proposition which contains Mr Combe's theory of ethics,†—that theory which solely, from its being founded on phrenological principles, is to solve all the difficulties of the science—here, we say, is the truth of the proposition containing this theory, vested on evidence perfectly distinct from any that phrenology could afford, (supposing the alleged *facts* of

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* And here let us ask, by the way,—Is Mr Combe prepared to demonstrate, that even if a power or disposition were always found to be accompanied by an external protuberance on the skull, that power or disposition must *therefore* be a *simple* and original one?

† We do not discuss the *truth* of this position. In general, we have not wished to go deeper into the subject than the character of Mr Combe's speculations led us. To test such a theory by considerations of a profounder kind, would have been much the same as running out some hundred fathoms of line to sound the Thames at London Bridge.

the science to be established)—evidence perfectly unconnected with phrenology—evidence which phrenologists speak of with contempt—that, namely, of *inward feeling* or *consciousness!* We believe such an instance of simplicity could not be paralleled. But the best of the reasoning still remains—namely, that these three faculties, the supremacy of which, we are told, *every man intuitively feels*, are faculties, the very *existence* of which, according to Mr Combe's own account, was, thirty years ago, only matter of conjecture!

And thus, too, are we at length made to perceive the principle on which the *use* of phrenology, as an instrument of discovery, is to be estimated. Phrenology shows (allowing this) that a certain organ is attached to a certain faculty; *i. e. after* the existence of the faculty is known by means of consciousness and observation. By virtue of this, phrenology is to be held as having first established the *existence* of the faculty; and not only this, but the faculty being now, by the right of discovery, the property of phrenology, all that has ever been, or ever may be, and by any means whatever, known regarding that faculty, or any thing with which it is connected, is to be forthwith set down to account of phrenology!

Let not, however, the phrenologists suppose that we do them or their science a prejudice, by denying them the merit of discovering this theory. We think we shall show them good ground for rejoicing at being fairly rid of it. We are, indeed, truly at a loss to say whether the theory itself, or the pretensions to the discovery of it made in behalf of phrenology, is the more absurd.

In constructing his ethical system, Mr Combe seems to have acted on the same principle as one who, possessing three garments, each somewhat deficient in integrity, should wisely resolve to join the three together, in order that the whole parts of the one might cover the rents in another. The purpose might succeed or it might not; but the threefold habiliment would hardly prove a very elegant or commodious one.

If the object of a theory of morals were merely to supply a safe guide to moral practice, we must own that Mr Combe's could not very reasonably be complained of; for certainly if an action, at one and the same time, promotes happiness, is agreeable to the laws of God, and approved by conscience—ignorance and error being in each case supposed excluded, (which is the meaning of the agent's being, in phrenological phrase, under the guidance of 'enlightened intellect,')—such an action may, we think, be very safely considered as having its morality completely established.

But if to furnish a theory of morals means to assign the simplest and most elementary principle to which all our moral judg-

ments may be reduced, then we think Mr Combe's theory will be liable to some objections.

In the first place, we should ask, are there any actions commanded in the divine law which are *not* beneficial or *not* approved by conscience? If there *are*, then we should be wrong in performing such actions, because they do not fulfil all the conditions required to constitute a virtuous action; if there are *not*, what is the use of any further criterion of virtue than simple obedience to the divine law? A similar question may be asked as regards conscience. Are there any actions approved by an enlightened conscience which are *not* beneficial, *not* agreeable to the divine law? A similar dilemma ensues according to the answer.

In the following passage, having a reference to this point, it is evident that, in addition to other perplexities, Mr Combe confounds a true *theoretical principle* with a safe *practical rule*:— 'When one of these faculties acts independently of the other, it 'does not *necessarily* err, but it is more liable to do so than when 'all operate in concert. This is the reason that any theory of 'morals, founded on only one of them, is generally imperfect or 'unsound.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 25.)

But besides—the divine law itself is said to be *good;* an affirmation which would be unmeaning, did we conceive the divine law to be itself an ultimate standard. What quality then is it, in all the actions commanded by the divine law, on account of their possessing which we call that law good? If it is their *utility*, then Mr Combe's second criterion of virtue is the same as his first; if it is their *being agreeable to conscience*, the same as his third. If neither, it is not specified at all.

In regard to Mr Combe's third criterion of a virtuous action, that it should be agreeable to conscience—we beg to ask, when he proposed the question, what constitutes *virtue?*—what other meaning the word *virtue* bears in the question than *what is agreeable to conscience?* To ask what makes an action a virtuous one, and what makes it approved by conscience, is evidently the same question.

Such is the way in which Mr Combe illustrates his notion of 'unravelling the Gordian knot of ethics, which at present 'appears so straitly drawn and so deeply entangled.' Such is his revelation of 'principles and relations resembling, in their 'order, beauty, and wisdom, the works of the Deity in other de-'partments of nature.'—(*Moral Phil.*, p. 7.) Such is the way in which 'the principles of phrenology, if sound, enable us to 'account for the barren condition of moral philosophy as a 'science. The numerous errors, the confusion and contradiction 'of previous moralists, are to be ascribed to their having no stable

'philosophy of mind.'—(p. 16.) Such is the 'intelligible foundation' which, 'these points being assumed,' (the doctrines of phrenology,) 'is laid for ethical science.'—(p. 17.) Yet Mr Combe cannot conceal from himself, that these lucid speculations must fail of receiving their due glory where the principles of phrenology are unacknowledged. 'To those individuals who have 'not seen sufficient evidence of the truth of these positions, I 'shall appear to stand in a condition of helplessness, equal to 'that of all my predecessors, whose conflicting opinions I have 'cited.'—(p. 6.) Thus meekly does Mr Combe resign himself to the thought of being reckoned *as helpless* as Cudworth, and Clarke, and Hume, and Smith, and Reid, and Stewart, and Brown!

Mr Combe having thus successfully explained, on phrenological principles, what *constitutes* virtue, next proceeds to enquire whether any *external sanctions* have been provided for the encouragement of virtue and repression of vice. 'All are agreed,' he observes, 'that rewards and punishments have been established 'by God, but as to the *extent*, *manner*, and *time* of dispensing 'them, very different opinions exist.' In considering the opinion, that rewards and punishments are reserved for a future state of being, Mr Combe has presented us with some curious reasonings. Of this opinion, he, with his usual exactness of apprehension, regards it as an essential element, that it supposes God to have specifically revealed every duty which he requires man to perform: now, the Bible does not contain a perfectly complete system of moral direction. This is the *first* objection to a future state of rewards and punishments. Why man might not be judged by his natural sense of right and wrong, or by the revealed commands of the Deity, so far as these go, Mr Combe has not thought fit to tell us.

'A second objection to the theory in question is this,—it im-'plies that God exercises very little temporal authority in the 'government of this world, reserving his punishments and re-'wards chiefly for a future life.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 33.)

In the next page we are told—'It is important to establish 'the reality and efficiency of the divine government in this world, 'because a plausible argument has been reared on the contrary 'doctrine, to the effect that there can be *no* reward and punish-'ment *at all*, if none are administered in this life. The line of rea-'soning by which this view is supported, is the following:—We 'can judge of God, it is said, only from his works. His works in 'this world are all that we are acquainted with: if, therefore, in this 'life, we find that virtue goes unrewarded, and that vice triumphs, 'the legitimate inference is, that it will always be so.'—(p. 34.)

'It will serve the cause of moral science,' adds Mr Combe immediately after, 'to present a valid answer to these objections; and 'the most satisfactory to my mind would be, one which should 'show that the Divine Ruler actually does execute justice here, 'and that therefore we are entitled to infer that he will be just 'hereafter; and such, accordingly, is the argument which I re-'spectfully propose to maintain.' That is to say—that the Divine Ruler actually *does* execute justice here, and that therefore we are entitled to infer that he will be just also hereafter; which last supposition again 'implies, that God exercises very little tempo-'ral authority in the government of the world;' *i. e.* that he does *not* execute justice here. Thus, by legitimate reasoning from a certain premise, is established the contrary of the premise itself —a process in Logic, which it was reserved for the 'new philo-'sophy' to bring to light.

Having thus established the importance of proving that there *is* justice here, in order thence to prove that there is hereafter, whence again it is proved that there is *not* justice here; Mr Combe proceeds to furnish us with what he regards as 'the right 'clew to the moral government of the world'—the nature of which may be thus explained. Man is placed at once under the dominion of three different species of laws—the physical, the organic, and the moral laws. Each species has its own rewards and punishments annexed to it. Obedience to one class of laws will not save a man from the punishment of disobeying another class; nor will disobedience of one class deprive him of the rewards annexed to the obedience of another class. However virtuous a man may be, if he neglect the physical and organic laws, he will be visited with bodily injury or suffering; however wicked he may be, he will, by attending to the physical and organic laws, preserve himself in health and safety.

Well—but how does all this show, otherwise than as part of the *general* assertion, that there are *external* sanctions to the *moral* laws? There are punishments for violating the physical laws *as such*—punishments for violating the organic laws *as such;* and quite irrespectively, as Mr Combe himself studiously maintains, of a man's moral conduct. What connexion, then, have the sanctions of these laws with the moral law, to which our question exclusively related? Of two men who both observe the physical and organic laws, one is eminently virtuous, the other flagrantly wicked. Both are alike rewarded for their obedience to the physical and organic law. Where, then, is the virtuous man's *external* reward for his obedience to the *moral* law as such—the wicked man's *external* punishment for his disobedience of the moral law as such? This is the sole question.

If Mr Combe had been able to show just the very contrary of what he maintains—if he had been able to show that an attention to the moral law can procure some remission of the, otherwise, just punishment incurred by the neglect of the physical and organic laws—that disobedience of the moral law could make one incur the forfeiture of the, otherwise, due rewards of obedience to the physical and organic laws—*that* would have been something to the purpose; *that* would have been showing the existence of external sanctions to virtue; but this, as has been seen, is just the contrary of what Mr Combe has done.

When Mr Combe then asserts, *in general*, that each of the different species of laws has its own sanctions, our sole concern is, what are the *particular* sanctions of the *moral* law? This, we repeat, is the sole question. What sanctions, then, does Mr Combe show? The pleasure and pains of conscience—the love and good offices of our fellow-men on the one hand; their hatred, and perhaps vengeance, on the other. But whoever required to be told that virtue had, at least, these encouragements, vice these restraints? Or, if the existence of *such* encouragements and restraints, to the degree in which they do exist, could ever have fulfilled the notion of a moral retribution, how could the question regarding such retribution ever have been started?

Take that case which perhaps reaches the summit of human wickedness—the case of the slave-trader. Conceive—what may really take place—the opulent proprietor of the slave-ship enjoying, in some delicious clime, all the luxuries which the world can afford. These luxuries are purchased by the cruelest agonies, bodily and mental, of thousands of his fellow-creatures, and the uttermost moral debasement of the agents whom he must needs employ in the perpetration of this foul villany. Where is the punishment, in this world, of such atrocity? The reproaches of his conscience? His conscience indeed! Such are the reproaches of the epicure's conscience for the sufferings of the lamb on which he has dined. We fear that the conscience which permits systematic crime, will deal leniently with the criminal during and after commission. A punishing conscience is a restraining conscience. But then there is the vengeance and hatred of his fellow-men. Their vengeance—in the only form in which it can reach him—he escapes, perhaps by burying his victims and their wrongs in the deep. Their hatred—whose hatred?—that of the persons around him? He is courted, applauded, perhaps sincerely loved by them. His conduct towards them may be unexceptionable, nay laudable; and we know that, if a man behaves well to his *class*, he may, for them, behave as he pleases thers. Whose hatred then? An assemblage of philanthro-

pists at Exeter Hall—for whom he cares nothing—of whom, perhaps, he never heard. Yet this man, by observing the physical and organic laws, may preserve himself in ease, and health, and comfort: by the exercise of a judicious personal moderation, he may extract the last sip of enjoyment from every source of pleasure which the world can supply. While thousands of his victims are chained down in the most unnatural and painful positions, he, obeying the natural law which imposes the use of exercise, is reaping the reward of this obedience; while they are suffocated with the foul air in the vessel's hold, he obeys the natural law which requires free ventilation. And all this Mr Combe speaks of as happening under a moral government exercised here! Why, the very circumstance that a man may, by observing the physical and organic laws, preserve *himself* in ease and enjoyment, while in the practice of the most flagrant cruelty and wrong to others—this very circumstance, we say, instead of being regarded as a proof of the Divine Justice, is generally felt, and not unfairly felt, to aggravate the complaint of the want of it. The punishment which is represented as befalling an agent under the physical and organic laws, is necessarily punishment for the neglect of those laws as regards himself. It cannot be for neglect or violation as regards others; for they, in that case, pay the penalty. Now, we apprehend, it never made any part of the complaint against the Divine Justice, that man is not sufficiently punished for inattention to self.

In saying then, which we do, that Mr Combe furnishes no answer at all to the question proposed by him, we do not speak figuratively, as implying that the answer is imperfect or unsatisfactory. We say, in the most literal and naked sense of the term, that it is no answer. It does not meet the question—nay, it does not move in the direction of it. It is giving us a stone when we ask for bread. We enquire the price of stocks, and he tells us the hour of the day.

Another fallacy, however, of which Mr Combe occasionally avails himself, in trying to prove the existence of external sanctions to virtue, is that of confounding the consequences of the agent's virtuous conduct to *himself*, with the consequences of that conduct to the community or species of which he is a member. This fallacy is introduced in the assertion, often made by Mr Combe, that 'the world is constituted on the principle of the 'supremacy of the moral sentiments, and intellect.' Now, if this means that the external prosperity of the agent will always be most effectually promoted by virtuous conduct, or *vice versa*, it is notoriously not true. If it means that the general advantage will be thus promoted, then we say we should like to know how

a world under fixed laws of any kind (and without fixed laws there could be no scope either for wisdom or virtue) *could* be constituted otherwise. The conduct that is good and wise under one constitution, might be wrong and foolish under another; but a constitution where wisdom and virtue would not be advantageous, either to the agent himself, or the species to which he belongs, is impossible—for this reason, that conduct which would not be advantageous, would, on that very account, *cease* to be wisdom or virtue. But to include the advantage which the virtues of individuals, by the very nature of virtue, bring to the species, among the *sanctions* of virtue, is obviously away from the question.

In Mr Combe's speculations on the subject of the divine government of the world, we distinguish two propositions maintained by him—*first*, that sanctions, in the shape of physical good or evil, are attached to the moral law; and *secondly*, that all physical good and evil are the sanctions, if not of the *moral*, of some other laws; in other words, that whatever good is enjoyed by men, is owing to their obedience of some law—whatever evil is suffered, to the disobedience of some law. Of the manner in which this position is maintained, the following is a specimen:—

'The *laws* which regulate the action of inanimate matter operate purely as *physical* influences, independently of the moral or religious character of those whom they affect. If six persons be travelling in a coach, and if it break down through insufficiency of the axle or any similar cause, they will be projected against external objects, according to the impetus communicated to their bodies by the previous motion of the vehicle, exactly as if they had been inanimate substances of the same texture and materials. Their vices or their virtues will not modify the physical influences that impel or resist them. The cause of the accident is simply physical imperfection in the vehicle, and not the displeasure of God against the individual men who occupy it on account of their sins. If one break a leg, another an arm, a third his neck, and a fourth escape unhurt, the difference of result is to be ascribed solely to the difference of the mechanical action of the coach on their bodies, according to their differences of size, weight, and position, or to difference in the objects against which they are projected; one falling against a stone, and another perhaps alighting on turf.

'The whole calamity in such a case is to be viewed simply as a punishment for not attending to the physical laws; in other words, for neglecting to have a coach sufficiently strong; and it serves to render men who have the charge of coaches more attentive to their duty in future.' —(*Mor. Phil.*, pp. 35, 36.)

A coach proprietor, to save five shillings, hires out an insecure vehicle, by the breaking down of which, 'one breaks

'a leg—another an arm—and a third his neck;' and this, we are gravely told, 'is to be viewed simply as a punishment 'for not attending to the physical laws—and serves' (we wish it would even do this) 'to render *men who have the charge of 'coaches more attentive in future*.' The concluding remark is an instance of the absolute innocence with which Mr Combe sometimes exposes the utter absurdity of his own positions. 'The 'common sense of mankind has led them to recognize this prin-'ciple in their laws; for, in most civilized countries, the proprie-'tors of public conveyances are held answerable for damage occa-'sioned by their insufficiency.' And this is the remark coolly made in regard to a case, in which the severe misfortunes, *not* of the person whom the 'common sense of mankind holds liable,' but of other and different, and perfectly innocent persons, is represented as the just punishment of *his* neglect of the physical laws!

It is due to Mr Combe to say, however, that he anticipates the objection which may be made to this explanation; but how does he obviate it?—first, by telling us that 'we avail ourselves of the 'good qualities of our fellow-men, and we must suffer from their 'defects, when, without due regard to their qualifications, we en-'trust our interests or safety to their care.'—(P. 37.) And otherwise, by showing that each member of the human species has, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, some degree of influence on the conduct of other men; and thus becomes, to some extent, responsible for their conduct, and justly liable to be affected by it. Thus, if a person travelling from Inverness to London gets his leg broken through the gross negligence of a coach-proprietor at Barnet, he is to be told that the misfortune is a punishment; first, for his not making himself sufficiently acquainted with the characters of all the coach-proprietors from one end of the kingdom to the other; and secondly, of his not having duly exerted himself for the repression of crime among mankind in general.

That, in any such cases, a particular individual is utterly without the means of knowing the physical or organic law, or utterly without the power of obeying it—that one individual breaks the law, and profits by the breach, while another pays the penalty—all this goes for nothing. It is enough for Mr Combe to say—where an evil is suffered, there has been a law broken; though even this, of course, is more than could always be proved. In short, his doctrine comes to this, that if all men, and every man, possessed all the knowledge and all the wisdom, and acted with all the prudence and all the virtue, which, in reference to the extent of the human faculties, and the circumstanees of the human condition, is *simply possible*—then all, or the greater part of human misery could disappear; and that, until this consummation is

arrived at, every evil that a man suffers is a just punishment for the collective ignorance, folly, and vice, of the species—no matter how far he, as an individual, is chargeable with any part of it. If he has been a good man himself, he will have a quiet conscience. This is his reward, and let him content himself with it.

But, independently of its being altogether untrue, that the good or evil that befalls an individual is always, or even generally, the result of his own conduct—the only sense in which such good or evil could be said to take place in the administration of a moral government, or answer the purposes of one—Mr Combe's whole notion of the physical and organic laws being laws to which men, as voluntary agents, are subjected under certain penalties, is essentially erroneous; and proceeds on an obvious confusion of two different meanings of the term *laws*. A law of nature, is not a precept, but a fact. A slater, by carelessness, falls from the roof of a house, and breaks his leg. Behold, says Mr Combe, the punishment of a violation of the natural laws! But what law, we pray, does the slater violate? the law of gravity?—the law of gravity is the mere enunciation of the fact, that all heavy bodies descend. The body of the slater does so accordingly. In what possible way, then, can it be said that he violates this law? But is he not, it will be said, guilty of neglecting this *fact*, or general truth, and is not the broken leg a punishment of this neglect? We answer, it may, in loose phraseology, be called so, and practically it may serve the purpose of a punishment; but it is not a punishment in the sense that would render it a proof or instance of a moral government;—that is, a punishment positively annexed to a fault; and for this reason, that the fault, instead of being the ground of the punishment, pre-supposes its existence. One evil may be inflicted to deter us from an act that would create another evil; but if all evils are punishments, the case must come to be the same as if the government of any country were to cause pits to be dug in the highway, in order that the damage which travellers might suffer from falling in, might induce them to be on their guard against falling in.

But besides, for any purpose of warning or punishment, the pain inflicted under the natural laws would often be excessive. Mr Combe seems to argue (*Const. of Man*, chap. vi. § 2,) that nothing less than the torture of a broken leg would induce men to keep whole limbs. Now, by the dread of what punishment is it that men are induced to keep the legs of their chairs and tables sound? By the dread of losing the use of these articles for half a day, and paying a shilling to a joiner. Now we think a broken leg, even without pain, as *inconvenient* as a broken chair; and the surgeon's bill is generally as serious an affair as the joiner's.

Let it not be supposed that we are impugning either the justice or the benevolence of the Deity in inflicting those pains. Mr Combe elsewhere suggests, what appears, so far as human view can reach, the real vindication of such; namely, that they are the *necessary* consequences of the combined action of laws, *on the whole* beneficial. Thus, the pain of a broken leg is the joint effect of the law of gravity and the law of animal sensibility; both of which are eminently useful, or rather indispensable. Now this, which we believe to be the just view of human suffering, absolutely negatives the other; for, if suffering be a necessary and partial consequence of a law intended only to give pleasure, how can it be said to be a *punishment*, or a warning, which implies the intentional infliction of pain?

Behold, then, the principles on which Mr Combe makes up his theory of the sanctions of morality:—First, by a confusion of two different meanings of the word *law*, he brings man under the dominion of two different species of laws, in addition to the moral law—namely, the physical and organic laws; then, by a liberty of speech, he makes out that *these* laws have rewards and punishments annexed to them, no matter though such often fall on the wrong person. Next, throwing all the three sorts of laws together, he picks out cases of the physical and organic, as *samples of the whole lot;* and thus, with the assistance of some minor fallacies, before pointed out, he exhibits a complete and regular administration of justice in the present world. Mark, then, the real effect of Mr Combe's explanation. We complain, for instance, that the seducer and adulterer may inflict the cruelest and most irreparable injuries with impunity: we are told that if he sails in a ship with a hole in the bottom, he will infallibly be drowned. We ask, where is the punishment provided for inhumanity and oppression: it is replied, whoever sleeps in a damp bed shall not escape a rheumatic fever. Behold, we say, the devourer of the widow's and the orphan's portion, flourishing in ease and security: but, says Mr Combe, let him jump out of a two pair of stairs window, and see if he will get off without broken bones! Upon the strength of all this, he complacently tells us—

'That one difference between the expositions of moral science which have been presented by preceding enquirers, and that which I am now endeavouring to elucidate, consists in this—that hitherto, moralists generally have laid down precepts without showing their foundation in our constitution, or the mode in which disregard of them is punished by the ordinary operation of natural causes. They were imperfectly acquainted with the constitution of the mind, and with the independent operation of the different natural laws, and, in consequence, failed in this branch of their subject. In their expositions of moral philosophy, they resembled those who teach us to practise an art without explaining the

scientific principles on which the practice is founded. It is my object to explain to you not only the practice of virtue, but the laws of our constitution on which it depends.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 57.)

After which, he proceeds to illustrate 'the difference' (as, for instance) 'between Paley's moral philosophy and that 'which he is now teaching,' by contrasting the case of a person blindly following a rule learned by rote, with that of one acquainted with the scientific principles on which the rule is founded!

But let us distinguish the degree of truth which belongs to Mr Combe's general statement, and do justice to the *practical* utility of some of his views. Mr Combe's writings uniformly display a pure and enlarged spirit of philanthropy—an ardent desire to better the condition of mankind; and generally—with exception, of course, of his phrenological fallacies—much sound sense and sagacity as to the means to be employed for this end. That the good and evil of life are much more in men's hands than is generally supposed; that most, or many, of the sufferings of humanity—sufferings too often considered as fixed by the Creator in the constitution of the world—admit of removal by a greater knowledge of the laws of nature, a more careful application of that knowledge; that many of the calamities of individuals, frequently viewed as inscrutable dispensations of Providence, are traceable to themselves, either wholly and directly, or traceable to those with whom the fate of the individual is indissolubly connected, but on whose character and conduct he has failed to exercise the influence he was possessed of; that an attention to one part of our duty will not exempt us from the consequences of neglecting another; and generally, that by an increase of human knowledge and human virtue, human happiness is capable of being raised to a higher—an incalculably higher—pitch, than the ordinary representations of the essentially miserable state of humanity incline many to believe—These are truths which, if not absolutely new, are yet new to many, and too little regarded by all; and in thus inculcating the greatness in degree, as relative to ordinary apprehensions, of the command which man possesses over the means of his happiness and the sources of his misery, Mr Combe has rendered a useful service to humanity.

But here the question unavoidably rises in every one's mind—What has *phrenology* to do with all this? Yet the views we have now been considering, and which compose what Mr Combe designates 'the doctrine of the natural laws,' are invariably spoken of as the peculiar products of phrenology!

'But you will perceive that, before you can comprehend this system of government, you must study to become acquainted with the objects

in nature, by the action of which it takes place, whether these be external, or consist of our own bodies and minds. If mankind have hitherto lived without this knowledge, can you wonder that the ways of Providence have appeared dark and contradictory? And if, by means of *phrenology*, we have now discovered the constitution of the mind, and its relationship to our bodies and external nature; if, moreover, physical science has largely opened up to us the constitution and laws of the objects by which we are surrounded and affected; need we feel surprised that the dawn of a new philosophy begins to break forth upon our vision —a philosophy more consistent, more practical, and more consolatory, than any that has hitherto appeared.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 53.)

'*The grand principle of the philosophy which I am now teaching* is, that the natural laws really admit of no exceptions, and that specific causes, sufficient to account for the apparent exception, exist in every instance.'—(P. 86.)

'If I have in other instances given a correct exposition of the order of the divine government of the world, and the principles of natural religion, I hope that you will neither be *startled at the novelty, nor offended by the consequences of the ways of Providence, which I have expounded.* You know your own position. You are the first popular audience in this city to whom *the truths and the consequences of the new philosophy of mind, discovered by Dr Gall,* have been unfolded; and you are aware that, in every age, the most useful and important truths have had to contend with violent prejudices when first promulgated.'—(P. 433.)

Persons who have been afflicted with fears of 'the possibility 'of civilization perishing, or modern nations becoming effeminate 'or corrupt,' may now take consolation. '*The discovery of the* '*natural laws* (!), and those of organization in particular, will 'guard them against this evil.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 379.) We may refer also to a passage, too long to quote, (at p. 426,) and to the habitual conjunction of 'phrenology and the natural laws,' as of two things coeval and coexistent; and all this just as if the merest savage—nay, as if even a quadruped could live half a day without observing the 'natural laws!'

'The doctrine of the natural laws' comprehends *the supremacy of the moral facultics and intellect,* which, consequently, becomes a discovery of phrenology.

'*Phrenology* shows, that moral and religious sentiments, enlightened by intellect, have been intended to guide the inferior faculties of men.' —(P. 428.)

'According to *our* view, the Creator has framed the world on the principle of the predominance of the higher sentiments.'—(P. 438.)

'These facts prove the accuracy of the *phrenological* doctrine (!), that the higher faculties are made to govern the lower.'—(*Elem. of Phren.*, p. 135.)

'*Phrenology* confirms this opinion, by *unfolding to us (!!) the great fact, that we possess moral and intellectual faculties, invested with au-*

thority to rule over and direct the animal propensities,' &c.—(See the whole passage in the *American Notes*, vol. iii. p. 413.)

The *supremacy of the moral faculties* just means, that men should keep their appetites and passions in subjection to reason and conscience. A good sentiment truly—but we rather think that we had heard something like it, before the commencement of our acquaintance with phrenology. To act under the dominion of 'enlightened intellect,' is to choose what will benefit rather than what will hurt us—to do what it is our purpose to do, and not the contrary—to take the right way of doing it, and not the wrong. It means, for instance, that one who is in a hurry to go from Edinburgh to London, should not travel *via* Lerwick or Hamburg—that a man should not take his hat and walking-stick to bed—that he should not apply to his solicitor to mend his boots, or call in the constable when his wife falls in labour;—it means, in short—*that a man should act rationally, and not like a fool or madman.* A sensible enough maxim, we admit—but we thought that it had been somewhat older than phrenology. That *the* world is constituted on the principle of the supremacy of the moral sentiments, means that mankind are generally found to thrive better under the prevalence of justice, humanity, truth, temperance, prudence, than where robbery, murder, falsehood, and profligacy are common. The precise time when this recondite truth was first brought to light, we shall not take upon us to specify—but we had unwittingly nourished the impression that it was rather before the days of Dr Gall.

Mr Combe thus exhibits the consequences which followed from men's not knowing sooner that the moral sentiments and intellect were intended to govern the lower powers:—

'The national debt of Britain has been contracted chiefly in wars, originating in commercial jealousy and thirst for conquest; in short, under the suggestions of combativeness, destructiveness, acquisitiveness, and self-esteem. Did not our ancestors, therefore, impede their own prosperity and happiness, by engaging in these contests? and have any consequences of them reached us, except the burden of paying nearly thirty millions of taxes annually, as the price of the gratification of the propensities of our ignorant forefathers? Would a statesman, *who believed in the doctrines maintained in this work*, have recommended these wars as essential to national prosperity? If the twentieth part of the sums had been spent in effecting objects recognized by the moral sentiments—in instituting, for example, seminaries of education and penitentiaries, and in making roads, canals, and public granaries—how different would have been the present condition of the country!'—(*Const. of Man*, ch. v., § 3.)

All those calamities happened because Mr Pitt and Buonaparte

were not acquainted with 'phrenology and the natural laws.' They acted, it appears, in pure ignorance of the supremacy of the moral and intellectual faculties. Buonaparte, in particular, did not *believe* in the existence of justice as an innate sentiment, (*Const. of Man—Conclusion.*) Of course, it was never pretended that these wars were *just* or *necessary*. On the contrary, nobody would have cared to deny that they were *un*just and *useless*. But what then? nobody *knew* then that *this* was any reason against engaging in them. People did not know the number or nature of their faculties, their uses and abuses; and so, groping in the dark, just took up what ever faculty came first within their reach; and, as ill luck would have it, acquisitiveness, destructiveness, and combativeness, seem always to have lain quite ready at hand.

The case now mentioned, is cited as an example of 'calamities arising from infringement of the moral law.' Now, allowing it to have been an *avowed* infringement of the moral laws, we cannot see how the calamity arose from the *immorality* of the wars. The calamity is the national debt; but the same sort of calamity, in proportion to its extent, befalls us for liberating our colonial slaves. Surely that was not an infringement of the moral laws. Besides, the calamity did not fall on the generation which *engaged* in the wars, but on us, their successors, who are now learning to deprecate these wars. Considered, then, as a punishment of immorality, the national debt neither meets the offence nor the criminal. But we notice this merely by the way; as an instance of the mode in which Mr Combe substantiates his views of a moral government in the world. Our purpose at present was not to question either the justice or the novelty of Mr Combe's views; but allowing them all the justice, and all the novelty that can possibly be desired for them, to ask in what possible way *phrenology* claims credit on their account?

The nature of the *connexion* subsisting between *phrenology* and the 'doctrine of the natural laws,' Mr Combe has nowhere condescended specifically to point out; but to any person acquainted with his writings, and who has been accustomed to analyse trains of thought, it will be evident that the impression of such connexion has been generated in his mind by such processes as the following:—

A knowledge of phrenology is a knowledge of our *faculties*—a knowledge of our faculties is a knowledge of our *constitution*—a knowledge of our constitution is a knowledge of the physical, and organic, and moral laws of our constitution; but these laws are laws of nature—consequently, phrenology has discovered the

existence, and the uniformity, and the uses of the laws of nature, and every thing of or concerning these laws!

But further—and, as the Conveyancers say, 'without prejudice 'to the foresaid generality,' phrenology has a *special* claim as regards the *organic* laws. Organic laws are laws concerning *organs*. But if it is not about *organs* that phrenology tells us, what does it tell us about? The general principle of phrenology, that the mind acts through organs, is itself an organic law. Consequently, phrenology discovers organic laws, and all the organic laws; and consequently nothing was known about organic laws till the days of phrenology!

By such persons as are less familiar with the sort of logic in use among phrenologists, these statements will be set down as mere burlesque. We beg then to give, in the following passage, the most distinct and formal account we are able to find, in Mr Combe's own words, of the connexion between 'phrenology and 'the natural laws;' and we *seriously* challenge a comparison between that account and ours.

'It may be urged, that all past speculations about the laws of nature have proved more imposing than useful; and that, while the laws themselves afford materials for elevated declamation, they form no secure guides even to the learned, and much less to the illiterate, in practical conduct. In answer, I would respectfully repeat what has frequently been urged in the text, that before we can discover the laws of nature applicable to man, we must know, first, the constitution of man himself; secondly, the constitution of external nature; and thirdly, we must compare the two. But, until the discovery of phrenology, the mental constitution of man was a matter of vague conjecture and endless debate; and the connexion between his mental powers and his organized system was involved in the deepest obscurity. The brain, the most important organ of the body, had no ascertained functions. Before the introduction of this science, therefore, men were rather impressed with the unspeakable importance of the knowledge of the laws of nature, than extensively acquainted with those laws themselves; and even the knowledge of the external world actually possessed, could not, in many instances, be rendered available, on account of its relationship to the qualities of man being unascertained, and unascertainable so long as these qualities themselves were unknown.'—(*Const. of Man.* Appendix, No. I.)

We also beg to refer any one, who may think we are doing injustice to Mr Combe's reasonings on this subject, to the concluding chapter of the *Constitution of Man*, in which the author sets himself explicitly to answer the question—'What is the 'practical use of phrenology?' The argument in proof of the use of phrenology, will be found to stand precisely thus:—Mankind have suffered many evils, in all time past, from ignorance and vice—*consequently*, a true *philosophy of mind* is the only

remedy for these evils; but a true philosophy of mind did not exist *before* phrenology—*consequently*, phrenology *is* the true philosophy, and a remedy for all our evils. We can only quote one specimen of the reasoning, showing the manner in which phrenology is applicable to legislation:—

'Legislation, civil and criminal, is intended to regulate and direct the human faculties in their efforts at gratification; and laws, to be useful, must accord with the constitution of these faculties. But how can salutary laws be enacted, while the subject to be governed, or human nature, is not accurately understood? The inconsistency and intricacy of the laws, even in enlightened nations, have afforded themes for the satirist in every age; yet how could the case be otherwise? Legislators provided rules for directing the qualities of human nature, which they conceived themselves to know; but either error in their conceptions, or the effects of other qualities unknown or unattended to, defeated their intentions. The law, for example, punishing heresy with burning, was addressed by our ancestors to Cautiousness and the Love of Life; but Intellect, Veneration, Conscientiousness, and Firmness, were omitted in their estimate of human principles of action; and these set the law at defiance. There are many laws still in the statute-book, equally at variance with the nature of man.'—(*Const. of Man.* Conclusion.)

The legislators, then, who enacted laws for burning heretics, did so simply from *ignorance* that these heretics were possessed of intelligence, religious principle, conscience, and firmness, (hidden qualities certainly in persons who have submitted to be burned for religion;) and the existence of these qualities was unknown, because their external organs in the skull were unknown. We beg to supply the historical confirmation of the justness of these views in the fact, that there has not been a heretic burned in these realms since the publication of the *System of Phrenology.*

But Mr Combe has had his conviction of the identity of 'phrenology and the natural laws' fortified by instances such as the following:—

'A friend, who is the father of several intelligent children, told me, that before he studied phrenology and the natural laws, he taught his children the Shorter Catechism, and required their obedience on the strength of the fifth commandment, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," assuring them that God would punish them by premature death if they disobeyed this commandment. God, he said, had power of life and death over all; and, as he was just, he would enforce his authority. The children soon learned, however, by experience, that this consequence did not actually follow; they disobeyed, and were threatened; but, finding themselves still alive, they disobeyed again. He was not successful, therefore, by this method, in enforcing obedience. After becoming acquainted with the natural laws, he still taught them the commandment,

but he gave a different explanation of it.'—'He said that this commentary, enforced from day to day, by proofs of his knowing more than the children did, was successful.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 160, 161.)

Behold a man after Mr Combe's own heart! Here was one of just the right *calibre* for a phrenologist! Here was a person quite prepared, we dare be sworn, to vote the 'old philosophy' mere foolishness; and Locke, and Malebranche, and Berkeley, Cudworth, and Butler, and Hume, and Stewart, and Brown, mere drivellers. It strikes us, however, that in the account there must be a *misprint* of a word. In order to make a case in point, would it not be necessary to say that the above children had made the discovery 'by phrenology,' instead of 'by experience?'—'since, otherwise, people might say, if *they* made the discovery without phrenology, why might not their intelligent progenitor have done so also?

But here we are bound to observe, that, for our own parts, we have no doubt whatever of the great benefits of an attention to 'phrenology *and* the natural laws.' We have no doubt phrenology *and* brandy will make a man drunk; phrenology *and* laudanum will make him sleep. Equally little do we doubt that immense advantage will be derived from wearing a white hat on the tenth of every month *and* observing the natural laws, or counting one's waistcoat buttons every Tuesday *and* observing the natural laws—only we take leave to doubt how far the several results will be owing to the phrenology, the white hat, and the button counting, in each case respectively.

This method of mixing up what he calls the 'doctrine of 'the natural laws' with phrenology, is evidently a main cause of the admiration which that science has procured—such as the admiration is, and such as are the persons who display it. A worthy gentleman, mentioned in a prefatory note to the *Constitution of Man*, left a bequest for the special encouragement of phrenology; and this 'from a deliberate, calm, and deep-'rooted conviction, that nothing whatever, hitherto known, can 'operate so powerfully to the improvement and happiness of 'mankind, as the knowledge and practical adoption of the prin-'ciples disclosed by *phrenology*, and particularly of those which 'are developed in the Essay on the Constitution of Man above 'mentioned.'

It would, perhaps, have surprised this benevolent, but not very perspicacious person, to be told that these principles—the practical adoption of which would, as he says, and not untruly, operate to the improvement and happiness of mankind—have just about as much dependence on phrenology as on conic sections or logarithms. In fact, Mr Combe himself admits as much in

his preface—an admission which two persons in a hundred will notice, and one of the two may remember; yet, in the face of this admission, we find him, not merely in a thousand ways of implication and assumption, but by direct assertion, ascribing the discovery of these principles to phrenology! All this, however, will not make us impute intentional deception to Mr Combe. Where Mr Combe is the deceiver, he is also the deceived; and his simplicity in the one character is infinitely more conspicuous than his address in the other. The truth is, Mr Combe's belief in phrenology is like the belief of some people in ghosts and apparitions—it is too much for his judgment. When he coolly and steadily considers some of the claims made by him on behalf of phrenology, he seems to see their absurdity—but he believes them still!

Some of Mr Combe's American friends appear, however, to have been a little more sharp-sighted than the worthy testator just mentioned. They remarked, it seems, that the views on education presented by Mr Combe, 'were so sound and luminous, that he would have done much more good if he had *omitted phrenology*, and delivered them simply as founded in common sense'—a suggestion which Mr Combe took in much the same way as a pious clergyman might be supposed to receive a proposal to ground his religious exhortations on human reason and omit the gospel.

Though the 'doctrine of the natural laws' is certainly one of the most remarkable discoveries of phrenology, it is far from being the only one. The hallucination under which Mr Combe appears to labour on this head, is absolutely without parallel. His phrenology resembles a large whirlpool—it is, indeed, a perfect Maelstrom. Whatever comes within miles of it, is sure to be sucked within its vortex. Straws and navies are alike engulfed by it. Principles to be found stated in every philosophical, nay, in every didactic writing since the days of Aristotle, are with the most entire coolness, the most unconscious simplicity, set down as deriving their truth wholly and exclusively from phrenology. Truisms, which Dr Gall's great-grandmother would have disdained to utter, become, when dressed in phrenological guise, profound maxims of wisdom. Whenever Mr Combe has occasion to introduce a truth which he thinks worth seizing upon, he has the formula ready—'phrenology reveals to us'—'the 'new philosophy informs us'*—much in the same way that

* 'The only point,' says Mr Combe, 'in which I perceive a defi-'ciency (in M. De Tocqueville's speculations) is a want of a *philosophy*

certain vain persons, occasionally to be met with in society, will tell us, in regard to any person, place, or thing of note, that can possibly be mentioned, that it is one with whom, or with which, they have had a long and intimate concern.—'The 'new philosophy, or *that which is founded in knowledge of man's* 'nature,' has discovered that the lower ranks of mankind have the same mental faculties as the higher.—(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 67.*) '*Phre-* 'nology shows' that the impulses to marry, come from a desire for a companion of a different sex, for children, and for the society of human beings in general.—(110.) 'Phrenology shows' that ill-assorted unions are unhappy.—(111.) The cause why man has wandered in misery and error so long, 'is rendered clear by 'phrenology,'—he possesses blind animal propensities as well as moral and intellectual endowments.—(217.) 'The principles of 'phrenology are excellent guides; *they* teach us that the pro- 'pensities and sentiments are mere blind instincts, and that they 'often cling to objects to which they have been long devoted, in- 'dependently of reason.'—(339.) 'The phrenologist, who knows 'the nature of the propensities and sentiments, is well able *to* 'conceive' the distress felt by one who is reduced from affluence to poverty.—(433.) 'The phrenologist perceives that the Crea- 'tor has bestowed definite qualities on the human mind, and on 'external objects, and established certain relations between 'them.'—(*Const. of Man.* Intr.) 'Phrenology renders the supe- 'riority of the latter condition certain,'—the superiority of civilization over barbarism.—(ch. iv.) Now, all these are bright and shining truths; but we would respectfully submit that some rays of their light had penetrated the thick darkness in which the nations lay, long before the sun of phrenology dawned upon the world.

In the explanation of particular phenomena, and the determination of practical questions, the main improvement introduced by the 'new philosophy' consists in this: Whatever, under the old method, would have been ascribed to the *strength* of any faculty

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'*of mind* that might have enabled him to penetrate more clearly into the 'future.'—'It appears to me that *phrenology* enables us to dispel much 'darkness from the horizon, and to view the future progress of the United 'States in a more favourable light than that in which it is regarded in 'his pages!'—(*Amer. Notes*, vol. iii. p. 16.)

* We are told (*Constitution of Man*, Ch. v. § 3) that the proposition, 'that the people have been destined by the Creator to be labouring 'animals, and that, from their inherent mental defects, they are incapable, 'generally, of being raised to any more honourable station, *is just the* 'great point at issue between the old and the new philosophy.'

or disposition, is now much more satisfactorily explained by the *largeness* of an organ. So, to say that a man's *acquisitiveness* is large, clears up many difficulties, which we should in vain seek to remove, by saying that his *avarice* was great. Thus we are told, that 'to secure and maintain national independence, the 'first requisite in the people appears to be *adequate size of brain.*' —(*Mor. Phil.*, p. 342.) Now, Mr Combe knows very well, that size of brain has as much to do with national independence as the colour of the eyes. Allowing size of brain to be the indication, or even the cause of the quality that prompts to the maintenance of national independence, it is not the quality itself. Here, however, lies the fallacy which, in all such cases, seems to exalt the uses of phrenology. If the strength of every faculty depends on the size of the organ—knowing this—knowing the *cause* of the strength, we can (it is always quietly *assumed*) make the faculty strong or weak at pleasure. Now, if we had any means, mechanical or chemical, of raising one organ, depressing another—if a tap of a hammer, applied with a judicious degree of *momentum* to the organ of secretiveness, would restrain a propensity to illicit appropriation—if a blister or a sinapism could extract the corrupt humours which hinder a man's conscience from attaining maturity of growth—or if even by means of the actual cautery, tenderly administered above the nape of the neck, the organ of a rather troublesome susceptibility, there resident, could be made to shrink into more moderate dimensions—then, indeed, our knowledge of phrenology might be turned to practical account.* But Mr Combe explicitly ad.

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* We must admit, however, the production, by Mr Combe, of one valuable case of a man's *self-sufficiency* being sensibly abated, by a blow on the organs of self-esteem and love of approbation. This would indeed put us in possession of a most useful *recipe*. 'He was a player and ventri-'loquist, and performed in the western cities. He stated that, before 'receiving the blow, he was an entire stranger to diffidence. For the first 'three months after the accident he felt no change in his mental condi-'tion, and *was not aware that there was an affection of his head.* At the 'end of that time, the external tumour *began to attract his attention, and* 'he felt also visitations of diffidence which he had never before experienced.' —(*American Notes*, vol. i. p. 337.) An injury in the organs of self-esteem and love of approbation, produces no abatement of these qualities for three months—*then* a tumour *attracts attention*, and the party becomes nervous and dispirited; and this, Mr Combe tells us, 'affords a strik-'ing confirmation of the truth of phrenology!' Was there ever credulity to surpass this?

mits that 'there is only one way of strengthening the faculties '—that is, by exercising them,'—meaning, mental and moral exercise. Yet, in the face of all this, he constantly speaks *as if*—(speaking *as if*, instead of directly alleging, is, as we have before hinted, a remarkable characteristic of Mr Combe's practice)—we could, by some mode of action on the *organ*, influence the power of the mental faculty: thus—'If the *brains* of a great 'majority of mankind could be brought up to that standard,' &c. —(P. 223, see also 136.) Yet he nowhere pretends to specify any mode of action on the brain, except what operates through improvement of the bodily health and strength in general.

In relation to this subject, we shall here exhibit another testimony in favour of phrenology, from a person well entitled to rank in intelligence with the commentator on the fifth commandment formerly mentioned. The more one knows of the votaries of phrenology, the greater will seem the weight of their authority.

'After the lecture, the teacher of a distinguished private seminary mentioned to me, that *in consequence of the views which he had derived from my lectures on phrenology* last year, he had ventilated his school, alternated the studies, and increased the intervals of relaxation, and had found the health of himself and his scholars improved, their power of application increased, and greater enjoyment imparted to them all.'—(*Amer. Notes*, vol. iii. p. 69.)

Of course, the benefits of free air, and the necessity of occasional mental relaxation, were unknown before the days of phrenology! But phrenology claims to explain the *rationale* of these truths. Has phrenology, then, shown any more specific action of vitiated air on the brain than was known formerly—any effects of that action before unobserved? Has it shown that the organs or the brain are *in motion* during the exercise of the mental faculties, so as to make it appear that they are *fatigued* in the same way as the limbs?—has it shown what connexion there is between the motion, and the feeling of fatigue even in the limbs?—or has it sought to identify the feelings of bodily and of mental weariness?

It is not a little diverting to mark how eagerly Mr Combe is always on the watch for opportunities of turning his phrenology to account: wherever its *terms* can by possibility be introduced, it seems to him to *tell* so much in favour of its uses. Would he inform us, for instance, that means might be taken to preserve a workman from falling from the roof of a house, it must be in these terms—'*causality* and *constructiveness* could invent and 'provide means,' &c., the *moral* intended to be conveyed, being obviously this—that it is for want of knowing about *causality* and *constructiveness*—*i. e.* for want of phrenology—that workmen

are exposed to falls from roofs. So, we are always told, *intellect* does this, *conscientiousness* does that—as if, instead of saying that a man sits down and takes his dinner, we should say, his legs walk to his chair, his hands carve the mutton, and his mouth eats it.

We cannot conclude without showing the light which phrenology sheds on the three important subjects of the theory of government, the poor-laws, and criminal jurisprudence.

'Various opinions,' says Mr Combe, 'have been entertained 'by philosophers regarding the origin of government'—instancing the theories of Parental Authority, the Social Compact, Divine Right,—'none of these views appear to me to reach the truth.'

'In the human mind, as disclosed to us by phrenology, we find social instincts, the activity of which leads man to congregate in society. We discover, also, organs of veneration, giving the tendency to look up with respect to superior power, to bow before it, and to obey it. There are also organs of self-esteem, prompting men to assume authority, to wield it, and to exact obedience. Government seems to me to spring from the spontaneous activity of these faculties, combined with intellect, without any special design or agreement on the part either of governors or of subjects. In rude ages, individuals possessing large brains, (which give force of character,) active temperaments, and large organs of self-esteem and love of approbation, would naturally assume superiority, and instinctively command. Men with smaller brains, less mental energy, and considerable veneration, would as instinctively obey; and hence government would begin.'—(*Mor. Phil.*, pp. 336-7.)

That is to say, some men have a turn for domineering over their neighbours, whilst these for a quiet life are glad to submit!

If we have sometimes seemed niggardly in the degree of credit we have allowed to phrenology for its alleged discoveries, we must say that it is solely and exclusively entitled to this credit in regard to a proposed method of extinguishing pauperism.

The chief cause of people's falling into poverty is, their wanting brains of the proper size and shape; hence they have not the wit to provide for themselves. Deficient brains are caused chiefly by deficient diet. Feed the poor well, then, and you will gradually improve the breed in point of *brains*. 'These facts,' says Mr Combe, (p. 245,) 'although *they go to the root of the* 'evil, are generally unknown and unattended to.' We admit they are. Upon this scheme we shall only observe, that if Sir Robert Peel will amend the poor-laws upon this principle, he will avoid at least one cause of unpopularity, from which his political opponents undoubtedly sustained some damage.

So much for *what* is to be done with the poor, now for the means *how*; and those who have hitherto disputed as to whether the poor should be provided for by compulsory assessment or

voluntary contribution, may look out for something else to quarrel about; for—

'*Phrenology* enables us to answer this question also. The willingness of any individual to bestow charity, depends not exclusively on the quantity of wealth which he possesses, but likewise on the strength of the benevolent principles in relation to the selfish in his mind. Now, we discover by observation, that the organs of the benevolent and selfish feelings differ very widely in relative size in different individuals, and experience supports the conclusion which we draw from this fact, that their dispositions to act charitably, or the reverse, are widely different. Not only so, but, as the leading principle of our present social system is the pursuit of self-interest, it may be stated as a general rule, (allowance being always made for individual exceptions,) that those in whom the selfish feelings, with intellect and prudence, predominate, will possess most wealth; and yet this very combination of faculties will render them least willing to bestow. Their wealth and benevolence will generally be in the inverse ratio of each other. This inference, unfortunately, is also supported by facts. It has frequently been remarked that the humbler classes of society, and also the poorer members of these classes, bestow more charity, in proportion to their incomes, than the very wealthy. To trust to voluntary contributions, therefore, would be to exempt thousands who are most able, but least willing, to bear the burden, and to double it on those who are most willing but least able to support it.—(*Mor. Phil.*, pp. 254-5.)

On the matter of criminal jurisprudence, which Mr Combe treats of frequently and largely, he maintains these doctrines—that some men have the organs which impel to crime so large, or those which restrain from it so small, that their propensity to crime is irresistible—that therefore to subject them to suffering, with a view to deter them from crime, is at once useless, cruel, and unjust—that they ought to be viewed as under a moral or intellectual disease, and subjected to a treatment purely sanative. Confining ourselves to what is peculiar in Mr Combe's views, we beg to ask, first—*supposing* that the strength of certain propensities is in proportion to the size of certain organs, on what *data* does Mr Combe calculate the *exact size* at which the propensity becomes irresistible, and responsibility ceases? Unless he can deduce the irresponsibility solely from the *size of the organ*, he cannot found his doctrine, on this head, on *phrenology*. Whether or not there are grounds for the doctrine otherwise, is not the present question.

In the next place, although we should admit the superior eligibility of the sanative treatment of criminals, it does not follow that punishment inflicted merely to *deter* the offender and others from the commission of crime, is either useless or unjust. If it is so—if it deserves to be characterized as revenge and animal resentment—we beg to ask how does Mr Combe vindicate the

punishments which, by his own account, are inflicted under the *natural laws*, upon all men, without regard to the shape or size of their heads? A slater, from deficient cautiousness, falls from a roof and breaks his skull, let it be of what figure and dimensions it will; this is a just punishment under the natural laws. A pickpocket, from deficient conscientiousness, appropriates his neighbour's purse and is sent to the tread-mill—a proceeding at which, we are told, (p. 298,) every phrenologist laughs. We beg to know what cause there is for mirth on the one occasion more than on the other.

We have adhered strictly, through the whole course of our observations, to our hypothetical admission of the *facts* of phrenology. Let us now offer a single remark as to the weight due to Mr Combe's assertions on points of fact. We say, then, that Mr Combe's testimony to a fact, *strictly* such, we would receive as readily as the testimony of our own eyes. We need not observe, however, that the distinction between a *fact*, and a *judgment* or *inference*, is sometimes a very nice one—and it is one which, assuredly, we would not trust Mr Combe to draw. The instances of self-deception which these works display, would prepare us for any imaginable degree of error in Mr Combe's observations, where *reasoning* or *estimation* were concerned. And all the facts of phrenology must be founded on estimation—some of them might be on reasoning.

But for our own parts, we could never bring ourselves to regard the question of fact as one much worth discussing—even could we see a possibility of determining it—which we do not. Mr Combe observes that 'the simplicity and practical character 'of the phrenological philosophy, has induced not a few to doubt 'the possibility of its being founded on physiological error.' Were we able to imagine how any philosophy at all, good, bad, or indifferent, could be established on *data* supplied by phrenology, we should draw a contrary conclusion. But whatever may be the defects or absurdities of the mental or moral philosophy which *phrenologists* teach, we will avouch *phrenology* itself to be wholly innocent. It is powerless alike for good or evil. It cannot go an inch beyond its first principles: those principles can only assert the correspondence between one set of facts and another set of facts; and one of these sets of facts can only be ascertained by means—those of observation and consciousness—to which the phrenological method of philosophizing is always characterized as *opposed*. Yet we are told of phrenology discovering faculties, and the nature, and laws, and uses, and operation of such faculties! What, we pray, *is* phrenology—and what is the territory which it claims? How can phrenology, in any sense

in which it can be distinguished from the 'old philosophy,' discover any thing about mind or morals at all? Can any thing be more evident than this, that an analysis of the mind, by observation or consciousness, must *precede* or *accompany* the appropriation of particular organs to particular faculties. What, then, have we to learn beyond the fact of this connexion; and how could that fact possibly tend to any knowledge of the laws of thought, or the truths of morals? The truths of morality, especially, have no more dependence on the nature of the mind than the truths of mathematics or physics. We no more distinguish right from wrong by looking at the structure of the mind, than we distinguish black from white by examining the structure of the eye. As a new set of facts, phrenology would, of course, be an addition to our knowledge; and no addition to knowledge is to be despised, because we cannot foresee to what uses it may be made subservient. But both from the nature and reason of the case, and from the examination made, in this article, of particular pretensions advanced by the phrenologists, we feel justified in defying any person to point out a single theoretical or practical purpose to be effected by phrenology that cannot be effected without it—nay, that must not be effected without it, *before* it can be effected by it. The *name* given to the 'science' is a mere imposture. Its true designation was its original one of *Craniology*. The attempt to elevate it into the rank of a 'new philosophy'—to set it up as something opposed to, or superseding any other methods of investigation—is, in itself, sufficiently preposterous. But when, along with this, we take into view the absolutely ludicrous contrast between the magnitude of such a purpose and the powers evidenced in carrying it out—when we compare the magnificent description of the *results* of the new philosophy with the miserable puerilities actually presented—adverting, at the same time, to the cool and easy mode of appropriation, practised by the new philosophers, of every thing in the old and despised philosophy that suits their purpose, (in fact, every thing of the slightest value they can show,)—the whole composes a piece of absurdity, the rankest the world has ever seen—we should say, perhaps ever will see, but that the extravagances of the phrenologists have considerably enlarged our notions of the possible extent of human folly.

ters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Con-
orth American Indians. With Four Hundred
rraved from his Original Paintings. By
2 vols. 8vo. Second Edition. London:

rious times, disinterred the remains
nals which have left no living suc-
succeeded in determining their
forms and characters. We may
at lapse of years the Red Man will
as the mammoth or ichthyosaurus, and
his existence but a few specimens of his
our museums, a few *tumuli* upon his deserted
lds—standing only till the plough of the encroaching
race' shall obliterate them; and some histories of his race
the novels of Cooper, and the present descriptive volumes of
Mr Catlin.

Painful enough it is to see a nation consume away, to watch a whole people, 'race by race expire;' and sufficiently humiliating to think, that the European, with all his arts and knowledge, his vaunted humanity, his purer religion, could enter only as a destroyer into the land of the Indian. Nor can any but the coldest utilitarians find consolation in the reflection, that the country which he has desolated he has also colonized—and point to the gigantic infancy of America, to efface our regret for a destruction so lawless and so unnecessary.

Custom, the great reconciler, had deadened all such feelings of compunction, at the time that system was adopted which has worked out such fatal results. Custom, which taught that the old inhabitants of every land were the natural enemies of the new settlers, and to be destroyed accordingly; which grew out of the fact, taken for granted at that time, as a thing of course; and left to our times a most curious question in the history of the human race—why the civilization of Europe has never penetrated among the races native to other portions of the globe, though brought into contact with them for long periods, and under every variety of form and circumstance. By conquest, by treaty—as friends, as guests, as deliverers—rapidly, or by slow degrees—the European adventurers have obtained a footing in every region of the earth; and, wherever they saw that the land was good, have laid the foundation of extensived ominion. The aboriginal inhabitants have received them, sometimes with fear, sometimes with worship; have associated closely with them, and been for several generations witnesses and partakers in the

many advantages of their civilization—but, in the civilization itself, they have shown no prospect of ever partaking, but have either withered in its presence and gradually wasted away, or subsided into an inferior class of degraded and servile beings.

For the reasons of this strange circumstance, some, whose minds seem fascinated by any vast and bold theory, refer at once to a diversity of races;—asserting that anatomy gave strong corroboration to their deductions, by proving the diverse configuration of the brain, and the imperfect development of certain of its organs, in different tribes of the human species, whose reason was thus more or less assimilated to the instinct of the inferior animals. Therefore, it was asserted, do we find nations of men who are endowed, almost to perfection, with some one faculty, but are deficient in the rest; and altogether wanting in that universality of intellect, whose powers can combine and systematize all the scattered rays of knowledge, and without which the improvement of the race will be arrested in a very early stage of its career. Thus the Arabian was able to invent the numeral figures, and to devise a beautiful method of notation, but could not combine his arithmetical processes into a system of Algebra. Thus the Chinese display as much cleverness or cunning in their trade, as any Jew or Gentile of the west, but have never comprehended the vast powers to be acquired by an extended system of credit and commerce; and thus, too, have many nations, both in the west and the east, possessed a number of admirable maxims for morals and for social government, yet none have produced a political constitution or a code of jurisprudence. And this hypothesis has led at once to the doctrine of the perpetuity of subjection, and a multiplicity of creations.

But these speculations are too obscure, the results too bewildering, for us to linger further with them here. Nor have we any need to resort to such theories, in order to find an explanation for the continual destruction of the Red Men. From the first moment that an European landed in the west, they were a doomed nation. The character of themselves and the intruding race; the circumstances attending that intrusion; and their very virtues rendered their fate inevitable. Too strong to submit peaceably, yet too weak to resist effectually the discipline and fire-arms of Europe, they refused to acknowledge that their visiters had, by landing on their country, acquired a title to regions which the Great Spirit had granted for them, his children, to hunt the buffalo; while the white man, arriving in a new world, whose inhabitants were all classed under one general title of *savages*, was surprised to find there nations who did not conceal their contempt for the strange customs and weak frames of

the more luxurious 'pale-faces.' When peaceful negotiations were tried, it was soon discovered that the Indian, fierce and suspicious, could not be made to comprehend the system of European diplomacy; while the White Man, on his side, sordid and unprincipled, took every advantage that cunning and treachery could give him. To these he soon added a more potent auxiliary, the 'fire-water;' which he found was a temptation this wild race could not resist; but, while raving in the delicious madness of intoxication, would resign their title to vast dominions for the means of engaging in a renewed debauch. In war, which generally followed the attempt to enforce a bargain thus obtained, the European found that the Indian, in his own woods, was a terrible enemy; whose daring and patient attack, secret stratagems, and cruel vengeance, inspired such dread, that there could be no security for him while a tribe remained in his neighbourhood; and the war in consequence became one of extermination. When, in addition to this, came the diseases of the west, with the smallpox in its deadliest form at their head, introduced among a people who had no knowledge of physic, it is easily explained how the ancient dwellers in that land have found themselves begirt with a circle of desolation, which is perpetually narrowing in circumference; till it has reduced their limits and their numbers, to be but the shadows of what they were, and till they appear so broken and dissipated, that it is now beyond the power of man to save them from vanishing utterly away.

Much blame has been attributed to the American Government for its cruel treatment of these people; and in some respects unjustly. We do not, of course, seek to maintain that unnecessary cruelties have not accompanied their conflicts with the Indians; or to palliate the inhumanity of their use of fire and bloodhounds in the war of extermination they have waged against them; but the evil, in truth, was of much earlier commencement—of difficult cure—and had become a system which the Americans have continued almost from necessity. The crime lies originally with the settlers who first planted a colony on the coast; or rather was the inevitable product of the mode in which the settlement was made, by scattered bands of, in general, desperate and lawless men, without connexion and without restraint; and of the false ideas prevalent at that time throughout Europe, concerning the race of beings they should find in the just-discovered continent, and the duties which humanity required at their hands.

It is fortunate that, ere it is too late, a traveller should be found to undertake the investigation of a people, who will be the subject of melancholy interest to the future physiologist; and

who has taken so much interest in that undertaking, as to spend eight years in intimate intercourse with one or other of their many tribes. Being by profession an artist in Philadelphia, Mr Catlin witnessed the arrival of a band of ten or fifteen Indian warriors, who, for a few days that they lingered there before proceeding on their mission to Washington, were to be seen 'in 'silent and stoic dignity, strutting about the city wrapped in 'their pictured robes, with their brows plumed with the quills 'of the war-eagle, attracting the admiration of all who beheld 'them.' The artist did more than admire; he was struck with the grace of their manners and the novelty of their appearance; and judging that, among the nations who could send forth such specimens, he should find an inexhaustible variety of subjects for his easel—he departed at once for the west, on a voyage literally 'in search of the picturesque.' The present volumes present the results of his sojourn among the Indian tribes, and exhibit a multitude of details of great curiosity, singularity, and interest.

Sixteen millions were, it is computed, the numbers of the wild nations inhabiting North America when the Europeans landed amongst them. The progress of destruction has reduced them at present to about two millions; and of these nearly two-thirds belong to frontier tribes, who are in constant intercourse with the white man, and therefore no longer in a state of nature, but far worse;—inoculated with his vices, weakened by the diseases and drunkenness which he has introduced, degraded from their national pride and honour, and impoverished by the spoliation of the hunting-fields from which they derived their subsistence. These tribes are the naked, savage, remorseless race, which some writers, in their anxiety to excuse the wrongs inflicted upon them, have represented all the Red Men to be. Mr Catlin left all such behind him, and wandered on till he encountered the few remnants of the generous unsophisticated sons of nature; and these he saw under the most favourable circumstances for learning their true condition. Living with them as one of themselves; having no trading purposes to serve; exciting no enmity by the well-meant but suspicious preaching of a new religion—he went on with his rifle and his pencil, sketching and noting whatever he saw worthy of record; and wisely abandoning all search for the ancient history of a people who knew no writing, he confined his labours to the depicting exactly what he saw, and that only. Notes and sketches were transmitted, as occasion served, to New York, and the collected results now appear, partly in a gallery which has been for some time exhibited in London, containing some four hundred pictures of Indian personages and scenes, drawn upon the spot, with

specimens of their dress and manufactures, their arts and arms: and partly, as just stated, of the volumes under our hands, which display engravings of most of those specimens and pictures, accompanied by a narrative, written in a very pleasant homely style, of his walks and wanderings in the 'far west.' The extent of his researches the author thus describes :—'I have 'spent about eight years already in this pursuit, having been 'for the most part of that time immersed in the Indian coun-'try, mingling with the red men, and identifying myself as 'much as possible in their games and amusements, in order 'the better to familiarize myself with their superstitions and 'mysteries, which are the keys to Indian life and character; I 'have visited forty-eight tribes, the greatest part of which I 'found speaking different languages, and containing about '400,000 souls.' We can only give a few cursory notices of his observations, which are presented in a form too desultory for a continuous account.

Geographically, the country traversed extended from the junction of the Yellow Stone River with the Missouri, in lat. 50 N., to Pensacola on the Gulf of Mexico; and from the valley of the Mississippi, west almost to the Rocky Mountains. We cannot follow his footsteps through the whole of this circuit, but will place ourselves at once at the mouth of the Yellow Stone River —situate so far towards the setting sun, that even when we shall travel in a direct line, by the help of a balloon, the English traveller, on dropping at Halifax to change gases, will find his journey little more than half completed:—yet even here Mr Catlin found himself not beyond the colonies of civilized men; he reached that place in a steam-boat, lived in the fur company's fort, and drank port and madeira at the commandant's table. Round this fort were encamped large bands of the Crows and Blackfeet, the two most celebrated tribes left in America, who were not yet spoiled by contact with the western traders; and who, though at deadly feud among themselves, mingled indiscriminately within the precincts of the fort as on neutral ground, and crowded into the painting-room of the artist, watching with fear and astonishment the wonderful process by which he created duplicates of themselves upon his canvass. Nothing seems more curious and indicative of character, than the different modes in which his art was viewed by the various nations. With some it found admiration and worship; none but the worthiest were allowed to have their portraits taken; and whoever was admitted to that honour, spent many hours in adorning his person that he might appear with suitable dignity. With other tribes it was an object of terror—the paintings were alive in their apprehension, for they could see their

eyes follow them as they moved; and the painter must have taken away some life from the original, who would soon die. Having painted some buffaloes, Mr Catlin was told not to carry them away, as none would then be left for them to hunt. When among the Sioux, one chief whom he sketched was terrified lest his picture, living after his own death, should disturb him in the grave and render him sleepless. Another, whose features were thrown into profile, was taunted by a rival saying, that half his face was left out 'because it was good for nothing;' —a remark which produced a quarrel, and ended in the death of both. But among all, the art was thought most mysterious, and Mr Catlin enjoyed every where the reputation of being a 'medicine-man.'

This word 'medicine,' is the epithet which the Indians affix to every thing unintelligible, or rather the usual translation of the many native words which mean the same thing; but whose more correct translation would be 'magic,' or 'magical,' as it implies veneration as well as wonder, and is associated with whatever exists of religious feeling. Thus Mr Catlin's gun was 'medicine,' as well as his painting-brush—having a percussion lock—the steamer was 'the big medicine canoe with eyes,' seeing its way through the winding channels, and always following the line of the deepest water—a falling star was medicine—and a yellow bear or a white buffalo 'very great medi-'cine,' and almost worshipped. Every warrior likewise had a medicine-bag formed of skin, which he supposed to be the gift of the Great Spirit, and kept as a talisman both in life and death. Great disgrace attended the loss of this bag in battle—disgrace which could only be wiped away by the production of another torn from the side of a slain enemy; when the second became more worthy than the first, and the possessor more honoured. The veneration of this talisman is well calculated to suit the spirit of a people so daring and warlike; to whom, as to our Scandinavian ancestors, religion was little else than a worship of valour. To the minds of both, cowardice was the greatest sin; while to delight in danger, to fear no enemy, to endure hunger and pain, and to die with glory, were the attributes of a good man. The future state, also, shadowed itself forth in a promise of similar enjoyments: the Norse hero, after death, was to pursue the chase and the foe, and, when wearied with this pleasing toil, to drink mead in the halls of Odin. The Indian warrior looked forward to the beautiful prairies, where the Great Spirit would welcome his children, where the buffalo should always abound, and the white trader be seen no more. The dead were consequently buried in the same fashion, and supplied with provisions for their distant

journey—with horse and arms for their equipment in the promised land.

These coincidences are worthy of notice—not as in any way proving consanguinity, or any ancient communication; but as showing how completely the early religion of a people is the product of their habits; when two nations of different eras and opposite hemispheres—but both consisting of tribes always wandering and always at war, living by the chase, and holding pretty equal possession of arts and civilization—are thus placed in similar circumstances.

At Fort Yellow Stone, the author witnessed the mummeries performed by a 'medicine man' over a Blackfoot Indian, who had been desperately wounded by a shot from a Knisteneaux rifle. These medicine men are the only characters among them approaching to those of priests or religious functionaries;—offices which they combine with the profession of physic, soothsaying, and the art-magic, and are much venerated and trusted by every tribe. Their dress is formed of the skin of a yellow bear, surmounted by his head, within which that of the man is concealed, and hung round, by way of charms, with the skins of every rare or ugly animal in the country;—'the stuffed forms of frogs, 'snakes, and bats; the beaks, toes, and tails of birds; hoofs of 'deer, goats, and antelopes; and, in fact, the odds and ends, 'and fag-ends, and tails, and tips, of almost every thing that 'runs, flies, or swims, in this part of the wide world.'

On the banks of the Missouri, two hundred miles below the fort, Mr Catlin landed among the tribe of the Mandans, with whom he lived some time; being, by the grace of his mysterious art, in high veneration among them, admitted to all their ceremonies, treated as a brother by the highest 'medicine men'—in fact, taking the degree of Doctor among them, or, in their own phrase, 'Big double medicine.' These Mandans are, or rather, as we must say *were*, the most polished and advanced native nation to be found in North America: they were milder in their manners; received strangers with less suspicion; and had always been known as 'the hospitable and polished Mandans.' Mr Catlin's account of this people is exceedingly picturesque—exhibiting a mode of life which could by no possibility become what an European would call civilized—but yet dignified and agreeable; rich, with all necessary and many luxurious articles of existence; and well adapted to call into existence, and rear to perfection, those powers of mind and body which their position demanded. Witness their careful system of instruction for their children, who are every morning trained in all the discipline of Indian warfare;—all armed with a small bow and grass arrow, and

distributed into two armies, who go through the manœuvres of a battle. When any one is struck by an arrow he is obliged to fall, and the conqueror rushing up, snatches away his mimic scalp-lock, which he exhibits afterwards in proof of his victory. Witness, too, the appalling ceremonies requisite for the youths who wish to be numbered among the 'braves;'—in which the aspirants, after four days' fasting and watching, are subjected to a course of voluntary torture, the half of which no European could survive; but whose extremity only tests the young Mandan's powers of endurance, and assigns the station he is to hold among the warriors. Every year this ceremony is performed, at the period when the willow leaf first buds—for no other record of the seasons is kept than such tokens of nature—and forms part of a grand solemnity, supposed by Mr Catlin to bear some allusion to their traditions of the fall of man and the deluge; in which a representation of the evil spirit rushes into their village, and after trying all his powers of destruction, is paralysed and expelled by the powerful rod of the chief 'medicine man;' the whole exhibition being accompanied by dances. These, here, as in every other nation of uncivilized men, are ranked as ceremonials of worship, and varied to fit the expression of the different causes of praise or prayer;—as in the buffalo dance, used when the game is scarce, and food falls off; the scalp dance of victory, whose chief spoils are offered to the Great Spirit; the snow dance of thanksgiving for the first fall of snow, so acceptable to the hunter, who can pass lightly in his snow-shoes over the drifts which entangle the buffalo in their soft depths, and leave him an easy prey.

Not every Mandan, however, is willing to pass through the terrible ordeal of pain above mentioned; but there exists among them a most remarkable class of beings, whom they denominate in contempt 'Dandies,' and who are possessed of considerable, though effeminate, personal beauty, which they take care never to expose to danger; shrinking from the war party, refraining from the buffalo hunt, or the violent sports in which the warriors delight, and remaining always in the camp, as drones in a beehive—neither fighting like the men, nor labouring like the women—but lounging about, tricked out with every kind of gaudy glittering ornament. Many of these beaux crowded round Mr Catlin, strutting and *attitudinizing* for hours in the sun, hoping to have their charms perpetuated upon his canvass: in which he was unable to oblige them—an attempt which he made to dignify with this honour one of these degraded beings, having produced vast indignation among the chiefs.

But as we have stopped at the Mandan village, let us call at one of the dwellings, and pay our respects to the family. There is no

need to knock at the door, nor must we be provided with a letter of introduction; the entrance is always unbarred, and any one, even if of a strange tribe or different coloured skin, may boldly walk in, and, if hungry, help himself to the food contained in the large kettle always hanging over the fire. It is a spacious comfortable apartment, circular, and perhaps fifty feet in diameter; partly sunk in the ground, with walls of upright beams, and the roof of other poles, sloping from the top of these till they meet in a point, where a circular aperture allows smoke to escape and light to enter. Beneath this opening, in the centre of the floor, a log fire is burning, and around it the inmates are gathered—the squaws hard at work—for the fair sex are heavily tasked in this western world—the warriors in converse, or preparing their arms. Round the wall are placed a circle of beds, each with a covering and curtain of buffalo skin. A partition divides every bed from its neighbour, and against this are hung the arms and ornaments, and personal property of its owner.

'This arrangement of beds, of arms, &c., combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colours—of fine trinkets—of barbed and glittering points, and steel—of mysteries and hocus-pocus—together with the sombre and smoked colour of the roof and sides of the lodge, and the story-telling and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes, wooing their sweethearts or embracing their little ones, around their peaceful and endeared firesides, together with their pots and kettles, spoons, and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, present altogether one of the most picturesque scenes, to the eye of a stranger, that can be possibly seen, and far more wild and vivid than could possibly be imagined.'

The pots and kettles here spoken of, are of earthenware, which the author saw them both use and make; and are exactly similar to those specimens, whose disinterment in different parts of the continent has given rise to the hypothesis that a civilized but extinct race once lived there. Mr Catlin himself—who seldom ventures into the regions of speculation, but judging from their acquaintance with this and some other arts not generally known among the Red Men, and reasoning also from some differences of hue in the complexion and hair—starts a theory that these Mandans derived not only instruction, but some blood, from Europe;—and he proposes as a question, whether some of the followers of Madoc, who, in the year 1174, is supposed to have sailed with ten ships to the Gulf of Mexico, and afterwards, as he was never heard of, to have entered the Mississippi and settled somewhere—might not have been aiding in their greater civilization?

To us, their advancement seems sufficiently explained by their more settled mode of life. They have always lived in the

presence of the numerous and warlike Sioux; and necessity has compelled them to establish themselves in dwellings more permanent and capable of defence;—thus giving them, what in England we should call 'a stake in the country,' and enabling them to cultivate arts which could not flourish in a roving community. Their village is described as being built in a situation admirably selected for defence,—lying in a sharp angle of the river, whose banks, forty feet high, perpendicular, and of solid rocks, effectually guard two sides of a triangle, leaving only the base to be artificially protected. 'This is done 'by a strong picquet and ditch inside, of three or four feet in 'depth; the picquet is composed of timbers, of a foot or more 'in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground, 'and at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and 'other missiles being fired between them; the ditch is inside 'the picquet, and in which the warriors screen their bodies from 'the view and fire of their enemies, while they are reloading 'and discharging their weapons through the picquets."

One enemy, unfortunately, the picquets could not exclude—the smallpox. The disease came, no one knew whence, like a destroying Angel, and almost annihilated the whole race; some perishing under its first attacks; others, maddened by fever, rushed wildly into the water, and died while vainly endeavouring to allay its burning; and some committed suicide in despair and grief at the ruin around them. About thirty were left at last, and these were destroyed by the Sioux. The end of Mah-to-tah-pe, (the Four Bears,) the most gallant of all the Mandan chiefs, whose amiable character rendered him a great favourite with the author, is thus pathetically described:—

'This fine fellow sat in his wigwam, and watched every one of his family die about him—his wives and his little children, after he had recovered from the disease himself. He walked out around the village, and wept over the final destruction of his tribe—his braves and warriors, whose sinewy arms alone he could depend upon for a continuance of their existence, all laid low—when he came back to his lodge he covered his whole family in a pile with a number of robes, and wrapping another round himself, went out upon a hill at a little distance, where he lay several days, despite all the solicitations of the traders, resolved to *starve* himself to death. He remained there till the sixth day, when he had just strength enough to creep back to the village, where he entered the horrid gloom of his own wigwam, and laying his body alongside of the group of his family, drew his robe over him, and died on the ninth day of his fatal abstinence.'

We have lingered thus long among the Mandans, because they exhibit the *beau-ideal* of the Red Men—possessing all their attainments, all their peculiar manners, and savage virtues, in a

high degree. To them, likewise, the destiny has been accomplished which finally awaits their brethren; and in describing this one race, we have depicted the prominent features of all—it is only in the minute characteristics, depending chiefly upon climate and position, that any variations occur.

Bordering on the Texas, and extending west to the Rocky Mountains, lies the country of the Camanchees, famous for their fierce and dangerous independence. A troop of eight hundred dragoons, commanded by General Leavenworth, was dispatched on a visit to this country, with peaceable instructions, to open a friendly intercourse with the Camanchee and Pawnee tribes dwelling on the Arkansas river, and to procure the release of the son of Judge Martin; but who had been murdered some time before, according to the Indian custom of avenging the wrongs inflicted by one white man upon the person of another. Mr Catlin accompanied this squadron, and has happily lived to tell the tale of an expedition which cost the lives of more than six hundred out of the eight hundred soldiers, including their commander and most of the officers, who died either on the route, or shortly after, from the effects of fatigue and fever. The great characteristic of the Camanchees is their skill in horsemanship. They live among vast herds of wild horses, derived originally from the Spanish breed on the neighbouring plains of Mexico; and like the Asiatic Tartars, for whom also nature keeps an equally bountiful stud, they may be said to pass their lives on horseback.

We should imagine a horse-chase to be the most exciting sport in the world, not only because the quarry is the noblest, but because the object being to catch without injuring, renders the affair much more complicated than when the matter can be settled as soon as the game comes within the range of a rifle-shot. What fox-chase, or stag-hunt, can present a scene equal to that of a herd of a thousand horses rushing along with wild unfettered motions, their shaggy manes streaming in the wind, pursued by a party of Camanchees as wild as themselves, with straining nerves and frantic gestures urging their steeds to highest speed, and whirling round their heads the noose which is presently thrown with unerring aim round some overtaken horse; his captor vaulting at once on his back, sitting there unshaken by all his furious plunges, and in an hour more riding him into the camp effectually broken in!

Between Fort-Gibson and St Louis were to be found, in 1836, the melancholy relics of the tribes which once composed the formidable confederacy known as the 'Six Nations;' who silenced all private feuds in the determination to resist the incursion of the White Men. The result has been what we see—the White

presence of the numerous and warlik... number more than compelled them to establish them... ...ce the author visited manent and capable of defence;— ...ions west of the Missis- land we should call 'a stak... ...ans; who, whenever they them to cultivate arts wh... ...anted their lands, have ex- community. Their vill... other more safely distant— situation admirably se... ...quare miles were given, all the angle of the river, wh... ...all the ties of home and nationality, and of solid rocks ... Among these tribes, with *only* three leaving only the ... the name, were the once-renowned Mo-hee- 'by a strong r... the Mohicans of Cooper's romance. 'depth; the ... treating of the general condition of the Indians at the 'in diamet... of their first discovery, some writers have chosen to repre- 'and at ... them as a decaying people;—falling gradually into a more 'othe... more savage state, and diminishing in actual numbers. We 'th... no foundation for either supposition. The first is derived '... entirely from sundry native traditions of former generations, of courage more high and greater powers than their own—traditions which exist in every nation upon the face of the earth who tell a similar tale, with equal untruth.

Another process of reasoning has assigned an origin of most remote antiquity to the Indian tenure of the American continent; grounded upon the variety of their tribes, and the multiplicity of their languages. Now we may observe, first, that it is quite erroneous to estimate from our own experience the period requisite to create a new tribe, and tongue, amongst a people so loosely connected—with no commerce, no common government, no hierarchy, and no writing; and next, that these tribes, after all, differ from each other little more (except in language) than the same nation in Europe does from its own ancestors of a couple of generations antecedence—and to a race with so little intercourse, two hundred miles of space is equivalent to a generation. Thus one tribe, the Assineboins, derive their distinction and name, which means 'stone-boilers,' from their want of any vessel which can bear the fire, and consequent adoption of the ingenious contrivance of boiling water in their wooden bowls by dropping hot stones into it; another, the Blackfeet, from the dark colour of their leggings, as they had not learnt how to dress the skin to an elegant whiteness. We might multiply instances, but the fact is apparent; and no one can peruse Mr Catlin's very curious and instructive volumes, or glance at the accompanying engravings, without acknowledging that the broad distinctive traces of national character are yet uneffaced; in spite of the vast extent of territory through which they are distributed, and the great differences in climate and food to which they are exposed. The

scornful curves of the Indian countenance' mark ...rtrait; and the constant recurrence of the same ...hickasaws of the Red River, and the Kiowas of ...ains, to the Blackfoot dwelling by the north... would almost warrant the conclusion that ...ndants of one parent; and that time suffi... ...ed to allow temperature and habit to di... ...olance to their common progenitor.

...abours repeatedly to vindicate the Red Man from ...ations of former travellers—showing on what loose ...alse assumptions his character has been traduced. He is called gluttonous and drunken by those who have ejected and degraded him, supplied him with whisky, and left that the only solace to his destitute condition. He is called poor; but can we say that men are entitled to be so designated, 'who live in a boundless 'country of green fields, with good horses to ride; where they are 'all joint-tenants of the soil together; where the Great Spirit has 'supplied them with abundance of food to eat; where they are all 'indulging in the pleasures and amusements of a lifetime of idle-'ness and ease, with no business hours to attend to, or professions 'to learn; no debts to pay; no taxes, no tithes, no rents; no needy 'beggars to touch and tax the sympathy of their souls at every step 'they go. Such might be poverty in the Christian world, but is 'sure to be a blessing where the pride and insolence of compara-'tive wealth are unknown.' They are said to be incapable of improvement, blindly following the precedents of their ancestors, by settlers who cannot induce them to forego the free roving life they are used to, to become servants and husbandmen—by missionaries, who cannot turn them from the worship of the Great Spirit who loved their fathers, to adore a new God whose sons are such as they see! These accusations would seem sufficiently refuted by their ready adoption of European metals for their weapons—their deadly use of the rifle—and the skill, entirely of their own and recent acquisition, in taming and riding the horse.

Religion among the Indians does not form any system of doctrines, or appear with those ceremonies which adorn other creeds. But the Indian is far from being irreligious. Futurity exists for him in smiling reality as an abode of rest, peopled with happy spirits, rejoicing in the presence of the Divinity; and death is viewed as the portal to a land where the good and evil deeds of this life meet their due return; and many an humble prayer is breathed to the Overruler for his favour in that hour. In sundry places, we find our author expressing his own high

opinion of the condition, moral and religious, of the *uncontaminated* Indian:—

'Thus in these little communities, strange as it may appear in the absence of all systems of jurisprudence, I have often beheld peace, and happiness, and quiet, reigning supreme, for which kings and emperors might envy them. I have seen rights and virtue protected, and wrongs redressed; and I have seen conjugal, and filial, and paternal affection, in the simplicity and contentedness of nature. I have unavoidably formed warm and enduring attachments to some of these men, which I do not wish to forget, who have brought me near to their hearts, and in our final separation have embraced me in their arms, and commended me and my affairs to the keeping of the Great Spirit. . . . . Morality and virtue the civilized world need not undertake to teach them. . . . . I fearlessly assert to the world, and I defy contradiction, that the North American Indian is every where, in his native state, a highly moral and religious being, endued by his Maker with an intuitive knowledge of some great author of his being and the universe; in dread of whose displeasure he constantly lives, with the apprehension before him of a future state, where he expects to be rewarded and punished according to the merits he has gained or forfeited in this world.

'Self-denial and self-torture, and almost self-immolation, are continual modes of appealing to the Great Spirit for his countenance and forgiveness, and these not in studied figures of rhetoric, resounding in halls and synagogues, to fill and astonish the ears of the multitude; but humbly cried forth from starved stomachs and parched throats, from some lone and favourite haunts, where the poor penitents crawl and lay with their faces in the dirt from day to day, sobbing forth their humble confessions of their sins, and their earnest implorations for divine forgiveness and mercy.'

Very strong and striking is their reverence for the dead. The Mandans, for example, select a place of sepulture in the thick boughs of trees, or build it on a high scaffold, where the corpse is carefully deposited, wrapped in skins; and for coffin, a covering of soft grass and twigs is used. Food is provided, and the arms and ornaments, the medicine bag and tobacco pouch, possessed during life, are all included in the funeral garment. When corruption has mouldered the whole away, the bones are collected and interred in a spot set apart, and the skull is placed on the ground above them;—few of these skulls being without the anxious tendence of some wife or child, who bring food every evening, and in the day may be seen lying by its side, holding converse with it, as if the spirit still hovered near, and could appreciate the signs of living affection. When an infant of the Sioux dies, the mother carries for a whole year what is called the 'mourning cradle,' being the empty nest in which her little one was borne about while alive; and she lavishes

on this unconscious memorial of her loss, the same marks of tenderness that she would have shown to its living tenant.

In the following passage, the Red and the White man, as visiters of their respective regions, are curiously contrasted; and with it we shall close our extracts:—

'A wild Indian, to reach the civilized world, must needs travel some thousands of miles in vehicles to which he is unaccustomed—living on food he is unused to—stared and gazed at by thousands he cannot talk to—his heart grieving and his body sickening at the exhibition of white men's wealth and luxuries, which are enjoyed on the land and over the bones of his ancestors; and at the end of his journey he stands like a caged animal, to be scanned, to be criticised, to be pitied, and heralded to the world as a mute, a brute, and a beggar. A white man, to reach the Indian village, must travel by steam-boats, by canoes, on horseback, and on foot; swim rivers, wade quagmires, fight mosquitoes, patch his mocassins, live on meat alone, sleep on the ground the whole way; and when he gets there, half starved, half naked, and more than half sick, he finds himself a beggar for a place to sleep in and for something to eat—a mute among thousands who flock about him, to look, and to criticise, and to laugh at his jaded appearance, and to speak of him as they do of all white men, without distinction, as liars.'

It will be evident, from what we have stated, how enthusiastically the author advocates the cause of the Indians. Nor is it only towards the human inhabitants of the country he visited, that he feels this enthusiasm. He can express his pity for the fate of the buffalo, doomed to the same destruction as his wild hunters; and though not often touched with that poetical fervour which swells the diction of the tourists of the Rhine and the Arno, he seems to have been deeply impressed with the loveliness and majesty of some of the scenes through which he passed. We have followed him more as companions looking for amusement and information, than as critics; because his volumes can hardly, in justice, be called to the tribunal of strict criticism. His notes, as already mentioned, were written on the spot, amidst much hurry and distraction, and transmitted to New York, where many of them appeared in the Journals. They have been republished with little alteration in the present volumes. Hence they are often diffuse and incondite; information has to be collected from scattered hints in several different letters; and many facts are modified, or even contradicted by subsequent details. But the reader will find a compensation in the greater vigour of the narrative, which, like a Diary, conveys the vivid impressions of the moment, instead of being chilled and tamed down into a more studied composition.

As an artist, Mr Catlin rightly judged that he could 'learn 'more in three years spent among the Indians, than by study-

'ing in New York for a lifetime.' Accordingly, his four hundred and odd paintings, rough and hasty sketches as they often are, are imbued with much of the free character of the originals; and bear witness that they are genuine portraitures from nature herself. Such as the work is, we strongly recommend it to the perusal of all who wish to make themselves acquainted with a singular race of men, and system of manners, fast disappearing from the face of the earth; and which have nowhere else been so fully, and curiously, and graphically described.

ART. VII.—*The Pictorial History of England: being a History of the People, as well as a History of the Kingdom.* Illustrated with many hundred Woodcuts. By GEORGE L. CRAIK and CHARLES MACFARLANE, assisted by other Contributors. 6 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.*

WE have sometimes speculated on the question, Whether our literature has gained or lost, in spirit and grace, by the increased zeal in antiquarian investigation which has marked these latter days? The great alteration which it has produced, in the manner in which past events and characters are commonly presented to the reader, cannot fail to have struck the most inattentive. A certain accuracy of costume, and the exhibition of all phenomena with their proper accompaniments of time and place, are become absolutely necessary to afford us pleasure, whether in history or historical fiction. We can no longer tolerate Plantagenet princes and princesses, in the garb and character of modern courts; nor the councillors and chancellors of the middle ages, with their sentiments clothed, or their motives described, in the diction which belongs to the political philosophy

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* The original work closes at the accession of George III.; but there is a Continuation in progress which will include that reign. This article is confined to the original work. It was, we think, set on foot by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, but does not, we believe, form one of its sanctioned publications.

In mentioning this Society, we take the opportunity of expressing our great satisfaction at the recent completion of one of the most valuable of its undertakings—namely, a series of treatises in Political Philosophy, embracing a view of the principles, and different forms of Government that have existed in the world; by which one of the greatest blanks in our graver literature has been admirably supplied. We hope to be able, erelong, to give a detailed account of this most important series.

of modern cabinets: all which things no more shocked the prejudices of our ancestors, a few generations ago, than the peri-wig in which Garrick enacted Macbeth. As far as picturesque effect, and the minute particularities which give colour to history and fiction are concerned, there is, of course, no ground for quarrel with this progressive change in public taste. It is an advance towards truth, just of the same kind as the improvements from the Chinese-Gothic of Strawberry Hill to the designs of Rickford and Barry. But when the matter is a little more deeply enquired into, the question which we proposed at starting inevitably forces itself upon our minds. It is not only whether there was not more vigour and manliness in the conceptions of less critical days, but whether there was not, in the main, more of substantial truth also.

The ancients, as we know, had little or nothing of what we now term antiquarian taste. Their delight was to contemplate Man, the abstract microcosm, of qualities and passions belonging to all ages and countries alike, stripped of conventional trappings, and purposely presented to the eye in the simple and majestic nakedness of their own statues. History (that is, the history which entered into popular education) was with them literally what it has been termed—philosophy teaching by example. A better instance to explain our meaning cannot be found, than in the pages of him who was *once* the most popular of Grecian writers with the modern world—Plutarch. No one who reads that fascinating author, can fail to be struck with the total absence of every thing like historical colour and costume in his portraits. He never for a moment stops to inform his reader, that such and such an action was morally just or unjust, according to the notions prevailing at the time, or in the country where it was performed. He never speaks to us of the 'spirit 'of the age' of Pericles, or Themistocles, or Fabricius. Throughout the whole of his work, the history of the world appears without any perspective whatever; the most distant and most recent age are coloured exactly alike. The general state of mankind and civil society is as completely something assumed and constant, as the composition of the atmosphere is with experimental philosophers. All this, to readers imbued with the modern critical spirit, produces a want of verisimilitude. Their minds are with difficulty interested in the exploits of heroes, when the absence of all local colouring continually gives an ideal, abstract character to both hero and exploit. And the consequence is, if we are not mistaken, that Plutarch is not nearly so popular an author—certainly not with the full-grown student, probably not even with the young—as heretofore. It is very

difficult to turn to his simple narratives from the disquisitions of Niebuhr and Arnold. It is in vain to represent to ourselves that Plutarch *ought* to be read as a writer of philosophical romance, and that as such his excellences are unaltered by his want of antiquarian accuracy. The answer is, that half the pleasure they give is derived from confidence in their general truth. When that illusion is destroyed, the beauties of his style may command admiration; but he is too inartificial a writer to excite that sort of interest which we derive from fictitious narrative.

Or let us turn for a moment to a greater than Plutarch, and consider the light in which the main features of our annals are presented in the historical plays of Shakspeare. There is no colouring of time or place about them. The haughty chiefs in whom his readers, when he constituted half the literature of the many, found their types of heroic majesty—Hotspur and Mowbray, Clifford and Warwick—are gigantic images of warriors, unreal as historical portraits, real only as figures of men. Their language and passions are of all ages; their outward characteristics are not distinctly marked as belonging to any. Yet they formed not merely the delight, but the great historical repertory of the ordinary students of former times. Shakspeare's heroes are heroes still; but they are not to us—a more curious generation—the men whom history calls by the same names, but shadows like Achilles and Ajax. We are quite sure that no one in our days will repeat the Duke of Marlborough's confession, of having learned history from these dramas; and we are by no means certain that they have not lost some portion of their popularity; that, however high we may still carry our idolatry of Shakspeare, *this division* at least of his mighty works is not quite what it once was—the manual of boyhood, and the delight of all ages.

Hume was far too careless a writer, even if the taste of the public in his time had required it, to trouble himself with the minute labour necessary for this kind of investigation. Accordingly, the reader finds little in his pages to bring him acquainted with the antiquarian details of history: although his rare sagacity enabled him to estimate the broader and more general influence of the spirit of each particular time on the characters of men, in a manner which the soundest antiquary could not have surpassed. This characteristic is well observed on by the authors of the *History* before us. 'We would scarcely attempt,' they say, 'to defend the prejudices and the minor inaccuracies of 'Hume: but, it seems to us, that sufficient account is not made 'of the wonderful quickness and sagacity of that great writer, and 'most admirable of narrators, whose intuitive perception gener-

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ın which we have suggested that antiquarian
.e historical taste. In seeking with exclusive
ɔ realize past ages to our imagination, we run the
ıg sight of those general characteristics common to men
circumstances, in our attention to those which are distinc-
.e. Substantial reality no longer suffices us—we must have outward verisimilitude also; and we become apt to mistake the show for the substance. We withdraw our eyes from the man himself, to fix them on his coat-of-mail, trunk hose, or periwig; and history becomes rather a gallery of pictures than a series of examples.

This may be illustrated by the change which more accurate knowledge effects in our notions of distant countries. The more distinctly the habits and peculiarities of these are brought before us by observers, the more vivid our idea of the people themselves, the more different we conceive them from ourselves. Writers of Voltaire's days, used to draw examples of government and manners from China. We know a great deal more about China now, and the attempt seems absurd. We conceive a Chinese as a being of habits and prejudices framed on such utterly different principles from our own, that we should as soon seek for lessons from the ways of some ingenious race of monkeys, as from the wisdom of the Emperor Kanghi and his Mandarins. There was a time when satire on European institutions was conveyed under the fashionable form of *Persian Letters*, *Turkish Spies*, and *Travels of Chinese Philosophers:* in which the imaginary writers were for the most part a sort of cosmopolite personages, but slightly covered with the costume appropriated to their respective character, in the opinion of the Grub Street of the French metropolis;—resembling the real individuals about as much as did the regenerated Turks, Savages, and Englishmen, in the procession of Anacharsis Clootz, the 'orator of the human race.' Why does this fashion no longer please? Because we have become curious about the real habits and character of Osmanlis and Persians; and, if we can any longer tolerate them sitting as philosophic censors of ourselves, it must be in the grotesque vein of 'Hajji

'Baba.' The same advantages which improved communication, and the passion for travelling, have performed for us in regard to space, have been achieved for us in regard to time by our antiquarians; but, far more than by all the rest, through the genius of the one great innovator of this age—of him who, like Shakspeare, seized on the form which had become popular in his time, to give it an immortal substance. It is not too much to say, that Walter Scott, by his pre-eminent success, has changed the whole tone and character of historical literature. He has substituted the picturesque for the philosophical style.

It is curious to trace the still more important effects of this change on the political province of history. It has done far more towards extinguishing the old reverence for the wisdom of our ancestors, than all the philosophy and liberalism of which this age is accused. We appeal to those among our readers who have contracted the prevalent taste for antiquarian study, whether this is not one of its inevitable consequences. It does not engender a contemptuous or sneering spirit: far from it. But it fixes the attention on the peculiarities of old times, until all resemblance between them and the present is lost sight of. We acquire a habit of contemplating our ancestors, certainly not as ignorant barbarians, as the conceit of another school represented them; but as quaint, respectable oddities, very much to be admired and studied, but altogether incommensurable with ourselves—people of a different standard. It is scarcely fifty years since it was still the fashion to cite Norman and Plantagenet precedent—to speak in similar language of the Parliaments of Edward the First and George the First—to derive almost all our political system from the middle ages. Such views are very rarely expressed at the present day. Prynne and Lilburne could identify themselves, in their enthusiasm for English freedom, with Earl Warenne and Simon de Montfort—what Reformer could do so now? Scott, the regicide, on his trial, gravely referred to Saxon times as giving authority for the exclusive jurisdiction of the House of Commons. This would now pass for burlesque. The antiquarian lawyer now busies himself in tracing the pedigree of our liberties, not in expounding their principles. He finds the historical origin of the constitution in Magna Charta and the records of the Great Council; but, more accurately versed in these than his predecessors, he regards them as the work of times altogether distinct from our own, and from which no analogous precedents can be drawn. Burke, comprehensive and philosophical as his views were, did not hesitate to assert, that our ancestors of the middle ages had left us nothing to learn in the principles of government and political

liberty. The most zealous Anti-Jacobin would hardly venture now on so sweeping a declaration.

Thus it happens, by a paradoxical result, that increased reverence for antiquity tends to the neglect of it;—that history, from being studied with a more intense interest, sinks from the rank of 'philosophy teaching by example,' into the category of amateurship and *vertu*. Thus it will be, in all probability, with an important branch of historical knowledge, in which so great a revival of interest has very recently taken place, within and out of this country—the study of ecclesiastical antiquities. The more closely and critically the ancient church is contemplated, the less endeavour will be made to revive it—the more strongly the discrepancies between its age and ours will be impressed on the imagination. Such consequences are certainly little apprehended by those who are now most eager in the pursuit; but they appear to us likely to follow, to say the least, from a very simple law of our nature. What we see dimly and distantly, we can colour as we please, and bring as near as we please, by the power of fancy. When the perspective is distinct, illusion is impossible. No one but a child is deceived by the apparent nearness of an object seen through a telescope; and all the improvements in modern arts, which have brought the heavenly bodies more closely within our ken, do but strengthen, to an instructed mind, the awful feeling of their enormous distance.

For our own parts, we are almost ashamed to confess to having caught so much of the infection of modern antiquarianism, that the school of Hume and Robertson now appears to us cold and colourless, from the want of that appropriate finish for which we have acquired an appetite. In common, we believe, with many, we are apt, in surveying ancient times, to fancy ourselves transported into another planet, peopled by different beings from those around us. In Walter Scott, or the numerous historians of his school, ancient events and personages seem to us unreal in one sense, real in another: we recognize a truth and distinctness, such as we had never before perceived; but they are the truth and distinctness of a dream. We see the baronial castle, the monastery, the battlemented town, with their antique inhabitants, of whom it seems to us that in the pages of Hume and Robertson we only *read:* and yet we can hardly persuade ourselves that they were denizens of our actual world—that the same sun shone in the 'dark ages' which shines now; or the same waves wafted the galleys of Norman William, which are now furrowed by the dainty evolutions of the Yacht Club. Our antiquarians still analyze charters and records, to catch, if possible, the spirit of the old English con-

stitution; but they convey to us little interest in its lessons; and we no longer feel tempted to apply them to the politics of the existing world. Others become critically learned in tracing the vestiges of ancient devotion: but these only place the reality further from us, until we are tempted to fancy that the canonized dead were of a different race from ours, and that modern piety cannot be rekindled at their ashes.

The 'Pictorial History of England,' now before us, seems to be the very thing required by the popular taste of the present day;—adding to the advantage of a clear historical narrative, all the varied illustrations of which the subject is capable. After the fashion first introduced by Dr Henry, the authors have divided their subject into periods; the narrative of civil and military events in each being followed by chapters on the history of religion, the constitution and laws, the condition of the people, national industry, manners and customs. And almost every page in the earlier volumes is enriched with appropriate woodcuts, generally of able execution—dresses, arms, industrious employments, sports, copied from illuminated manuscripts of the periods to which they belong—views of scenes rendered famous by historical events, taken from drawings or prints as near the period as could be obtained—ample illustrations of architecture and sculpture; portraits, and fac-similes—and, here and there, cuts from historical pictures; but these are so few, and, for the most part, from such indifferent originals, (English art affording hardly any better,) that they might have been omitted with little loss.

The authorship of the narrative of 'civil and military transactions,' by far the longest portion of the work, is claimed by Mr Macfarlane. The labour and pains bestowed upon it have evidently been great. The tone of it is easy and free, and the narrative often possesses a degree of spirit which is rarely accompanied with so much industry. We have seldom met with pleasanter reading—as far as what may be called the mechanical part of reading is concerned; although the freedom of the style sometimes seems to us to run a little too much into an off-hand, essay-like manner; to which, perhaps, the constant recurrence of the critical 'we' a little contributes. Before we had discovered his name, we had little doubt in hailing him a countryman of our own. At this conclusion we had arrived, from the very extraordinary proportion which the affairs of good old Scotland occupy, in what is specifically called 'a 'Pictorial History of England.' In another characteristic, we should not be very willing, whatever some may say, to recognise any peculiar conformity to the genius of our native soil; namely, in the kind of modern and modish affectation of

patronizing superiority with which the author is apt to set off his own moral elevation above the creatures of past days, whose actions and character he has to portray—despising all things, sneering at all things, puffing himself up with all things. Even in the earlier portion of the work, the Harrys and Edwards—the Barons and Prelates of the Plantagenet days—are made, one by one, to cut but a very sorry figure. The great moral, even in that division, seems to be the worthlessness of mankind in all ages and times—the casual and exceptional character of good men and good institutions, the vanity of history itself. But when we come down to the days of religious and political struggle, our historian becomes the very 'Smelfungus' of antiquarian annalists. For a long way he is perfectly impartial in his judgments. There is no preference for one member of the oscillating line of the Tudors over another. When the pendulum sways to the Protestant side, Mr Macfarlane dwells manfully on the inconsistencies and unfairness of the Protestants; when the Romanists rise again, he points out, with the same acuteness, their ignorance and bigoted violence; and signalizes, with equal satisfaction, the misrepresentations of Burnet and of Lingard. Only poor Mary Stuart meets with considerable favour at his hand—partly, we suspect, from spite against Elizabeth, partly from paradox, and partly from patriotism. But when we reach a later age, the class to which the writer belongs becomes conspicuous enough. In the Stuart era, he stands detected. And here, we must confess—as far as Reviewers may—we have thought ourselves licensed to give a rather more cursory attention to his narrative. We have read the pleadings of advocates on both sides of the great quarrel, until we do fancy ourselves pretty fully possessed with all that rhetoric and sophistry can do to cloud the sense of right and wrong, to make black white, and put sweet for bitter. If we are sometimes astonished at the strange representations which clerical writers still not unfrequently address to the world, in the shape of panegyrics on Laud, or romantic narratives of the times of the great Rebellion, scarcely less unlike the truth appears to us the laboured overdrawing of the *very* modern republican school. We do not say that our author belongs to it; but he has borrowed not a little of its style and expression. We are not alluding to Utopian republicanism of the Godwin cast, for which, wildly unreal as it was, we always felt some respect—which worshipped the dream of the English Commonwealth, and saw despots alike in the monarch whom it displaced and the soldier who destroyed it; —but to that more modern kind, which finds a justification for all things in victorious energy; which despises the scrupulous

palterer, adores the keen and active, above all the successful, doer—the overthrower of prejudices, the puller down of establishments, the conqueror of 'formulas,' whose hero is the Leveller, not the Commonwealth's man; which cannot find words to express the profundity of its admiration for the 'wonderful' Cromwell, and sees nothing in Charles but the casuist and the tyrant; which points out, with most prudish accuracy, every falsehood and evasion by which the poor baited King sought to baffle his multitudinous pursuers, and can pass over, without a word of comment, the subtle artifices by which the Arch-dissembler wrought his way to supreme power;—though the first were, after all, but the doublings of the hunted hare; the others, the crafty prowlings of the beast of prey.

We cannot but have some respect for the tenacity of character which makes Englishmen fight over the battles of two hundred years ago, with all the zeal and all the party-spirit of the generation which enacted them; and fancy the honour of their political principles involved in the reputation of each actor in those scenes, who has long since gone to an account, in which the right or wrong of his side of the quarrel will avail him little indeed. Yet it is wearisome to find every new publication assuming the same party character; the same fallacies, the same casuistry, reproduced on one side and the other, as if the writer was in the most unaffected ignorance of all the positions which have been established by the adversary. It is so easy a task to write history in this fashion! By subjecting to minute criticism all the narratives of his opponents, and repeating without enquiry the statements of his partizans, a Laud or a Cromwell may be equally well made saints, while a Hampden or a Montrose may be turned into petty intriguers by pursuing the contrary process.* But it

* An instance of this sort of criticism, on a small scale, will be found in the way in which one or two of the common anecdotes about Cromwell are treated. For example, at the trial of Henry Marten, 'a serving-man of the name of Ewer, who had some time served him, was put into the box. After *being browbeaten by the counsel*, this man said, "My lord, I did see a pen in Mr Cromwell's hand, and he marked Mr Marten in the face with it, and Mr Marten did the like to him; but I did not see any one set his hand, though I did see parchment there with a great many seals on it."—'And this,' adds the author, 'is all the evidence that we have for a story which is constantly quoted to prove the barbarous and rustic buffoonery of Cromwell.' If we were disposed to reply in the same pleading vein, on so trifling a matter, we might say that it is very hard that the plain story of poor Ewer, who is brought on the page of history only to say these four or five words, should be thus slightingly

is in vain to look for better things. History will still be, as heretofore, an exercise for clever pleaders while England remains divided between Whigs and Tories, Dissenters and Churchmen; while each holds himself personally answerable for the character of all his race, down from Thomas à Becket and Wycliffe respectively; and each closes every argument with the honest avowal of the Duchess de la Ferté—*Tiens, mon enfant, je ne vois que moi qui aie toujours raison.*

But it is the earlier part of this *History* to which, independent of all political merits and demerits, the greatest interest attaches; and here the author's spirit and freedom of narrative afford really no small attraction. It is a *compilation*, and pretends to no other merit; but such a compilation—judiciously and readably executed, adopting in many places the very words of the contemporary narratives, and keeping as close to the picturesque character as the subjects will admit—is certainly among the most agreeable forms of history. Nor should we at all quarrel with the compilers for honestly avowing the use which they have made of other compilers. Close and original investigation, in a work of so popular a kind as this, is scarcely to be looked for; but we are sorry to see, that, as far as we can discover, they have failed in doing this justice to one, at least, whom they have very largely used. In the reigns of the Norman kings, the narrative of 'Civil and Military Transactions' is borrowed, in many places *word for word*, from Thierry's *Histoire des Normands en Angleterre*. Not only is this substantially the case throughout; but, in many of the most picturesque and animated portions of the story, the writer has transferred the Frenchman's narrative bodily into his own work. If the reader wishes to examine the truth of our assertion, let him compare the story of the youth of Matilda, wife of Henry I., (vol. i. p. 406,) with Thierry, book vii. vol. ii. p. 320 of the duodecimo edition;—the shipwreck of Henry I.'s son (ib. 414) with Thierry, vol. ii. p. 343;—the description of the people of the south of France at the time of the French conquest, (ib. 445, Thierry, iii. 93;)—the death of Henry II., (ib. 471, Thierry, iii. 340;)—the whole relation of the wars between that king and his sons, that of the military

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treated; that the 'browbeating' of the counsel rather seems to show that the witness was reluctant to repeat against his old master a story which he had probably often told in conversation; that Marten, who was voluble enough on the occasion, offered no denial, but seemed to imply the truth of some such charge by his joke, that sportiveness 'showed no malice;' and that there is other evidence to show the levity which Cromwell thought fit to assume at that critical moment.

events of the Norman conquest, and many other parts, which we have collated. Nor is this all. The foot-notes of Thierry's work are enriched with copious references to original authorities. These our compiler has borrowed by wholesale, without an intimation, as far as we have discovered, that they are taken at second-hand.*

This seems to us hardly consistent with the honourable dealing which even compilers ought to exemplify; and we notice it the more, on account of the little attention which the admirable work of M. Thierry has met with in England. If Thierry owed (as he probably did) the direction of his mind to this subject to the noble sketch drawn by Walter Scott in Ivanhoe, this is one instance of the great indirect services which the great novelist has rendered to history. In originality and in faithfulness, and that spirit of happy conjecture which has raised Niebuhr to the first rank in literature, we know few historical writers of the second order who can be compared with Thierry. If he has sometimes ridden his hobby too unmercifully, this serves only to render the comparison between him and Niebuhr the more accurate. It is but rarely, at all events, that he has done so, although it is amusing to see how the same subject-matter assumes a different colouring when seen by the light of the several theories of historians; as when the history of Thomas à Becket, in which Hume and Lyttleton saw the struggle between polity and priestcraft, and Mr Froude the warfare between the church and the world, becomes, in the hands of M. Thierry, a mere scene in the long drama of Saxons and Normans. But this can hardly be called a detraction from his merit. If M. Thierry's work were known in England as it ought to be, it could

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* When he gives an explanation of some quotation of Thierry's, (which is rarely,) it is not always successful. Thierry quotes the lines of a Troubadour,—

'E m' plai quan la trega es fracha
Dels Esterlins e dels Tornès;'

which he translates—

'La trève des sterlings avec les tournois.'

This our author explains as follows:—'The Sterlings and the Tornes, 'the *Easterlings and the people of Touraine, as they called the French* 'and English.' The reader hardly need be told, that these words mean *pounds sterling*, and *livres tournois!* and half the point of the soldier-poet's verse is lost by the mistake; for the southern Frenchmen were generally made aware of the breach of truce between the King of France and his puissant vassal, by the circulation of their coinage to buy the services of Gascon spearmen.

been pillaged thus unscrupulously. We may, perhaps, ...inous a work as that before us, have passed over, ...rvation, some acknowledgment of the debt; but we ...pon only one casual reference to Thierry, (vol. i. ...ave not made the experiment of comparing our ...ir predecessors in other parts, and should be ...neral accusation on this instance. We per... very fairly their obligation to De Barante ... to the history of the Maid of Arc, (vol. ii.

...f the work are perhaps the most ori... from saying that they are performed ... it is to them that the student of pictu... most naturally turn. The history of Reli... that of Manners and Customs, are principally executed ...y Mr Thomson—that of the Constitution, by Mr Bisset—the remainder by various writers; among whom, we observe, that the accounts of Costume and Furniture (a valuable and entertaining part) are contributed by Mr Planché—the account of Saxon Literature by Sir Henry Ellis—that of the 'Condition of 'the People,' not finding any name in particular assigned to it, we refer to the editor, Mr Craik. It is a new head in a modern history, although the most important perhaps of all; and, though we do not think it is executed with the same degree of pains as the other parts of the work, (probably because, although materials are abundant, there are not the same aids towards arranging them,) we have found much to interest us in the comparative view which it afforded of the course of social change (would we could say progress!) in respect of the comfort and general condition of the mass of the people.

Let us cast our eyes first on the state of our people in the Anglo-Saxon period—that is, in the last century or two of the Anglo-Saxon dominion, when the commotions of Danish war had partially ceased, and Danes and Saxons divided the soil between them. It is certain that we should be far wrong if we supposed the condition of the great bulk of that people to have been one of extreme poverty and discouragement; if we compared it, in respect of physical comfort, with that in which the poorer classes of many nations are placed at the present day—that of the well-educated and orderly, but miserably poor peasantry of North Germany, or of the more energetic, but less civilized, and even more distressed cottar class in Ireland—or, in any respect, with that of the miserable serfs of Poland and Lithuania. But we should be wrong, also, if we compared it, as has sometimes been done without sufficient consi-

deration, to that of early settlers in a wide and fertile region, who enjoy abundance because there are few to share it. If the population of England equalled a million and a half when 'Domes-Day Book' was compiled, after the wide-wasting desolation of the Conquest, it cannot have fallen short of two millions in the reign of Edward the Confessor, which is the estimate of the present author;—a number not much smaller, in proportion to its extent, than that of the State of New York at the present day, and far more equally distributed over the surface; for England had scarcely any thing deserving the name of a town, and a vast number of villages.

"It is a remarkable fact, and one which has scarcely been sufficiently adverted to, that, with very few exceptions indeed, all the towns, and even villages and hamlets, which England yet possesses, appear to have existed from the Saxon times. This is in general sufficiently attested by their mere names, and there is historical evidence of the fact in a large proportion of instances. Our towns and villages have become individually larger in most cases in the course of the last eight or ten centuries; but in all that space of time no very great addition has been made to their number. The augmentation which the population and wealth of the country have undergone, vast as it has been in the course of so many ages, has nearly all found room to collect and arrange itself around the old centres. This fact does not disprove the magnitude of the increase which has been made to the numbers of the people; for the extension of the circumference, without any multiplication of the centres, would suffice to absorb any such increase, however great; but seeing how thickly covered the country actually is with towns and villages, it is certainly curious to reflect that they were very nearly as numerous over the greater part of it in the time of the Saxons. And if only about twenty-eight of our cities and towns, or even twice that number, can be traced to a Roman original, the number indebted to the Saxons for their first foundation must be very great; for, as we have seen, nearly all that are not Roman are Saxon. As for our villages, the undoubted fact that the present division of the country into parishes is, almost without any alteration, as old at least as the tenth century, would alone prove that the English villages in the Saxon times were nearly as numerous as at the present day. . . . . Let it be conceded that many of the villages were very small, consisting, perhaps, of only a dozen or two of cottages; still we apprehend the facts imply a diffusion of population and of cultivation, vastly beyond what can be supposed to have taken place in the preceding or Roman period, during which, indeed, the country was traversed in various directions by noble roads, and ornamented with some considerable towns; but does not appear, from any notices that have come down to us, or any monuments or signs that remain, to have been generally covered with villages of any description."—(Vol. I. pp. 348, 349.)

In this estimate the author, it is observed, purposely disregards the well-known tradition quoted by Spelman, that there

were more than 45,000 parish churches in England at the time of the Conquest—a tradition with which the late Mr Cobbett, so far as we know, was unacquainted; but which would have helped him out prodigiously in his theory of the depopulation of modern England. 'It appears,' says the author, in a note to the above passage, 'that a similar exaggerated notion of the 'number of parishes in England was long entertained. In the 'year 1371, the parliament granted Edward III. a subsidy of 'L.50,000, which, it was calculated, would be raised by an as- 'sessment, at the average rate of L.1, 2s. 4d. upon each parish; 'but it was found that the number of parishes had been so much 'overrated, that, to make up the sum, the assessment had even- 'tually to be raised to L.5, 16s. on each.' The number of parishes, therefore, was not quite 9000;—now, including those popularly so termed, about 10,700.

As the people were nowhere crowded into densely inhabited districts, and as, moreover, it required a very much greater extent of ground to raise the same quantity of food than at the present day—probably not less than three times as great—a large proportion of the surface must have been cultivated, after the rude fashion of the time; and we cannot agree with the description of those writers who seem to imagine that England presented a prospect of almost continuous wastes and forests, with here and there a settled tract along the banks of the navigable rivers. Except in a few districts of fell and fen, the traveller in Saxon times could rarely have found himself above a few furlongs from the habitations of men—rarely above three or four miles from the nearest parish church, except in the northern counties.

Without entering here into the controversies respecting the political ranks of the Saxon people, (which are very well summed up in this volume,) it is sufficient to say, that the great mass of the peasantry were 'churls' or villains, but not slaves or serfs—a very substantial distinction. They were bound to the soil undoubtedly, and therefore not, according to our notions, free; but here their bondage ceased. While they remained there, their rights were apparently as well defined as those of the noble; their rents and duties fixed by custom. 'They were under the 'same obligation under which every modern tenant or lessee lies 'during the currency of his lease; with this difference only, that 'the latter, provided he continues to pay his rent, may withdraw 'his person to where he pleases. But his rent he is as strictly 'bound to pay as the villain of old was to pay his yearly dues, 'and to render the accustomed services.'—'The soil, in truth, 'was as much his as he the soil's. If he could not leave it, so 'neither could he be driven from it. It was his property to oc-

'cupy, and cultivate, and reap the produce of, as much as his 'services and dues were the property of the lord.' They enjoyed, in short, security of person and property, and it cannot well be supposed that their duties were onerous. In fact, we should not be far wrong in calling them part proprietors of the soil to which they were attached; for if any definite description can be given of the meaning of that vague word *property*, as applied to land, surely all those who have, by law, a right to a fixed share of that surplus produce of the soil which remains, after replacing the expenditure of its cultivation with the ordinary profit, are proprietors; whatever the law may term them. And in this sense the ownership was shared between them and the lord; neither could dispossess the other. It is not until the system of rack-rents is adopted, under which the whole surplus produce goes to the landlord—a late stage in agricultural improvement—that he can be truly considered as the sole owner.

Accordingly, we could not far err in estimating their condition as one of relative comfort, when measured by the standard of any age. The few monuments of their usages which we possess, seem to confirm this supposition. Animal food was the common diet. A law of Wihtræd denounces the punishment of the pillory to a man who gave meat to his tenants, *i.e.* bondmen, on fast-days. This, however, was partly owing to its relative cheapness; cattle and swine constituting a far larger proportion of the agricultural produce than in later days. The people were well dressed, if we may judge by pictorial representations:—'Shoes of some descrip-'tion were worn by all, as even the common labourers, who are 'generally depicted barelegged, are rarely seen barefooted.' Labour was not severe; indeed, except in the period of seed-time and harvest, it is probable that the labourers had little enough to do; but a plain proof of the general state of ease is to be found in the treatment of women. 'Very seldom, if ever, 'in the illuminated manuscripts which relate to this period, do 'we find women represented as taking a part in the labour of the 'field; but even in those which were of the lightest kind men 'only are employed.' The Saxons, therefore, were neither in the state of barbarism in which women are made to undergo severe toil, through the sloth of their masters; nor in the state of want in which they are forced to it by necessity, as in many continental countries at the present day. The facts which have been ascertained in relation to the position of women 'are, on 'the whole, highly favourable both to them and to the general 'state of society in the Anglo-Saxon period.'

On the whole, they were a happy race, as far as external circumstances can make a people so;—trained to the use of arms,

and with all the boldness and spirit which the prevalence of the military character gives to a peasantry, yet not much visited, in the period to which we are referring, by the worst evils of warfare;—ignorant and superstitious, no doubt, but scarcely more so than the nobles and priests whom they obeyed. It would be difficult, as we have seen, to find a parallel to their condition in that of any modern European people. Perhaps it may be more readily discoverable in the East; among many of the tribes which dwell in a state of comparative independence under the Turkish Government—as Mr Urquhart describes them; among the Affghans, and other mountain nations bordering on Persia and India, where the cultivators of the soil are to be found under the sway of their own chieftains, and bound by a yoke which, to European nations, almost resembles slavery, and yet is consistent with the spirit of independence; enjoying a considerable degree of physical comfort, because part owners, in the sense we have already described, of the soil which they till; paying only a fixed rent to their superiors; and forming the great body of the nation, with a small class of nobles above them, and a small class of personal slaves below them. It has been often remarked of some of these tribes, especially of the Seiks and Affghans, that they exhibit the rudiments of a feudal system; so did the Anglo-Saxons, and nearly to the same extent.

This state of society, on the whole a favourable one, seems to arise, in the East, where the noble class and the inferiors are of the same stock. Where society is formed by conquest, the latter are generally reduced to slavery; but where by the people, under its leaders, driving out the original occupants, this patriarchal or modified feudal system prevails. Transferring our view from the East, where the types of society are permanent, to the West, where they are fluctuating, we find that the Saxons, at the period to which we allude, had reached that point which many oriental nations have never passed; and hence we may pretty safely conclude that the British inhabitants were mostly expelled, not enslaved, and the population nearly homogeneous, except in the Danish districts. The churls 'were originally the military followers of their lord, who settled them upon 'his lands, because they had a claim upon him for their services; 'and because, from the relation in which they stood to him, he 'was held to be bound to provide for them. The former inhabitants would, no doubt, have been glad to be allowed to 'remain to cultivate the ground; but although we may not suppose them, with some, to have been in every case altogether 'swept away to make room for their conquerors, it cannot be 'questioned that they were obliged to give place to the new

'comers, to a very great extent,' We agree with our authors in believing, that the 'Theowes,' or small slavish class, were not of British descent, but chiefly convicts, who had forfeited their freedom to the law; and are inclined to go even further than they do, in supposing the British inhabitants in most parts of the island to have been exterminated, or driven into the mountains.

We have dwelt upon this point, because it seems to us to be of cardinal importance in attaining a clear view of the whole course of the history of the English people. If there is one circumstance which peculiarly rivets the reader's attention, in consulting such contemporary authorities as bear on national habits, it is the superior condition of the body of the people in England to that in the neighbouring Continental States. The great *Tiers-etat* of this kingdom seems to subsist in the same rude but substantial prosperity, nearly through all the revolutions which we survey. From the time of the Norman invaders to the present day, observers who have crossed the Channel to our shores, have made the same remarks on the flourishing appearance of the great agricultural class. It was a characteristic of England, quite as much in the days of Feudalism, or of the Tudor monarchy, as it has been ever since the Revolution; and it is scarcely less absurd to attribute to that great event our deliverance from wooden shoes and *soup-maigre*, than to set down the character of the English yeoman as the offspring of the English constitution, of which it is in truth the cause. Had the warriors of Hengist and Horsa subdued Britain in the same manner in which the Franks conquered Gaul, or the Lombards, Italy; had the Britons been reduced to the condition of the Roman provincials on the Continent; we might have had cities of more early greatness, freer municipal institutions, more relics of the grandeur and peculiar civilization of the dark ages, but we should not have had the English yeomanry; and, wanting it, we should have wanted that which, in our fond belief, has rendered England, even from old, the paragon of countries.

After all that the labours of antiquarians has performed of late years, it cannot be said that we have attained a very distinct view of the effect produced on the fortunes of this great body of the nation by the Norman rule. That it was only temporary we know; but we probably have insufficient ideas of its violence, or of its duration. Fearful glimpses of the misery of the times are occasionally afforded by the Chroniclers; chiefly occupied as they are with detailing the actions of the restless, licentious, headstrong race of foreigners, which then exercised its allotted sway among us; perhaps the most gifted with intel-

lect and energy, and the most unrestrained in crime—the boldest and subtlest, most high-reaching and profligate—which has ever played its part on the earth. Notices of famine and scarcity are so frequent in the 'Saxon Chronicle,' for the first sixty or seventy years after the Conquest, that the writer of the chapter before us observes, that 'it seems impossible to read them without 'entertaining the conviction, that the vicissitudes of the seasons 'were greater in those days than our own.' The vicissitudes of the seasons were probably much the same—but the cultivator had to struggle against far more merciless enemies than the elements. It is curious to observe how that Chronicle, the faithful representative of the feelings of the oppressed Saxon nation, classes the mischief of the seasons and the rapine of men *together;* as evils equally foreign and beyond control, and to be suffered with the same resignation. The year 1096 'was a very heavy-timed 'year throughout all England, both through the manifold 'tributes, and also through the very heavy-timed hunger, that 'sorely oppressed the earth.' 1098 was 'a very troublesome 'year, from the manifold impositions, and from the abundant 'rains, that ceased not all the year.' It cannot be doubted, that from the Conquest to the reign of Henry II. was a period of distress and misery to the body of the people, such as England has known in no other age: such, probably, as to have produced an evident deterioration in their physical condition. There is a passage in one of Peter of Blois's letters, describing the flourishing appearance in his eyes of the country and people in France, which contrasts curiously with the general tone of travellers from one to the other side of the Channel, and seems to us to indicate the then depressed state of the English.

At the same time Feudality established itself in the land; and though the subject be a hackneyed one, we will extract our author's description of what M. Guizot calls the 'primitive feudal 'molecule'—the Baronial castle and family.

'The feudal castle, then, usually built in an elevated and isolated situation, and rendered as strong as nature and the art of the time could make it, is inhabited by the owner of the serf, his wife and children; in addition to these, perhaps by a few freemen who have not become proprietors, and, being attached to his person, continue to live with him. Without, close under the walls, is grouped a small population of *coloni*, or cultivators of the soil. Before the German invasion nothing of this kind existed in the Roman empire. The rich either lived in the cities, or in fine houses agreeably situated near the cities, in rich plains, or on the banks of rivers. Throughout the country were scattered the villæ, properly a sort of farm buildings, where lived the slaves or *coloni* who tilled the soil, hence called *villani, villeins.*

'One of the first features which strikes us in the condition of this

feudal lord is its isolation. Take any other form of society with which we are acquainted, the purely savage, the nomadic, the Greek and Roman—in all you will find men brought into constant co-operation with their equals. Not so here. The feudal lord is like Robinson Crusoe in the desert island, monarch of all he surveys; for the human beings about the former are as much subjected to his will as the brutes around the latter.

'To this feature is joined another—idleness, want of occupation, almost unexampled in any other human society; for although the feudal baron is compelled, from time to time, to make great, to make desperate exertions to retain his place in that wild, almost anarchical society in which he lives, yet these exertions are called for at such long and irregular intervals, that they provide him with nothing whatever of the nature of regular occupation. He becomes, therefore, a prey to *ennui*, to ennui so intolerable, that, cost what it may, he must find an escape from it. And what is the refuge he seeks? The documents that have come down to us from those wild times sufficiently show the nature of it. It consisted in that long series of hunting-matches, robberies, and wars, which characterize the middle ages. The Crusades may be considered as one valve by which the pent-up energy escaped—by which the ennui was sought to be dispelled.

'Two consequences of the above-mentioned features are, first, The strange and savage energy with which individual character is developed, as in the case when man lives alone, given up to the caprices of his imagination and the original tendencies of his nature. Secondly, The very slow progress of civilization—slower than under any other similar circumstances, where a previous advance had been made.

'Yet, at the same time, there existed within those rude and gloomy feudal fortresses, a principle of civilization which has exerted a most powerful influence in modern society. It is well known that the domestic life and condition of women have attained a much higher degree of importance in modern Europe than any where else. Of the causes of the importance of women in modern Europe, the life of the feudal lord in his solitary castle must be considered as one of the principal. In the other nations that have made most advances in civilization—the Greek and Roman—as well as those that more resembled in their mode of life the feudal society, the men were too much occupied to devote much time and attention to their wives and children.

> "Sword, gown, gain, glory, offer'd in exchange
> Pride, fame, ambition, to fill up the heart."

'Here, on the other hand, the sword was the only, and that not a constant occupation—and, indeed, rather an amusement than an occupation. When the feudal baron returned from any of his wild adventures to his castle, he always found his wife and children there to receive him—almost his only equals, his only intimates. When he left his home, too, in search of adventures, his wife remained mistress of the castle, the representative of her husband, charged in his absence with the service and the defence of the fief. Hence the examples of displays of courage

nity which we meet with in women of this period, to a greater
han any where else.

of this state of things arose the order and spirit of Chivalry,
of which has long outlived the former, and has certainly
o mean and unimportant part in the drama of European
But into this our limits do not permit us to enter into
Ve shall content ourselves with stating M. Guizot's opinion
which is, that chivalry was not the result of any regular
.t sprang up spontaneously in the interior of the feudal castles,
nsequence, on the one hand, of the ancient German customs—on the other, of the relations subsisting between the *suzerain* and his vassals. Leaving the lordly fortress, let us pause for a moment amongst the population inhabiting the cluster of huts that are closely huddled together under its walls, or at the foot of the rock or hill on which it is built. It is a common opinion, that the deplorable condition of the agricultural population in the times of which we are writing, dates from the destruction of the Roman empire; that the progressive development of the feudal system plunged them into the state in which we find them from the sixth to the twelfth century. Von Savigny, and after him M. Guizot, have completely demonstrated the erroneousness of this opinion, by numerous passages which they have quoted from the Theodosian Code, from the Code and Novels of Justinian; and from the Constitutions of Justinian, and succeeding emperors, they have shown that, at least during the latter periods of the Roman rule, the condition of the tillers of the soil, of the *coloni*, was almost precisely the same as it was afterwards under the feudal system; that the husbandman or peasant occupied a sort of intermediate position between that of the freeman and that of the personal slave, corresponding exactly to that of the class in the feudal times, described in the language of the English law as *villains regurdant*—that is, annexed to the manor or land, and intermediate between freemen and the class described in English law-language as *villains in gross*, who were annexed to the person of the lord, and transferable by deed from one owner to another.

'There was, however, this difference between the condition of the Roman *colonus* and that of the feudal *villain*. The rent which the Roman *colonus* paid to the proprietor of the soil was a fixed sum, but the tax which he paid to the state was a variable one. When the northern nations came into the Roman possessions they left the *coloni* pretty much as they were; but from the union of property and sovereignty, which we have already adverted to as a characteristic feature of the feudal system, the state and the owner of the soil became to the tiller of the soil identical. Consequently, the variable sum, which was before in the power of the state, passed to that of the owner; and hence the peculiar relations long subsisting between the feudal lord and the feudal villain. On the one side wickedness, oppression, violence, rapacity; on the other helpless, hapless toil, degradation, and suffering.

'The priest, another portion of this little society, was not likely, M. Guizot thinks, to be able to exercise much influence between the lord and his villains, although the church exercised a very great influence upon European civilization, but in a general manner.'

This is a spirited sketch of the simple elements of feudal life, such as we regard it in the abstract, and such as it actually was, perhaps, in France and Germany, in the first period of its development. But it certainly never was realized in England; that is, not to any general extent. Antiquaries, in their zeal for system, appear to us not always to remember how completely the feudal system in England was an *importation* intruded on another state of society, which it never superseded; with which it very imperfectly mingled; and which it only for a time appeared to overbear. The aggregation of the village round the castle, for instance, may be historically true in many parts of the Continent; it is certainly not so in England. When the land was first covered with the baronial fortresses, in the reign of Stephen, the villages, and even the hamlets, as we have seen, existed already. And any observer, even without the aid of history, would soon satisfy himself of this, if he were to trace the site of most of the smaller Norman castles in this country. The rural population remained under the same laws and institutions, and nearly the same conditions. Probably many more were reduced into actual bondage—partly through the operation of the rural Norman laws, partly through extremity of distress; but there seems no reason for concluding that the body of churls, now become either villains or tenants in villainage, (not to embark here on a wide sea of controversy,) were ever brought into the state of the foreign serf or leibeigener. Meanwhile, the numerous tribe of the small feudal baronage only covered the land for a time, during the Norman era; the tenants of the rock-fortress, the Vavassors, Hobereaux, Robber-knights, and so forth, of the Continent—each of whom, so long as he could boast, (in the words of the old poet,)

οὐ δαψιλῶς μὶν, ἀλλ' ὅμως κἀγὼ τρέφω
παῖδας, γύναικα, δοῦλον, ἐρνίτας, κύνα,

deemed himself the equal of the monarch, to whom he was only bound by the ties of feudal allegiance—were never a class thoroughly naturalized among us. They became the ancestors of the numerous *noblesse* of France and Germany; here, they either never took root firmly in the soil, or flourished only when grafted on the robuster stem of the Saxon franklins, the offspring of the wealthier churls. And hence, we suspect, the 'Old English Gentleman,' whatever may have been the sterling merits of that character, was scantily imbued with that refined spirit of chivalry which was the grace of mediæval civilization.

The changes in the English social system have been so rapid and so continual, that it would be difficult to point out any space of a generation, since the Conquest, in which some old

features had not become obliterated, and new phenomena appeared. Let us pass by more than three centuries—and pause for a while at a much later era. The deep wound of the Norman sword has been cicatrized at last; under the adventurous and able Plantagenets—the most king-like of all the royal houses which have flourished in Europe—the nation has been slowly united in one body; foreign wars, with their fellowship of honour and dangers, have drawn the different classes of the people together, and taught each its need of the other; and the unrivalled glories of Cressy and Agincourt have rooted in all hearts the sense of patriotism—a feeling, be it observed in passing, altogether unknown to feudal society. England has greatly increased in wealth, and become a country producing much exportable wealth—rich in wool and cattle: its population, however, has increased very slowly,* and its cities are still few and inconsiderable. The towers of the small feudal *noblesse*, are for the

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* That is, according to the estimate of our authors, in which they agree with Turner, Hallam, and others. We subjoin their conjectural statements of the population at different periods.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, .	2,000,000
After the Conquest, ...	1,500,000
Before 1350, ...	3,000,000
In 1377, (after the plague of 1348), .	2,500,000
About 1400, ...	2,700,000
About 1575, ...	5,000,000
At the Revolution, ...	7,000,000

Such guesses cannot of course deserve much reliance; and we might point out some singular inconsistencies. For example, the population of Wales in Edward the Third's reign, is guessed at 100,000, (vol. ii. p. 268,) yet we are told there were 40,000 Welsh in Edward the First's army at the campaign of Falkirk; and whether we believe this or not, it is certain that Owen Glendower promised to furnish 12,000 Welshmen as his contingent to the confederacy against Henry IV. in 1403; a number altogether impossible out of such a population. We have not room for criticism on this interesting but very conjectural topic; but our own impression is, that the number of the people in the 14th and 15th centuries, is estimated very much too low, and at the Revolution too high. If the sum assumed for the latter period were correct, there would have been no increase at all during the greater part of the 18th century, during which the north of England was covered with new cities. A great deal of unexpected light might be thrown on this subject by the statistical examination of parish registers in towns; as has been done in a very curious paper on those of the parish of Tavistock in Devonshire, in a late number of the *Statistical Journal*. It exhibits a complete picture of the movement of the population of a country market town, from the reign of Elizabeth to the present time.

most part dismantled or decaying, and the whole country is reduced under the strong order of the law. The higher lords still construct magnificent castles; but the common baronial fortalice is superseded by the embattled or moated house, the common manorial dwelling of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—the nursery of many a gallant esquire who fought under the Black Prince or Henry the Fifth. Meanwhile, the two great elements of society, the church and the aristocracy, have advanced in power with ominous rapidity, and stand on the highest elevation which they have ever reached in this country; and each is ripe for destruction. The church has grown in wealth and in rapacity, until—while her outward state is fairer to the eye than at any former period, while she is covering the land with her exquisite architecture, and enriching it by her attention to the arts of life—the enemy has arisen, although still feeble and despicable, who is to lay her splendour in the dust. The nobility are enormously increased in wealth and influence by the extinction of the lesser baronage, and polished by the prevalence of chivalrous manners, at once warlike and luxurious beyond example in Europe: but they, also, have attained the limit of their prosperity, and are about to perish by each others' swords, in the very wantonness and plethora of power, in the civil wars of the 'Roses.'

This is a point of time at which it would be peculiarly interesting to obtain a correct view of the condition of the mass of the people; for they are just about to emerge into the state of the commonalty of the realm. But the materials for this purpose seem peculiarly deficient. Nothing can be less ascertained, in the first place, than the legal relations between the cultivators of the soil and their immediate superiors at this particular juncture. We know, generally, that the reigns of the House of Lancaster were remarkable for a great and continued struggle of the peasantry for emancipation, only beginning with the insurrection of Wat Tyler; and we know that, notwithstanding the bloody suppression of that revolt, the object was attained. 'In '1380,' say our authors, 'the principal demand of the insurgents 'was the abolition of the system of villenage or slavery: to any 'positive political rights, any power of interfering in the making 'of the laws, or in the regulation of public affairs, they made no 'claim. In 1450, (the period of Jack Cade's rebellion,) not a 'word was said on the question of villenage: that question was 'already settled; villenage was already almost, if not entirely, 'swept away.'—(Vol. II. p. 271.) But in what this change consisted is extremely obscure. Mr Hallam's notion is, that the enfranchised 'villeins' were altogether an inferior and a differen

class from the 'tenants in villenage' whom we have already described as the real *kernel* of the English rural population, from the Saxon time downwards. Our authors view the revolution differently, and their explanation is well worth attention, (vol. i. 886.) But each theory appears to conduct us to nearly the same conclusion—a conjectural one indeed, but strongly justified by many concurrent circumstances: That the result of the Norman Conquest, for some centuries, had been to diminish the number of that class of occupiers which had fixed rights in the soil, and to increase the inferior, or servile body; that the tendency of things for some time afterwards was in a contrary direction, and ended in the disappearance of the latter class altogether—whilst the former, now again comprehending the body of the people, became about the same time freed from those less onerous ties which bound it to the soil.

There is abundant evidence that this revolution was accompanied, and probably greatly promoted, by a remarkable rise which took place in the comforts and condition of the inferior classes, including the small occupiers and the yeomen. We trace this improvement from the end of the reign of Edward III. to the end of the war of the 'Roses.' The rise of wages in husbandry from 1388 to 1444, has been estimated at from 50 to 100 per cent. Few things prove it more strongly, as our authors observe, than 'the successive efforts which continued to be made to regulate, in other words, to notice, by legislative enactment, the 'market price of labour; and by the rise of that price, notwithstanding such attempts to keep it down.' The 'statutes of 'labourers' form, as is well known, one of the amplest portions of our statute-book during this period; and it is not altogether with a satisfactory feeling as to the effect of increasing civilization on the comfort of the lower classes that we reflect, that all the wisdom of the legislature was expended, in the fifteenth century, in attempts to keep *down* the rate of wages; while the legislators of the eighteenth and nineteenth have been as sedulously and ineffectually attempting to keep it *up*. There is, no doubt, little reliance to be placed on any calculation founded on bare statements of the amount of money wages; but Mr Malthus, the course of whose studies had led him to analyze this kind of evidence with peculiar care, fixes on the fifteenth century, especially its latter part, as the period when the English labourer could command a greater portion of the comforts and necessaries of life than at any other.

Various causes have been assigned for this phenomenon; and our writers, like others, dwell on the depopulation produced by the plague of 1348, which must have been very temporary in its

effects; and the French war, which we can scarcely believe to have affected the numbers of the people at all. We are inclined to suspect, (though with little confidence in the accuracy of any speculations on such a subject,) that, at least in the latter part of the period, much was owing to another cause;—the increased importance of the labouring classes and yeomanry to the great lords, whose ambition then divided England, as instruments for their purposes. In the fourteenth century, the old English tie of retainership, similar to, but more liberal than that which had connected the thane and churl in earlier days, had replaced whatever of feudal relation the Norman Conquest had introduced; and, as soon as the overgrown vassals of the crown began to agitate the realm by their rivalries, this tie acquired additional consequence and strength. Each lord estimated his weight in the state by the number of esquires who followed his banner; and the number of archers and billmen whom these could bring to back them. The surplus wealth, which, under Edward III. and Richard II., had been spent in courtly and knightly extravagances, was lavished, in the less amiable times which followed, to support, in comparative idleness, hosts of men, ready to seize their arms in the cause of either 'Rose,' as their leader required. This was the true age of rude feudal magnificence and hospitality; which rather followed the decline of the pure taste of chivalry than accompanied its exaltation—the age of which Chaucer saw the beginning,—jovial, rough, and reckless:—

'Unfortunately, the civil wars made it the interest of each noble to strengthen the side he espoused, as well as to endeavour to secure his own personal safety, by the maintenance of as great a crowd of retainers as he could afford. Every man, therefore, for whom subsistence could be found, was numbered around a broad banner, or even a paltry pennoncelle; while the chief whose bounty was such as to satisfy his adherents, was sure to be followed by them without question, let him stand by his party, or change it as he pleased. It was this hold on armies of retainers, as we have seen, in which lay much of the power of the celebrated Warwick, "the king-maker." It was calculated that 50,000 men were daily maintained at his different manors and castles; and we are told that, while he stayed in London, six oxen were usually consumed by his attendants at breakfast, while every tavern was full of his meat. When we pass from these public trains of the nobility to their domestic establishments, we find that their castles were palaces upon no diminutive scale. The noblemen, especially those of the highest class, had their privy councillors, treasurers, marshals, constables, stewards, secretaries, heralds, pursuivants, pages, guards, trumpeters. To these were added whole bands of minstrels, mimics, jugglers, tumblers, rope-dancers, and buffoons. And last of all, to throw the grandeur and solemnity of religion over the princely establishment, a chapel was erected within each castle, in which

large companies of priests or choristers were maintained, to perform divine service in all the magnificence of cathedral worship.

'The two meals a-day, introduced into England at the Norman conquest, and ostensibly at least maintained for so long a period among the aristocracy, had now in general been increased to four. These were, breakfast, which was taken at seven o'clock in the morning, dinner at ten, supper at four in the afternoon, and "liveries," which consisted of a collation taken in bed between eight and nine in the evening. The breakfast, although taken so early in the morning, was a meal of the most substantial description; but we must remember that those who partook of it had generally been actively employed for three hours previous. Thus, from the Northumberland Family Book—which, although a document not strictly belonging to the present period, may be safely held in this instance to describe a custom of some standing—we find that the breakfast for an earl and his countess, during four days of a week in Lent, was, first, a loaf of bread in trenches, two manchetts, that is, small loaves of the finest flour weighing six ounces a-piece, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings, or a dish of sproits; forming certainly a liberal commencement of a day of mortification in Lent. On flesh days, the fish at breakfast was commuted for half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef, boiled. The liveries, although taken in bed, were of the same abundant and substantial character. The Earl Percy and his countess, at this meal, had two manchetts, a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of wine; the latter beverage being warmed and spiced.

'While the breakfasts, suppers, and liveries of the higher ranks, were probably secluded meals, the dinner was a public and important event, and was held with due solemnity. But here we find the plenty and magnificence of the period mixed with its characteristic rudeness and discomfort. The huge oaken table still filled the central length of the castle hall; and at the hour of ten in the forenoon, it groaned beneath shapeless masses of fresh and salted beef, followed by a succession of courses of fowl and fish, and curiously compounded dishes. The lord of the feast assumed his place on the dais or raised part of the floor, at the head of the board; the friends and retainers, or holders in fee, were ranged above or below the salt, according to their respective ranks: and, as the luxury of a fork was still unknown in England, the morsels were conveyed to the mouth by the fingers; while wine, beer, and ale, in goblets of wood or pewter, were handed round by numerous attendants. We may fill up this scanty outline, by imagining the hawks of the master and guests standing on perches above their heads, and their hounds lying about on the pavement below. As the dinner generally lasted three hours, occasional pauses must have occurred; and to fill up these, the minstrels harped and piped, the jesters joked, the tumblers capered, and the jugglers juggled: or, if a better taste prevailed, some lay of the wars of Palestine, or poetical romance of knight-errantry, resounded over the mingled din, and feasted the mind with something of an intellectual gratification. When we ascend from these every day exhibitions in the mode of living among the aristocracy to the banquets of the palace, and especially those which were commemorative of important

events, we shall find that they were of a similar description, with a greater degree of splendour and bustle. Coarse abundance, whimsical variety, and stately parade, still endeavoured to compensate for real discomfort. In these state banquets, however, we perceive some indications of a commencing taste for intermixing and relieving the mere sensuality of the feast with some amusement for the fancy. At the end of each course was sometimes introduced a dish called a 'subtlety,' consisting of curious figures, made of jellies and confectionary, to represent men, animals, or allegorical characters illustrative of the event commemorated, with a label couched in quaint or riddling language, to exercise the thinking faculties of the guests. Of the cookery of the period, we can gather little from the contemporary writers beyond its general detail. From the descriptions, however, given by Fabian of the two coronation feasts, as well as from incidental notices in other writers, we may conclude that it was still sufficiently coarse, although complex and costly. Almonds, almond-milk, sugar, honey, and spices, were plentifully used; and gold-leaf, powder of gold, and bright colours, were in great request for the adornment of dainty dishes. While luxurious living, or at least what was considered as such, was thus highly appreciated among princes and nobles, the priesthood were by no means wanting in devotedness to good cheer; the monasteries were noted for excellent dinners, and the cook was a most important personage in the conventual establishment. The secular also pressed even religion itself into the service of gourmandizing, by the institution of what were called "glutton masses" in honour of the virgin. These were held five times a-year. On the morning of the festival, the villagers repaired to the church laden with provisions and liquor. When mass had been hurried over, the viands were produced, and priests and laymen addressed themselves to the feast: so that the church was suddenly converted into a tavern, and the scene too frequently terminated in intemperance and riot. Village contended with village in the superabundance contributed to a glutton mass: congregation vied with congregation in their capacity of eating and drinking in honour of the mother of our Lord. But of all the festive exhibitions of this voracious period, the installation feast of George Neville, the brother of the king-maker, when he was inducted into the archbishopric of York, is especially deserving of commemoration. A hundred and four oxen, and six wild bulls, a thousand sheep, three hundred and four calves, as many swine, two thousand pigs, five hundred stags, bucks, and roes, and two hundred and four kids, formed the solid basis of the entertainment. Of fowls, large and small, rare and common, wild and tame, there were twenty-two thousand five hundred and twelve. These were aided by mountains of fish, pasties, tarts, custards, and jellies; and three hundred quarters of wheat formed the vegetable portion of the banquet. The quantity of liquids corresponded to that of the solids; consisting of three hundred tuns of ale, a hundred tuns of wine, and a pipe of hippocras. Although many of the articles were sufficiently rich and luxurious, and must have been procured from far and near with immense labour and cost, yet even at this more than regal banquet, there seems to have been not a little grossness and foul feeding; seeing that

among the dishes were twelve porpoises and seals. In the diet of the common people, we as yet discover little or no improvement. They still found the staple of subsistence in joints of meat, brown coarse bread, in proportions considerably inadequate to the quantity of animal food; and ale or beer. Towards the conclusion of this period, the legal writer Fortescue, in describing the flourishing abundance in which the commons of England lived, mentions, among other circumstances of plenty, that they never vouchsafed to drink water except for penance. But this statement, we fear, must be taken as in the main little better than a rhetorical or patriotic exaggeration. We know that, during the civil wars, tillage was neglected in England, and famines were common; so that, while the price of grain was beyond the means of the poorer classes, many endeavoured to subsist on the dried roots of herbs, which they tried to convert into a coarse kind of bread, while multitudes died from famine, or unwholesome food. Æneas Sylvius, so late as the year 1437, while stopping at a populous village in Northumberland, astonished the inhabitants, as he tells us himself, by the sight of wine and wheaten bread, articles which they had never seen before.' [We must add, that they would have been almost equally surprised, in some parts of Northumberland, a hundred years ago.] 'The laws of modern fashion in regard to the hours of meals, appear in those days to have been completely reversed; for while the nobility, as has been already mentioned, breakfasted at seven, dined at ten, supped at four, the common people breakfasted at eight, dined at twelve, and supped at six in the evening.'* —(Vol. II. p. 251.)

Fighting and feasting seem to have formed the two great employments of the nation at this period; lords and their retainers changed sides with a rapidity which drives historians to despair in accounting for their conduct; and the same crowds which joined in the roaring carouse to-day, might perhaps encounter death, with equal recklessness, in opposite factions to-morrow. The effects produced by the disjointed state of the times on the general mind, are not ill described in the following passage. The author has been speaking of some circumstances in the family history of the Pastons, as detailed in those invaluable 'Letters,' which form by far the best monument that we possess of the days of the 'Roses:'—

'It may be observed, also, that scarcely any expression of bitterness, or irritated feeling, escapes from any of the writers, in reference to the adverse party, even during the height of the murderous controversy.

* We have seldom any fault to find with the accuracy of the illustrations of this work; but we observe opposite the passage here extracted, a woodcut, entitled 'Court Mummers,' which is in reality taken from an illumination representing no common mummery, but the frightful accident which occurred to Charles VI. and his masked company of 'savage men.'

Much more exasperation than all this violence and bloodshed appears to have occasioned, would annually be generated by the cold and calm hostilities, that break no bones, of a modern lawsuit. The affair, after all its destructive results, seems to have been regarded as nothing more than a sort of game, or trial of skill or strength, much indeed as we still regard a war between one people and another; which, as soon as it is terminated by a peace, generally leaves no feelings of enmity or soreness in either. In that age, besides, in the dance of revolutions and counter-revolutions, men had been so much accustomed to shifting of sides, and it was so common for the hands to be linked in union to-day that had been lifted against each other yesterday, that the habit of any long retention of enmity must have been of difficult acquisition. There is no state of things which has not some peculiar advantages; and the induration of many sensibilities that, in a more refined condition of society, are often both sharp tormentors and active mischief-makers, is one of the compensations which temper to those whose lot is cast in a comparatively barbarous age, as in times of blood and violence, the inclemencies of their stormy existence. In England, at the period with which we are at present occupied, human life was evidently rated at a very low value; the constant risks to which it was exposed reduced its real worth; and the mere habit of seeing it constantly perilled, and so often suddenly lost, helped still further to make its extinction, by violence or otherwise, be regarded with a deficiency of concern, of which, in the present day, we have no conception. The nearest relations were little lamented, and soon forgotten. When a man died, the feelings of his friends and connexions expended themselves in giving him a handsome funeral, and procuring some masses to be said for his soul; partly to secure his comfort in the other world, partly for the sake of their own credit in this; for the rest, the dead only made more room for the living, in the universal scramble to which the scene of life was reduced." —(Vol. II. p. 579.)

We doubt, however, whether we are to infer from the cold, matter-of-fact manner in which the vicissitudes of civil war are related in the 'Paston Letters,' the indifference of the writers. It must be remembered that writing was an accomplishment, and the exercise of it somewhat painful. Therefore people were apt to employ it only for communicating what was absolutely necessary; and to keep their sentiments to themselves, as may be observed at all times in the letters of less educated persons. When Dame Jane Pelham, in probably the earliest English lady's letter on record, conveys to her husband the intelligence that she is 'hereby laid in manner of a siege with the counties of 'Sussex, Surrey, and a great part of Kent, so that I may none 'victual get me but with much hard;' it is hardly to be supposed that she was altogether unmoved by an event which she relates with much less appearance of earnestness than a modern lady would exhibit in describing a revolt in her kitchen. The inference

rather is, that the fair writer exercised her penmanship 'with 'much hard,' and had enough to do to announce the plain fact to her correspondent, without garnishing the story by the expression of her own feelings.

Strange it undoubtedly appears, that this age of 'irrational and brutish valour,' when the whole energy of England seemed employed in the cutting of throats, first in France and then at home—in quarrels which did not in the slightest degree affect the interests or higher feelings of any part of the nation—should have been also the first period in which earnest and searching thought began to make way to the surface, here and there, amid the contented apathy of the great mass of the people; and it has been remarked, how little the outward course of events, in different European countries, during the fifteenth century, appears to have affected this ripening of the popular mind. It was an epoch of prosperity in some, of adversity in others. While government was falling to pieces in England among the fierce quarrels of rival feudatories, government in France was becoming consolidated by their depression; and the people were enjoying greater tranquillity, after the expulsion of the English, than had been their lot for centuries. Yet in England, as well as France, Germany as well as the Low Countries, the same silent and irresistible work was going on, amidst all these various circumstances. Just as the observer, who has watched the vicissitudes of the seasons, is often surprised to find how little influence they have, after all, on the great laws of annual reproduction—how little drought or rain, heat or cold, seem in the long run to retard or hasten the season of timely development. We know very little of the state of opinion among the English commonalty from the time of Wycliffe, through the warlike age which succeeded, down to the commencement of the sixteenth century; but at the end of that time we find it matured, from the awakened and restless feeling which exhaled in the satire of 'Piers Ploughman,' into the steady and instructed conviction of the martyrs of the Reformation. For although great effects were produced in the reign of Henry the Eighth by the spread of learning, and by the example of foreign Protestants, on the minds of the higher classes; we cannot, for our own part, resist the persuasion, that the spirit of Protestantism, in the nation at large, grew up gradually within itself, and that the Marian martyrs were substantially the successors of the Lollards. Any one who will compare the accusations and defences of the heretics punished by Arundel, Bishop of Coventry, from 1496 to 1502, or by Bishop Longland of Lincoln, about 1520, as they are found in Fox and elsewhere, with those of the victims of Bonner and his brethren,

will hardly imagine that any great importation of new opinion had taken place in the interval. We would not undervalue the services rendered to the Reformation by the leaders of the clergy; but to represent it as their work, which is sometimes done—as in any essential degree the work of the state, or the powerful, or the wise of the land—seems to us to neglect its real cause, and to degrade, instead of exalting, the Church of the country. We all know that there perished in the Marian persecution not above six or eight persons of gentle rank; and scarcely twenty more belonging to what may be called the higher classes. The remainder were all men and women of low estate—husbandmen and artizans, and their wives—people in whose minds, from father to son, the revolt of moral feeling against Romish abuses had become settled into determined, uncompromising, though, for the most part, humble and unfanatical Protestantism; for to call them wild enthusiasts, as is common with most of our historians—courtly and sceptical, Popish and High Church, all alike disinclined to believe in sectarian merits—is altogether to mistake their character. It is founded on the supposition, which has no foundation in history, that there was a great outbreak of popular zeal excited in England by the preaching of what is specifically called the Reformation—such an outbreak as carried millions into Protestantism in a mass, in Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland, and Scotland; whereas the Reformation was not preached at all in Henry the Eighth's reign, except by stealth, and with hazard of life; and the religion by law established of Edward VI., had little general popularity on its side, and had no time to penetrate quietly into the national mind. Whether or not the growth of the Anti-Papal spirit among the people would alone have sufficed, in the end, to overturn the establishments which then existed, may be questioned; but there can be no question at all, that if that spirit had not been living and burning in the body of the people, neither the example of the Sacramentaries abroad, nor the spread of learning at home, nor the quarrel of Henry with the Pope, nor the sacrilegious rapacity of his courtiers;—neither the prudence of Cranmer, nor the zeal of Hooper, nor the strong sense and ripe practical learning of Ridley;—neither Paul's Cross, nor the press, nor the grammar-schools, would have availed to secure victory to the successful side in the struggle. The ineffectual fire of the Reformation would have been extinguished as easily as in Spain and Italy. Without the Lollards, England would probably have remained a Romanist province.

Holding these opinions, we cannot but think that our authors have allotted too much influence, in their account of the changes

in religion of the sixteenth century, to court politics, to the spread of 'new doctrines' among the clergy and nobility, and to the contagion of foreign opinions; too little to the progressive spirit within. Yet, on the whole, it is as fair and temperate an account as we possess. The following passage may serve as a specimen. The hand which is to do full justice to the *dissenting* element of the English Reformation, has perhaps not yet appeared. Meanwhile, we know no contrast more remarkable than that presented by the utter degradation of court and aristocracy in the reign of the first Tudors; the falsehood, the profligacy, the bloodthirstiness engendered during the tyranny of Henry, and the anarchical years which followed his death—and the heroism of learning and religion, which was developing itself in individual minds in all orders, but more especially the lower—the devotion to truth, the utter abandonment and forgetfulness of self, which characterized the students of that age; the calm unostentatious constancy with which its martyrs went forth to die:—

'The reign of Edward VI., in the course of which the Protestant doctrine and worship were thus gradually, but in the end completely established, must have very considerably slackened the hold of the ancient religion upon the popular mind. At the close of the reign, in London and in other great towns, and even in some of the counties nearest to the capital, or otherwise most exposed to the influences of innovation, the new faith had perhaps already become the profession of the majority of the lower classes. The multitude naturally and insensibly accommodates itself to every established order of things; and as another generation rose to take the place of that which had been born and grown up under the exploded system, this process of conversion and conformity would be every day more and more facilitated. Without doubt, also, the ability, zeal, and popular eloquence, of many of the preachers of the new church, must have had great effect in spreading the flame of the reformed doctrines. The rousing appeals that were made every Sunday from Paul's Cross, and elsewhere, by Latimer and Ridley, and Hooper and others, to the reason and the passions of their thronging auditories, could not fail to make continual conquests. But we believe, after all, that it was the reign of Mary, much more than that of Edward, which really made England a Protestant country. Mary's cause was at first supported against her unfortunate Protestant rival by the bulk of the population in all parts of the kingdom; and although it is certain that many of those who so took her part, were actuated by other principles and motives than their attachment to Popery, it is hardly to be believed that so general an enthusiasm in her favour would have been shown by a community the majority of which were Protestants. We know that the bolder spirits amongst the Protestant preachers openly took their ground on the other side, and did their best—as it turned out to no purpose—to get the people to back them. John Knox has himself recorded the vehement terms in which, in a sermon he preached to a great assemblage at Amersham, in Bucking-

hamshire, while Henry's friends were busy in that county raising forces in her support, he painted the night of darkness and sorrow that awaited England, if the idolatress should be allowed to mount the throne. Ridley, on one of the two Sundays of Queen Jane's short royalty, had already declaimed at Paul's Cross in the same strain. Yet, although no doubt there were many individuals present on these occasions that sympathized with the courageous orators, all the zeal and eloquence so expended was powerless, as we have said, to turn, or even for a moment to retard, the strong tide of the general feeling that rushed in the opposite direction. It is inconceivable, we repeat, that this could have happened, if the mass of the people had at this time been Protestants. Ridley and Knox, and the other champions of the Reformation who thus offered themselves as the people's leaders, would, in that case, have drawn after them a very different sort of following and support from that which they alone had to boast of—the outbreak, once or twice, of a rabble of women and children against the preachers of the other party, who got possession of the pulpits after the settlement of the new government. At the accession of Elizabeth, on the contrary, we behold a really national manifestation of Protestantism—the people of all classes eagerly crowding to carry her in triumph to the throne, and hailing her, not only as their queen, but as their deliverer. The horrors of the preceding Popish reign had done more to spread through the land a horror of Popery, than probably the most strenuous exertions on the part of an established Protestant clergy could have done in twice the same space of time. No teaching, no preaching, would have told like that of the martyrs' forms in the midst of the flames;—the sad histories of some, the heroic deaths of others, could not but touch the hearts of men with pity and admiration; and all must have been sick at last of breathing an air rank with the fumes of blood, and of butcheries to which there seemed no intermission and no end.'—(Vol. II. p. 733.)

Three causes—religion, learning, and the depression of the feudal nobility—changed the face of England, in the period between the reigns of Edward IV. and Elizabeth. The annals of mankind probably show no other instance in which the moral and social character of a people underwent so great a revolution in the same space of time. 'In England especially,' say our authors, 'the sixteenth century is distinguished from the fifteenth 'almost as the day is from the night, in respect to the activity 'and advancement of the nation in every field of enterprize where 'those accumulated results are to be achieved which constitute 'civilization.' And in intellectual condition, the England of Shakspeare's day seems almost as far removed from that of the Roses, as from that of the Conquest. The child seems to have grown at once into the full bloom of youthful vigour, which

> 'Impetuous presses on to manhood's reign,
> Impetuous presses on, yet with a cast
> Of dear regard looks back to childhood past,'

not yet with all the gravity and composure of more advanced years, and still retaining some of the wild freshness of boyhood, but with sinew, and muscle, and mental energy, sufficient for the achievement of the mightiest enterprizes. In point of manners, the age of steel has gone by for ever, and has scarcely left a trace behind it—

> 'The knights are dust,
> And their good swords rust;'

And their descendants are turned into such gallants as the following:—

'The temptations of rich apparel, now so plentiful, and the nature of a female rule, produced, as might have been expected, an abundant increase of coxcombry; and as it stands out in bold relief among the lights and shades of the latter part of the present period, we shall concentrate a few particulars of this phasis of fashionable folly, in the picture of a fop of the end of the sixteenth century. Take his whole life. He rose at an hour later, indeed, than the industrious, but still wonderfully early, according to the modern reckoning; and after breakfasting and arranging his dress, ornaments, and weapons, curling the points of his beard and mustaches, and sweetening himself with perfume, he sallied forth to the great mart of loungers, the churchyard of St Paul's. As the crowd of fashionables deepened, he was anxious to display to the best advantage the exquisite cut of his doublet and slops, the fine black of his beaver, the rich fancy of his chains and scarfs, and the choice hatchings of his silver-hilted rapier and dagger. When he was tired of promenading to and fro, there was a resource for fashionable ennui at hand, in the numerous bookshops round the churchyard, in repairing to which he could generally find a knot of his companions, standing or lolling at their ease, examining and discussing the last publication, and turning over the newest prints. If the blackletter tomes, and grim hard woodcuts, now so dear to antiquarians, were too literary for his tastes, the dancing and fencing schools were open to him, where he might breathe himself with acorauts, or a newly imported hit of the foil from the schools of France or Italy. Thus time wore on apace, until a certain craving, like that of hunger, reminded him that he might now indulge in the luxury of a pipe; for almost every man was now a smoker, and without going far he was sure to find a 'tobacco-ordinary'—the original of our modern cigar divans. Smoking in those days was not the short, sharp, hurried whiffing now practised by our modern economists of time, but a slow and solemn process, in which the luxury was drawn out to the uttermost. The smoker produced his apparatus, which he always carried about with him, consisting of a tobacco-box, furnished with ladle, tongs, and priming-iron, all made either of silver or gold; and after filling his pipe with tobacco, which required at that time to be as dry as tinder, to suit the fancy of Nicotian epicures, he commenced operations, and slowly puffed the smoke both through mouth and nostrils, thus gratifying two organs of sense at once. After he had refreshed himself with this exercise, the dinner hour of eleven drew on. He now repaired to some fashionable ordinary, where dinners were prepared at a shilling a-head; and

when he entered among the assembled company, his first aim was to assert his gentility by elbowing his way to a seat above the equinoctial of the salt-cellar. If he was sufficiently bronzed for the purpose, he displayed his consequence by engrossing a double share of the viands and conversation, and exhibiting such rudeness as would not now be tolerated in a company of carmen; and if he eschewed the idea of digesting cold steel after dinner, in consequence of these eccentricities, he knew the precise line short of a cartel at which he might stop, since all the grounds of a duel had been systematically announced in the text-book of Vincent Saviolo. After dinner, cards were introduced, at which deep stakes were frequently put down, and pipes, without which a good dinner was incomplete. When the hour of opening the theatre arrived, the horses of play-goers were brought to the door of the ordinary by their grooms, and when our youth had entered the Globe, he ascended the stage, hired a stool, and lighted a fresh pipe, disposing himself the while to display his figure and finery to the best advantage. If this was not enough to attract notoriety, he talked aloud, and railed at the play, the actors, and the author, perhaps in the midst of one of Shakspeare's most pathetic scenes; and if the audience, disturbed by his din, evinced their dislike, he withdrew with a flourish of magnificent contempt at the plebeians of the pit, and went in quest of other adventures. After a day spent in these or more questionable frivolities, he returned homeward at a comparatively early hour—for to hear the chimes at midnight was as yet neither safe nor common; and while he picked his steps along the dark and deserted streets, he was obliged to look sharply about him, as the "minions of the moon" were now abroad and busy. Frequently his solitary career was interrupted by a posse of the city watch, with their partisans on their shoulders, their steps directed by a single lantern, and at their head the constable, armed with his long staff of office; and as the charge to comprehend "all vagrom men" seemed to bear hard upon the case in hand, our night wanderer was apt to be disagreeably catechised, maugre his fashion and finery, for there were thieves abroad as fine as himself, who robbed in silk and velvet.—(Vol. II. p. 815, 816.)

Not only the gallant, but the citizen, as we now conceive the character, first appear on the stage of English life in the reign of Elizabeth. Formerly, the bold burghers had been sportsmen and soldiers, as distinguished in either capacity as England could furnish. In the time of Fitz-Stephen, they were extremely knowing in horse-races, and Smithfield was the Newmarket of the kingdom; they enjoyed the charter of Henry I., which entitled them 'to hunt, as freely as their ancestors had done,' in the Chiltern Hundreds, in Middlesex, or in Surrey; and followed the stag or the wolf, in the forests which spread over Essex and Middlesex, even to the northern gate of the city. In the reign of Henry III., though the progress of chivalric usage had tended to separate the Knight of gentle blood from the valiant ockney, more distinctly than before; yet, while the knights were ctising the tournament, the Londoners 'were wont to display eir skill in horsemanship by running at the quintain, while a

'peacock was the reward of the victor.' And in much later days, though wolves were not, and deer were scarce, and the forest, with its remnant of wild inhabitants, had shrunk far away from the gates of London; yet the fields of Saint Giles's or Islington often witnessed the spectacle of hare or stag rather solemnly pursued by a sleek pack, the property of some worshipful company, with a select assemblage of aldermanic personages at their heels. But 'the progress of building, in the 'reign of Elizabeth, was like an inundation; it overflowed the 'ancient fields and vacant spaces, within and around the city; 'so that tilt-yard, shooting-ground, and race-courses, were 'covered with streets and alleys; and thus active civic sports 'were of necessity, in a great degree, laid aside. As a substitute 'for these healthful exercises, young gentlemen were exhorted 'to "labour in their chambers with poises of lead," that is, to 'exercise with the dumb-bells; and the citizens now betook 'themselves on Sundays, with their wives and families, to the 'suburbs and villages, where they might enjoy cakes and ale, 'and the fresh breezes of the fields. This cessation from ac-'tive exercises, combined with the increase of luxury, naturally 'produced ailments among the wealthy, of which their boisterous 'forefathers had been ignorant; and the gout (then emphatically 'named "the enemy") began to prevail among the nobility, and 'was soon to descend among the plodding and feast-loving mer-'chants. These circumstances, which were unavoidable, furnished 'golden themes for the declaimers and moralists of the day. '"Oh, what a wonderful change is this!" cries Gosson, in a 'burst of despair and alliteration, "our wrestling at arms is 'turned into wallowing in ladies' laps; our courage to cowardice; 'our running to riot; our bows into books; and our darts into 'dishes!"

These trivial circumstances point significantly to the great social change of the era of Elizabeth; the separation of the English community, not into ranks, but into classes. When we attribute any great social revolution like this to a particular era, we are of course using language which is in strictness inaccurate, and, we fear, a little pedantic also. Great revolutions in the habits of men, such as that of which we are speaking, are of very gradual operation; their beginning and their end cannot be traced, as one state of things gradually melts into another. But it is rather to fix the circumstance itself better in the memory, that we attribute it in common language to a particular reign, or a particular century; meaning only, that the period so described was one during which the change in question was peculiarly prominent, and its phenomena most distinctly traceable.

When we look back once more to the Norman and Plantagenet

times, we see a wide distinction of ranks, but little of classes or interests. The baron and the serf were almost equally ignorant and equally rude; their habits of mind, and habits of life, in kind almost the same. Strength, and feats of strength, were equally the things held in greatest respect by both. The solace which the one found in hawking, hunting, and tournaments, was found by the other in poaching, quarterstaff, archery. Each knelt in perfect equality before the altar; each as willingly resigned his conscience and his care for the other world into the hand of the priest. Neither could read; and if the long evenings of the castle were whiled away by the French minstrel, the peasants might equally be seen, at close of day, grouped round the itinerant practisers of music or legerdemain. Each had the same hopes and apprehensions. The bad season which reduced the labourers to starvation, curtailed the baron of his surplus expenditure, and made him unpleasantly familiar with the Jew and the scrivener. And there was no intermediate class in society—no third body, of any great importance, in the population. The burghers of the middle ages act, indeed, a great part in our constitutional history, and consequently fill a large place in our imagination. But this was in reality not in consequence of their numerical importance or their real wealth; but simply of the fact, that taxation was most conveniently made to fall, apparently and in the first instance, on them—that is, on exportable commodities, grown by the agricultural producer, during their passage through the hands of the dealers. Our authors calculate, from the capitation returns of 1377, that out of a total population of two millions and a half, the townspeople then amounted to 170,000, or little more than a fifteenth—about the proportion existing in Sweden at the present day: nor could any material change have taken place in it, while the industry of England consisted in raising articles of raw produce for exportation.

But the sixteenth century was in this as in other respects the era of rapid and extraordinary change. In former times, England had been dependent on foreign countries for manufactures; gradually, the coarser kind of fabrics had grown up among us, as we chiefly learn from a long series of prohibitive statutes passed against importation from abroad; but it is for the first time, perhaps, that in the reign of Henry VIII. the cry for prohibition of this kind seems to become a national concern. Its first display, as might be supposed, was in the form of a riot. The protection-seeking party proceeded to agitate after the fashion of their time; instead of a newspaper, they hired a Canon. The canon read in public a 'bill of grievances,' and preached a sermon on an appropriate text. The sermon contained much

the same heads as the leading article of such a newspaper might exhibit at the present day; it set forth 'how this land was given 'to Englishmen; and how, as birds defend their nests, so ought 'Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves, and to hurt 'and grieve aliens *for respect of their commonwealth.*' The sermon produced a battle-royal, which ended less bloodily than such occurrences were wont to do, in the plundering of some foreigners' houses, and the eventual hanging of the chairman of the monopolists, together with the payment of a round sum to Cardinal Wolsey; and the day was long remembered as 'Evil May-day,' 1514. This is one of those little occurrences which might well remain fixed in the mind as indications of the commencement of a new era. From thenceforward England became a manufacturing nation; and with her manufactures grew up the mercantile class, distinct from, and opposed to the agricultural interest; of which the growth was never, perhaps, so rapid and remarkable as in Elizabeth's days.

But the same days gave birth to another separation in the community, not according to interests, nor strictly to ranks, but to habits and feelings—the division of the mass of the people into two sections; and the rise of a middle class out of it. A middle class is a thing hardly definable, so as to distinguish it from all above and below it; but in its outset it was more defined than at the present day; for it was separated from those above by the as yet recognized line of gentle birth, and from those below by the more substantial distinction of education.

As there is no phenomenon so marvellous, and no circumstance so eventful, in the whole course of history, as the progress of knowledge, and especially of education, in the sixteenth century—in England, to speak more precisely, from the reign of Henry VII. to the middle of that of Elizabeth—so it is scarcely satisfactory to our vanity to reflect on the very slow addition to that progress which has been made in all the years that have since elapsed.* It is true that instruction has partially spread itself among the mass of the people, below the middle class; and in this way we have made some advance, although scarcely enough to boast of. But, with respect to the upper and middle classes themselves, can we say that they are much more *educated* than

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* We are surprised to find our author's borrowing the very superficial notions of Warton, so far as to question whether 'popular education were 'farther extended, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, than it was at 'the commencement of that of her father or her grandfather;' and to consider the former a less reading age. They admit the enormous multiplication of books in the very next sentence. Do they believe that books multiply while readers diminish?

they were in the days of Elizabeth? A new direction has been given to education in many particulars. We have discovered that much which it was then thought important to know, is not worth the trouble of acquiring; we have saved much time by the invention of compendious processes, which lead more easily to the higher branches of exact sciences; but although we have cleansed, and repaired, and straightened many of the channels, it may be questioned whether the stream is more copious than of old—whether the proportion of what may be termed well-educated people, that is, with the intellect fairly exercised by education, is greater at present than it was then. True, the same amount of time and labour may now secure a greater quantity of knowledge than it did then; but nothing can be more fallacious than to estimate the value of education *merely* by the amount of knowledge attained. It is the moral discipline, the cultivation of the faculties, the self-respect produced by education, which reform and elevate men and nations; and, considering the subject in this view, have we advanced since the time of Elizabeth? have we not even in some respects fallen back? Though knowledge be far more manifold and accurate, is the love of knowledge as general or as ardent?

'We should be greatly deceived,' says Mr Hallam, 'by acquiescing in the strange position of Warton, that the dissolution of the monasteries gave a great temporary check to the state of letters in England. But as a desire to aggravate, in every possible respect, the supposed mischief of the dissolution of monasteries, is abundantly manifest in many writers later than Warton, I shall briefly show that men are deceived, or deceive others, by the equivocal use of the word learning. What would Erasmus have thought of one who should, in his days, have gravely intimated that the abolition of monastic foundations would retard the progress of literature?' What Mr Hallam here says concerning classical learning, is equally true of almost all useful and graceful knowledge: the learning of the monks, as he expresses it, was worse than no learning at all. It was very natural that the good and wise of that day, who were not all so well qualified to form a judgment on the subject as Erasmus, should have uttered prophecies of evil. It was impossible for them to foresee the nature of the change which was working itself out. When honest Latimer complained (about 1550) that there were ten thousand fewer students in the kingdom than there had been twenty years before—when Ascham, in the same year, lamented the decay of grammar-schools—they both saw the immediate and apparent evil only, and were anxious to apply a remedy. They did not fully understand, perhaps, that the first step toward the improvement of mankind, was the

entire removal of that miserable mass of superstition, jargon, and absurdity, which passed by the name of education in the middle ages—a system under which advance was hopeless, learning unlovely and unloved, and mind transmitted to mind nothing but the laborious barbarism which it had inherited. That system clung to the walls like leprosy. There was not a monastery which fell—not a hall in either university which was deserted by its so-called students—without the removal of some portion of the weight which centuries had piled over the prostrate energies of man.

'A very curious account of the state of the University of Cambridge, in the reign of Edward VI., is contained in a sermon, preached in 1550, by a Thomas Sener, Fellow of St John's College, some extracts from which Strype has preserved. "Formerly there were," says Sener, "in houses belonging to the University of Cambridge, two hundred students of divinity, many very well learned, which be all now clean gone home, and many young toward scholars, and old fatherly doctors, not one of them left. One hundred also of another sort, that, having rich friends, or being beneficed men, did live of themselves in hotels and inns, be either gone away, or else fain to creep into colleges, and put poor men from bare livings. These both be all gone, and a small number of poor, godly, diligent students now remaining only in colleges, be not able to tarry and continue their studies for lack of exhibition and help." The description which follows of the studies and mode of living of the poorer and more diligent students, is very interesting: "There be divers there which rise daily about four or five of the clock in the morning, and from five till six of the clock use common prayer, with an exhortation of God's word in a common chapel; and from six until ten of the clock, use ever either private study or common lectures. At ten of the clock they go to dinner, whereas they be content with a penny piece of beef amongst four, having a few pottage made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else. After this slender diet, they be either teaching or learning until five of the clock in the evening; whereas they have a supper not much better than their dinner. Immediately after which, they go to either reasoning in problems or to some other study, until it be nine or ten of the clock; and then, being without fires, are fain to walk or run up and down half an hour, to get a heat in their feet when they go to bed."'

This is to us truly an interesting picture; for in these few scholars, poor and discouraged, who had succeeded the noisy multitudes of the middle ages in our seats of learning, we recognize the men who were, in fact, regenerating the world; to their singleness of purpose, and devotion to the cause of truth, we trace almost all that is really valuable in modern civilization. What a contrast between them and the thirty thousand wrangling barbarians—Greeks and Trojans, Scotists and Thomists—who swarmed at Oxford in the beginning of the fourteenth century! And in this circumstance our authors might have

seen the explanation of the fact, which they seem to regard as paradoxical,—that 'the whole of this period' (the sixteenth century) 'deserves the epithet of a learned age; *notwithstanding* 'the state of the schools and universities, and of what are called 'the learned professions.' It was *through* the temporary decline of the schools, universities, and professions, such as they had been, that the age was enabled to become a learned one. This is a point on which we are the more anxious that well-informed and clear-sighted writers should speak out, in more distinct terms than has of late been done, perhaps even by Mr Hallam himself; because there is among us a kind of sentimental hankering after the recollections of the middle ages, even in those points in which they used to be reputed most deficient—philosophy and education. We cannot see, in those deficiencies, the mere imperfections incident to all zealous aspirations after truth. The middle ages had their own system of moral and intellectual instruction, and by it their admirers must stand or fall. That system was either right, or it was miserably wrong, as to the very fundamentals of the subject—the principles of mental development. It substituted conformity for truth, as an object; restraint for self-restraint and self-respect, as a discipline. As the Greeks of the classic age erred in too exclusively teaching the mind to rely on its own independent majesty, and inculcating self-control, not as matter of principle but of wisdom—an error which rendered institutions, and society itself, shortlived, but developed for a time to an unequalled degree the powers and excellences of man's nature—so the church, in the long centuries of her sway, fell into the opposite error of enforcing instead of teaching obedience; compelling men to abnegate their judgment and their will, instead of directing where to distrust and control them;—a system under which institutions lived on, while man was dwarfed into moral insignificance. Every thing has its place in the order of Providence; and doubtless this retardation of mental improvement for many centuries, was necessary to the completion of the great scheme of this world's government; but we are not bound to respect the engines through which it was effected, any more than to reverence the scourge of God in Attila or Napoleon.

But to return once more to a subject from which we have wandered very widely in this rambling disquisition, it seems undeniable that the actual condition of the labouring body of the people—that which we set out by examining—was getting rather worse than better, during this era of such unexampled advance in other respects. The 'golden age of Queen Bess' was any thing but golden, we fear, to the peasantry of England. Many causes have been assigned for this; indeed, few

facts in economical history are better ascertained, or, on the whole, more satisfactorily accounted for. The constant fall in the value of money was one—for usage goes for much in fixing the rate of all contracts, at least for a time; and consequently the rise of money wages followed slowly and irregularly the rise of prices. A more important one was the gradual conversion of the class of yeomanry—occupiers of small farms at low fixed rents or services, and consequently in one sense part proprietors of the soil, as we have shown before—into farmers at rackrent, and day labourers;—a change which it seems impossible to prevent in any country, without checking, at the same time, the growth of opulence and civilization; and which cannot happen without much temporary suffering, perhaps without a permanent worsening of the condition of some part of the people: for it never has been shown—it cannot be shown—that the enormous increase of surplus wealth which follows the change, benefits the hands which produce it. Each state of society has its evils. The small yeomen of England in the middle ages were slovenly cultivators; they often fell into want from carelessness, or into extreme distress from temporary scarcity. They were a race among whom improvement in habits took place very slowly. But, on the whole, in the enjoyment of physical comfort, no less than in that of the jewel independence, theirs was probably a superior condition to that of landless labourers, even in the most advanced and opulent communities. 'The average price of an acre of land was, towards the close of 'Elizabeth's reign, about twice what it had been half a century 'earlier,' while real wages had certainly *fallen* in the interval. Pauperism had perhaps increased; crime, we suspect, had diminished, notwithstanding the facts adduced by our authors at the close of their second volume, from which, they say, 'it will 'be perceived that the "merry England" of the days of Eliza-'beth was, in some respects, rather a terrible country to live in.' But crime is not *always* the barometer of the physical wellbeing of a people. It is noticed as a curious fact, that in the reign of James the First, while drinking had become a much more prevalent vice among the higher classes, 'the common people 'had become more temperate than formerly; but, adds Stow to 'this assertion, it was not from abstinence but necessity, ale and 'beer being *small*, and wines above their reach.'

It is perhaps more amusing than profitable, to theorize on a subject so difficult to be accurately estimated, as the fluctuation in the quantity of comfort enjoyed by the labouring classes in our community; but, as far as such speculations can be formed, we are inclined to imagine that the agricultural labourers (still the mass of the people) had reached the lowest point in their condition, generally speaking, by the end of the period which we

are now considering; and that the long space of time which elapsed from the reign of James I. to the accession of George III., at which this history terminates, was marked, in general, by increasing prosperity for them as well as the other classes. Some who have entertained the same opinion, have attributed this gradual improvement to the poor-laws; and although we may think that their effects have been much exaggerated, there can be little doubt that, as they were formerly administered, they checked the undue increase of population in particular spots. If we were inclined to fix upon any particular period as representing the happy age of Old England—'which still the most uncertain 'age appears'—perhaps the reign of George II., as Mr Hallam observes, would as nearly fulfil the requisites as any. There was then a singularly long and continuous succession of good seasons, together with a steady increase of employment; and the consequence was, that real wages, according to Mr Malthus's estimate, were higher in amount than at any other time since the fifteenth century. There was neither civil war nor tumult to ruffle the general composure; there was no rapidly increasing population of artizans, with its turbulence and immorality; numbers were augmenting very slowly, and so as not to outrun employment. Our authors, adopting the pictures drawn by Fielding and others, appear to imagine that it was a period of much disorder and irregularity in the police of the country. We question the fact; and believe that, if future observers were to take their premises from such revelations, for instance, as those of the recent 'Constabulary Force Committee,' they would come to the conclusion that our own was quite as bad. Crimes of violence were much rarer than in earlier times; crimes against property were little known in many parts; and were far indeed from having attained to that frightful multiplication which has characterized our own. It was a breathing-time between two periods of storm—an age in which there was little of excitement, little of strong popular agitation: fanaticism was at rest for a season, and dreams of political regeneration were only prematurely born in the brains of a few prophetic visionaries. To many, such times present no pleasant retrospect—appearing dead, apathetic, slothful; and wanting altogether in that earnestness and zeal in which alone they find the true exercise of the human faculties. In our view, they are blessed periods of calm, peculiarly suited for the growth of the household virtues of order, subordination, and practical religion; and absolutely necessary, in order that the seeds of those sterling qualities, which alone can carry a nation triumphantly through times of greater trial, may take root and thrive. Called to take our part in the conflicts of a more eager age, and without undervaluing

its peculiar advantages, it is not always without envy, we confess it, that we look to this portion of the past; and feel sometimes tempted to exchange all our refinement and luxury, all our vast wealth and outward civilization—nay, even the opulence of imagination exhibited in our era, and the ardour of purpose which belongs to it—for the quiet industry, the rude plenty, the tasteless habits, and unpoetical cast of thought of the first Brunswick reigns. But there is, undoubtedly, much to set on the other side of the balance; and, after all, we will leave the case to the reader in the language in which our authors sum up the results of their protracted labours, although we do not entirely agree with it throughout:—

'We look at it' (the state of society in any past age) 'only, as it were, through so many long narrow tubes irregularly disposed, which permit us to see through each of them little more than the small insulated portion of the field that chances to be directly opposite to it. Doubtless, what is strictly and distinctively to be called civilization, has now been carried to a very considerably higher point in this country than it had arrived at by the middle of the last century; that is to say, along with a greatly improved condition of all material and mechanical arrangements, the moral dominion of law and order is more firmly established; crimes of violence, and violence in every shape, have diminished; human life has come to be held on all hands in higher estimation; great economical irregularities, such as famines and pestilences, have been much reduced in frequency and severity; the general rate of mortality has been lessened; in short, the whole system of circulation upon which our existence as a community depends, has been brought to act both with more freedom and more efficiency. But our existence as a community is a different thing from our existence either as individuals or families; and an advance in civilization is not necessarily the same thing with an advance either in happiness or virtue. It does not even follow, as a matter of course, that, with a more submissive obedience to the law, and with actually a lower amount of what the law calls crime,' (the authors must mean this hypothetically, we suppose,) 'we are in a more healthy condition, either socially or politically. With less crime there may be more vice; the spirit of legality, to borrow a phrase from the theologians, may have weakened the spirit of liberty. At the same time, while it is but fair to the past to keep these possibilities in mind, it would be the most fatal of all errors to assume that liberty and order, civilization and morality, might not all exist in the highest degrees together and in harmony. And certainly, in the case immediately before us—the comparison between our present condition and that of our ancestors of the earlier part of the last century—it would be very difficult to show that the higher degree of morality and liberty really went along with the lower degree of civilization and order.'—(Vol. IV. p. 856.)

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est *practical statesman, would have judged necessary. He has*
fi *put himself to no trouble to collect and condense the various*
arguments which might be urged in support of his own con-
clusions. He has almost wholly omitted any notice of the most obvious objections which may be raised to his scheme; he has not even worked it out in its details—shown how, on what scale, and at what cost, it should be carried into effect—and illustrated its practicability, as he might easily have done, by reference to the example of other countries in which it has been for some time in successful operation. His merit is that of having seized the real point of the difficulty of governing Ireland, and of having, with great simplicity and brevity, directed public attention to the necessity of now considering the efficacy of a course which has, indeed, been suggested and discussed before; but which, until the appearance of his pamphlet, had for a long time been regarded as so repugnant to the present state of feeling, that practical men looked on it as one which it would be futile, as well as dangerous, to propose. A Conservative, and to all appearance a sincere adherent of the present Ministry, Lord Alvanley supports a connexion between the State and the Catholic Church in Ireland, as a measure consonant with a sound Conservative policy; and he states the grounds on which he has come to this conclusion, with perfect frankness, good sense, and a somewhat amusing unconsciousness of the deep offence which his liberal views, and bold schemes, would give to the bigots of his party.

To the great body, indeed, of that party, the suggestion of any new measures for tranquillizing Ireland, would probably in the first flush of victory appear superfluous. The majority of ninety-one

r eyes sufficient to cut the knot of all such difficulties; and
nchisement of the electors by means of Lord Stanley's
n Bill, the obvious mode of quelling Irish discontent.
e, highly to Lord Alvanley's honour, that he has not
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ole power, remove the real grievances that still exist;
by so doing, restore tranquillity, cause prosperity, and
render that favoured country a bulwark of strength, instead of 'a source of alarm and weakness, to the British empire.' And accordingly he goes on, without disguise or hesitation, to advocate a policy the most entirely opposed to that which has for centuries been followed in the government of Ireland. He proposes nothing short of a complete and public connexion between the State and the Catholic Church in Ireland; and he suggests for this purpose, the taking the Priesthood of the national religion openly into the pay of the government; and establishing such avowed relations with the Papal court, as shall give the government of this country some means of influencing the appointment of a clergy, whose character and conduct operate so powerfully on the dispositions of a large proportion of its subjects.

In putting forward these views, we are persuaded that Lord Alvanley is but the first to give utterance, on the present occasion, to opinions entertained by men of all parties; but particularly by those among his own party, who are capable of appreciating the altered circumstances of the times, and the necessity of meeting them by the adoption of 'some new and 'more efficient line of policy.' The credit of having forced this conviction on the minds of such persons, is due to the policy on which the government of Ireland has been conducted during Lord Melbourne's administration. The system introduced by Lord Normanby, and continued by his successor, has raised the standard of Irish tranquillity in public opinion. For the first time since Queen Elizabeth's days, it has been found possible to rely on something like a general and cheerful obedience to the law in Ireland. Not only has political discontent ceased to exhibit itself in armed resistance to authority; but the ordinary and unceasing outrages against individuals and private property, which have for centuries been the main obstacles to the improvement of Ireland, have been in great measure repressed by the

growing influence of orderly feelings among the people. This comparative tranquillity has not been produced by Penal Laws, or Insurrection and Coercion Acts. On the contrary, it has grown up amid a systematic abandonment of all the old appliances of arbitrary government; and a reduction of the garrison of Ireland to one-half the amount formerly considered necessary for keeping down the people. By degrees the minds of men in this country have ceased to be familiar as formerly with constant tales of Irish disturbance and crime; and, though we are still occasionally startled with the account of some savage murder, or some act of high-handed violence, the impression is not now, as it used always to be, effaced by the next day's news of another equally frightful and daring outrage. We have ceased to regard martial law as the common law of Ireland; and have insensibly begun rather to associate the name of that country with ideas of light calendars and maiden assizes; and to look to it as that part of the United Kingdom from which troops can most easily be spared, when the occasion may require, for suppressing Chartism in Great Britain. The people of this country will not readily be brought to acquiesce in a return to the old state of things in Ireland. They will not take as easily as they used to do, the intelligence that innocent men are daily murdered in cold blood; that houses are broken open by bands of armed men, marching by night, and not to be traced when daylight breaks; and that the country is placarded with Captain Rock's notices, threatening condign punishment to all who shall obey the law, or enforce a legal right. They will not assent, as a matter of course, to the revival of the old system of governing Ireland by laws revolting to every English idea of liberty and order; or bear, without a murmur, the increase of expenses that must result from the re-establishment of military government in that country. They will say that the possibility of having tranquillity in Ireland, and that without the aid of Insurrection Acts, and a large military force, has been proved by an experiment of some years; and public opinion will not be satisfied with any thing short of the results which it has already witnessed, and which it has found that it is quite possible to secure by the ordinary means of the constitution. This is the great alternative between the circumstances under which the Tories have now to govern, and those under which they formerly governed Ireland. Public opinion requires them to produce a degree of tranquillity not expected in old times; and to produce it without having resort to the means which were formerly thought essential to secure far less satisfactory results.

It was to this, we think, that Sir Robert Peel (far wiser in

this, not only than the bulk of his own party, but than many of his opponents, whom we have heard reproach him for having needlessly overrated the magnitude of his task) adverted, when, in 1839, he openly stated that he looked on Ireland as the great source of difficulty to his government. We do not imagine that he was scared by any notion of an Irish insurrection following immediately on the accession of a Tory ministry. But he knew that any increase of disorder in Ireland would produce a fatal effect on the confidence entertained in his system of government; that the public would look with anxiety to the results there of his accession to office; and would be grievously dissatisfied if it should be followed by practical proof of a return to ancient disaffection, and ancient turbulence. He perceived that this result could only be averted by having recourse to some 'new and more efficient line of policy' than that on which Ireland had ever been governed by his party. The difficulty of devising such a policy, and of bringing it into operation, in spite of the general distrust and hostility of the people, and of the yet more furious opposition which he would be sure to encounter from the great body of his present adherents in Ireland, was probably that which presented itself to his mind. The only system of government under which Ireland had ever enjoyed tranquillity, and exhibited attachment to the law, was precisely that which his party had been assailing in the most violent manner; and which his accession to power must (however repugnantly to his own judgment and inclination) be the signal for subverting. He saw that it would be necessary to provide other means for influencing the feelings of the Irish, than those which alone had been found efficacious for that purpose. Either he could think of no means, or he shrank from the risk or impossibility of availing himself of them. Such means Lord Alvanley suggests in the work before us; and it appears to us that, between them and the much-maligned policy of Lord Normanby, lies the only apparent alternative offered to Sir Robert Peel, if he intends to govern Ireland in peace and safety. Either he must be content to let that country revert to its ancient system of disorder, and, as a necessary consequence, have recourse once more to the violent and barbarizing system of misrule, which prevailed under the former Tory governments; or, on the other hand, he must determine to adopt either the policy pursued by Lord Normanby, or, if possible, that recommended by Lord Alvanley.

It is true that Sir Robert Peel has, for the present, announced as his policy in the government of Ireland, one which, instead of being either new or efficient, is bottomed on a principle frequently tried before, and as frequently proved to be utterly worthless

and impracticable. On coming into office he professes entirely to divest himself of all party character, and announces that he entrusts his Irish government to men of known moderation and justice, who will administer it with the most perfect impartiality, and the most unbending independence of party; and who, without fear or favour, will select men for office solely on the ground of merit, and adopt measures solely on the ground of their being conducive to the general interests of the community. For this system he asks a fair trial. He would be more likely to get one, had it never been tried before, and on every trial signally failed. What is now professed is just what Lord Wellesley, and Lord Anglesey, and the Duke of Northumberland professed; and the Irish people recollect that, with all the good intentions and ability of these administrations, they ended by being committed to the most thorough hostility to the popular cause. The present attempt is a mere renewal of the old experiment, under circumstances most peculiarly unfavourable to its success. Lord De Grey, of whom his private friends speak highly, is known to the public as nothing but one of the ciphers of his party; and these are the kind of men whom the crafty schemers among their own adherents are sure to get hold of, and urge into the most violent excesses of party. Lord Eliot's known moderation and previous independence of conduct, render it still more certain that he is the most unfit of men to carry steadily into effect the system of impartiality which he professes. He starts in his career an object of suspicion to his own party; and, if he wishes to have a single supporter in Ireland, he must conciliate the Ascendency party by more than usual acquiescence.

The experience of three or four months has proved the justice of the worst anticipations formed respecting the conduct of the Lord-Lieutenant. With higher professions of impartiality than ever were put forward by his predecessors, he has acted more slavishly than any of his predecessors ever did, in the spirit of that exclusive and anti-national party by which he is surrounded. He has given the highest legal offices to those men of his own party, who were beyond all others objects of the bitterest and most general odium. He has filled the second vacancy on the Judicial Bench that has fallen to him, with a man so implicated in the most grievous violence and unpopularity of the Orange party, that the Duke of Northumberland, eleven years ago, considered him disqualified for that bench, by the extreme nature of his political opinions and conduct. A really honest appointment of a competent lawyer to a legal post has been made by Sir Edward Sugden's influence; and the Lord-Lieutenant has apologized for it to the Orange-

But the course taken with respect to the Stipendiary
es, is indicative of a worse tendency on the part of the
, and productive of more permanent mischief than
l appointments, however important or misjudged.
of these functionaries—to whom alone, amid the
of the owners of the soil to their poorer coun-
have of late years learned to look for that
could not expect from the general run of un-
the most retrograde step that has been taken
of Ireland since Mr Goulburn was Secretary.
ea that we have heard alleged for it, would impute
e worst motive that could well be conceived; for a heavier
arge could hardly be brought against a government, than that of really thinking that the properest object for a first and scanty economy, is the reduction of what little justice has ever been doled out to the people of Ireland. We are obliged, therefore, to conclude, that this unfortunate step has been dictated by a desire to conciliate the Irish gentry, by removing the only authority that presents a real check to that abuse of power which is habitual among the country Justices. We do not lay on Lord De Grey, and certainly not on Lord Eliot, these unhappy results of their high-sounding professions. It is but the inevitable breaking-down of a chimerical policy, which their very good qualities rendered them peculiarly unfit to carry into effect.

For a more chimerical scheme than that of relying on these two noblemen to win over public opinion in Ireland from O'Connell, never entered into the brain of man. Admit that their policy were distinguished by the utmost fairness and the most perfect sagacity, and that unprejudiced spectators could not come to any conclusion respecting it, except one of a most favourable nature; it would not follow that, because the policy might be a good one, the Irish people would think it so; or regard it with those feelings, on the existence of which throughout the population, all chance of tranquillity must depend. The body of a people judge of passing events, not from the actual facts, but from the representation of these facts which is given to them by those in whom they have confidence. In Ireland, this is especially the case; because there the unusual violence of party animosities has generated an unusual distrust of the statements of political opponents; and an unusually implicit confidence in all that emanates from those whom the people trust. Of what use, then, would it be for Lords De Grey and Eliot to devise the most benevolent plans, and execute them with untiring energy, if it should please the popular leaders to tell a confiding people that all their acts are injurious, and dictated by the most malevolent

motives? Their acts, it will be said, are before the people. They are no such thing: nothing is before the people but the version of these acts dictated by the popular leaders. How are the administration to get at the understanding of the nation, and impress on it the true view of its conduct and intentions? Their Lordships came with no credentials that are calculated to ensure them a favourable hearing. Of Lord De Grey no one knows any thing more than that he looks well at a levee or review, and has a very handsome equipage; but the distrust of centuries is not dispelled by a graceful bow and a smart coach. Of Lord Eliot something more and better is known: all Ireland knows how boldly and consistently he ventured, on a question deeply affecting Ireland, to take the part of the Irish people against his own party; but we doubt whether this is not neutralized by his having now linked himself with that party; and apparently consented to become the instrument of carrying its views into effect in Ireland. Both, at any rate, bear the name of Tory—that name which the very mothers of the present generation of Irishmen have taught their children to hate as that of the sworn oppressors of their country; and which, in riper age, they have never heard mentioned by their leaders except in tones of execration. In the eyes of the great body of the Irish nation, the moderate members of a Conservative cabinet appear as the successors of Castlereagh and Percival; and inherit every tradition of horror that hangs round their hated names. The government may attempt to speak to the people through the medium of the public press. The people will give no credit to any statement contained in papers, which they have found teeming only with insults to their religion, and with provocations to oppression; which they have been taught to look on, either as organs of their sworn enemies, or at the best, as the slavish channels of successive mistatements and delusions put forth by authority. From the Judicial Bench, and the subordinate magistracy, whom they regard as the ready ministers of oppression, and willing instruments of chicane against every popular right, they turn as from enemies out of whose lips no accents but those of cruelty and guile can come. If the government relies on the natural influences of rank and property, and attempts to act on the masses through the nobility and the country gentlemen, it will find that the owners of the soil are regarded by the peasantry with that deep hereditary hatred that traces back every title to land to the confiscations of Elizabeth, of Cromwell, and of William, and the dispossession of the ancient and native proprietor by the blood-stained and heretical stranger;—a hatred that has been accumulating fresh force during the long period in which landlords, avail-

ing themselves of the rights, have forgotten all the duties of property; and which is at the present moment aggravated to the utmost intensity by those measures, which the helpless population regard as part of a systematic plan of extermination, dictated by the most worthless bigotry or the most sordid self-interest. Titles, which elsewhere inspire respect in the masses, jar on the ear of the native Irishman as the perpetual records of what he is taught to consider the great treason of the Union. The clergyman of the Established Church, regarded by him as the most insulting symbol of practical usurpation, and as the neighbour with whom he has through life been on terms of the most unceasing and bitter warfare, can afford no aid to a government desirous of communication with the people. When it descends to the middle classes—the merchants, the professions, the tradesmen, and the farmers—it finds itself in the thick of party warfare, and is instantly repelled by the most violent suspicions and passions. Turn on what side it may, it finds that long misrule and conflict have disorganized every natural agency and influence of civilized society. The established institutions, and the various classes and ranks which elsewhere connect a government with the people, and form the medium through which it maintains a friendly intercourse with them; in Ireland present a barrier through which no peaceful communication can penetrate. Standing on what would elsewhere be the imposing bulwarks of aristocracy, hierarchy, and magistracy, the government appears to the Irish as only placing itself in a position of unequivocal hostility, which gives to all its acts a hostile character. Nor can its words explain its acts. It speaks in vain a language which the Irish people will not even attempt to understand; unless it be explained by the only interpreters whom it trusts or comprehends—the agitator, or the priest.

It is only through the agency of one or other of these that a government can act on the Irish Catholics. When Lord Melbourne's administration undertook the enterprize of conciliating their affections to the government of their country, it appreciated the difficulty of its task. It did not imagine that it was to captivate the great mass of the population by a mere repetition of fine promises—often before made, and always belied. It knew that in order to get its intentions appreciated by the people, and its policy carried out by its aid, it must employ some agency which already enjoyed the confidence of that people, and by which it had been in the habit of being directed. To find such an agency was not difficult. The Irish Catholics had for more than half a century been engaged in an unceasing struggle against the government for toleration and equal rights. In the

course of that struggle they had gradually consolidated themselves into a great national party, organized on a system which experience had proved to be most efficient, and guided by leaders who had acquired a complete influence over their followers. At the head of these Mr O'Connell exercised a more undisputed sway than has probably ever, in the history of the world, been permanently wielded by any popular leader, possessing none of the authority of recognized office. Under him a host of minor agitators, scattered throughout the whole of Ireland, acted on the people, and executed the plans which he dictated. But the most efficient agents of agitation were the Catholic hierarchy, who, from Archbishop down to humblest Curate, propelled or kept back the peasantry by that influence which their sacred character, and their intimate knowledge of the condition and feelings of the flocks, place in their hands. A more perfect organization of irregular power never was established in any country.

Taught by the errors of his predecessors, Lord Normanby knew that he must have this popular power either his friend or his enemy. The Liberal government having many public objects in common with the popular leaders, he determined, as far as their roads lay together, to ally himself with them, and to make the agency of agitation subordinate to the purposes of government. The alliance was formed on the usual terms of political alliances; and the popular leaders, in return for the assistance which their influence brought to the government, received, as is usual, all the support which could be given by its countenance, its authority, and its patronage. Above all, Lord Normanby abandoned the childish system of personal spite towards Mr O'Connell, whom every preceding government had kept at arm's-length, on the plea of his occasional excesses; but in reality from a feeling of petty resentment at the democratic means which he had so successfully organized and used in carrying Catholic Emancipation. On the whole, no government was ever more faithfully or effectually served by those whom it set about conciliating in a rational manner. The wide-spread organization, which had been contrived for the purpose of overawing the government, ranged itself under its orders, and worked zealously for its ends. Agitator and Priest, from Corn Exchange, and Hustings, and Altars, for the first time opened their mouths to exhort the people to trust in the government; and not merely to obey the law, but to love it and aid in its enforcement. The lesson, new as it was, was received with implicit acquiescence by the people, when it issued from the lips of those whom their religious, or national feelings taught them to respect. The consequence was, that tranquillity which Ireland has enjoyed for the last six

years; which initiated her into the blessings of good government, and laid the foundation of a system of order and justice, which no triumph of a hostile faction can long interrupt.

This plan of governing Ireland through the popular leaders, terminated with the overthrow of the late Ministry, and the return of Sir Robert Peel to power, at the head of a party whose capital and most effective charge against its opponents had been the alliance with O'Connell. Even were a less wide gulf of hatred, as well as of avowed difference of political ends, existing between the present Ministry and Mr O'Connell, a union between them would be so discreditable, that we may fairly view it in the light of an impossibility. The only existing influence by which the Irish people can be acted on—that of the present popular leaders, through whose agency the late Ministry governed Ireland—is therefore not only unavailable to the present Government, but must be regarded as arrayed in the most determined opposition to it. But unless some other agency of a popular nature can be called into action by the Government, enlisted on its side, and rendered a counterpoise to the existing influence of the popular leaders, it is quite clear that a tranquil government of Ireland under the Tories will be impossible; that the government will have to throw itself entirely on the higher classes in Ireland, or the hostility which the middle classes of England and Scotland may be brought to exhibit towards the Irish; and that the end will be, that, after a brief period of cajolery and vacillation, the government will fall into the hands of some one or other of the sections of the ascendency party; and be carried on by the aid of such coercive powers as sectarian and national prejudices may induce the British majority in the Imperial Parliament to grant to the executive. But this is reverting to the old state of anarchy and danger, which we have previously endeavoured to show will not now-a-days be acquiesced in by the public.

Leaving Lord Roden, therefore, and his Orangemen, to gloat over visions of restored Volunteers and Insurrection Acts—leaving the brawlers of the party to amuse themselves with tales of Lord De Grey's annihilating O'Connell's influence, by the equally ridiculous means of impartiality and finery,—such Conservatives as, like Lord Alvanley, venture to think, employ themselves in endeavouring to discover some permanent agency of a popular character, whereby a Conservative government may act on the Irish people. Such a Government, though shrinking from any alliance with the demagogue of the hour, would be eager to bring itself into cordial co-operation with whatever there is in the nature of a national institution, even if existing independently

of the State, that really possesses any hold on the public mind; and while it would avail itself of the aid of any such power, would endeavour, as far as it could, to give it a permanent and recognized character. The established institutions of Ireland evidently have no hold on the country; but the functions which they should, but do not, discharge, must obviously be discharged by some bodies of a corresponding nature; and if the institutions established by law do not answer their purpose, the Government must seek to avail itself of such irregular institutions as the public has, by its own voluntary efforts, raised up to administer to its necessities.

To men who reason in this way, the Catholic Priesthood of Ireland naturally suggest themselves for the purpose required. Here there exists, already organized, an agency susceptible of being rendered a permanent institution, and actually possessing a great influence on the minds of the Irish Catholics. It is an agency of a kind particularly consonant to the general policy of a Conservative government, and easily connected with the State. No doubt, in this body, as in every priesthood, there exist certain leanings towards that state of ease, security, and dignity, which is incident to such a connexion; and there is every reason to believe, that the plan of a public provision for them would find great favour with some of the Catholic Bishops and Parochial clergy of Ireland. It is also evident, that the general feeling of the Catholic world would be in its favour; as well because it would give their faith a more dignified and acknowledged position in a portion of the British empire, as because the democratic position of hostility to the government of their country, in which the Irish Priesthood now stand, is very inconsistent with the usual habits and feelings of the Catholic Church, which are all on the side of a most intimate alliance with the civil power. On these grounds, it seems that the true policy of Government would certainly be that of taking advantage of the existence, power, and favourable dispositions, of the Priesthood; of no longer acting on the childish plan of pretending to overlook the existence of the real clergy of Ireland; but of consolidating and regulating that influence, and making use of it as an engine of state. Here is a power existing, which is, in its very nature, essentially antagonistic to that democratic influence, into an unnatural alliance with which it is forced by the impolitic course hitherto pursued by the Government, in discouraging and disavowing it; and which only wants the countenance and funds of the Government, speedily to erect itself into a machinery, by which the power of the agitators may be balanced; and by the aid of which, according to the most approved principles of aristocratic policy, the common

people may be kept in order. It seems, therefore, to be but common sense for a Conservative government, by all means at its command, to strengthen and organize this power, and enable it to follow its natural course of directing itself into its service. It may effect this end by adopting the chief measures suggested by Lord Alvanley; namely, the taking the Priesthood into the pay of the State, and establishing such friendly communications with the Court of Rome, as shall give the Government a real influence over the appointment of the Catholic bishops in Ireland. These measures combined, would certainly have the effect of placing the Irish priests very much under that control of, and responsibility to the Government, from which Lord Alvanley complains that they are now totally free. The establishment of a regular State provision for them, would, at any rate, have the effect of relieving the Priests from their present entire dependence on the good-will of their parishioners for their very subsistence; and consequently of enabling them, if they choose, to run counter to the political feelings of the masses, which that state of dependence now prevents their doing. On the Irish peasant also, it would have the most beneficial effect, by relieving him from a very heavy tax, and a very irresistible creditor. It would, therefore, remove out of the way of the present Government the formidable obstacle of the present hostility of the priesthood; it would do away with the scandal and danger of a clergy wielding the most powerful spiritual authority, and exercising it for temporal purposes, without any responsibility to the civil power; it would place in the hands of the Government a desirable and effectual engine for managing the Irish people; and it would entitle itself to the good-will of that people, by the removal of what it may justly regard as the great practical grievance of having to pay for two churches at the same time.

Such are, in part, the reasonings adduced by Lord Alvanley, and in part those which we have heard advanced by a great many Conservatives, in behalf of the payment of the Irish priesthood by the State; and of other measures which would have the effect of bringing the State into complete and avowed connexion with the Catholic Church of Ireland. It is an undoubted fact, that, since the accession of the party to power, their tone towards that church has been very much altered for the better; and that the very same columns which used to teem with the coarsest and bitterest denunciations of its clergy, now address them in language of the utmost respect, and with overtures of conciliation. The project of an alliance between the State and the Catholic clergy, which has long been gaining ground among the party, now appears to be so generally regarded

with favour, that we have very little doubt that it would immediately be adopted by the great majority of them in Parliament, if fear did not prevent them from following their inclinations. We have endeavoured to show how the tendency to such a course is unavoidable on the part of the really thinking and moderate portion of the party. It is the only course left to them if they purpose to govern Ireland peaceably, and have not the presumption to imagine they can attain their end without means. They can lead the people quietly, only by availing themselves of O'Connell's influence; or by consolidating the Priesthood into a power capable of coping with it, and ranging that power on its own side. The first they have refused to do, and cannot do; the latter, therefore, is the only alternative left them, if they do not contemplate reverting to the old system of disturbance and coercion, and the coming to Parliament for ten thousand additional soldiers to enforce the old Tory policy towards Ireland.

For ourselves we will confess, that the plan of paying the Irish priesthood is one which we are inclined to view with favour, and should be glad to think practicable at present. We never met with a rational argument for a connexion between Church and State in any country, that did not appear to us to tell with especial force for such connexion between the British Government and the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland. It is not by any express warranty of Scripture, nor by the dictates of religious feeling, that we should justify the establishment by law of a particular creed in a position of trust and influence, and the endowment of its ministers out of the national revenues; but simply by enlarged views of political expediency, and of the duties of an enlightened government towards its subjects. We defend a Church establishment on grounds perfectly opposed to those of such reasoners as Mr Gladstone; who regard it as a kind of compliment due from the civil power to religious truth, and as a recognition of the Almighty, which in our opinion He and His Word stand in no need of, and have not enjoined upon His creatures. Our Erastian advocacy is grounded on nothing but a conviction of the immense importance to any people of that religion, whatever it may be, which they believe to be true; and whether it happen to be that with which we agree, or otherwise, we are equally of opinion that it is incumbent on the State to enter into such relations with the Church of the people, as shall enable it to secure to its subjects the due administration of the rites of their faith, and the proper teaching of its doctrines. It is still further its duty to do so, in order to guard the people against that abuse of spiritual influence, of which every clergy is liable to be guilty, unless effectually controlled by some responsibility to the civil

authority; and in order to regulate the conduct of that clergy, and restrain it from any occasional tendency to a mischievous fanaticism in the doctrines or practices which it may inculcate. These seem to us the two grounds on which a rational defence of church establishments rests; the necessity of providing, first, an adequate supply for the spiritual wants of the people; and secondly, an efficient control over the Priesthood. Both these necessities appear to us to exist in a greater degree than elsewhere in Ireland; and to supply them, by connecting itself with the Church of the people, seems therefore to be more imperatively there than elsewhere the duty of the State.

At present the State makes no provision whatsoever for the spiritual wants of the Irish people; and those liberal endowments, which the piety of former times provided for that object, it has, in a spirit of the most nefarious disregard of the feelings and welfare of the people, directed to quite another purpose. It is true that it maintains what it calls a Church establishment, and pays what it calls a national Clergy; but the church is no church in the eyes of the people, and the clergy fulfil none of those duties towards the people, for the discharge of which a clergy is required or maintained. In the true sense of the word, therefore, Ireland has no church and no clergy in connexion with the State. Yet, there exists nowhere a people, to whom the administration of religious offices is matter of greater moment; and on whose whole course of life and conduct religion exercises so important an influence. In the comparatively rude and backward state of Ireland—arising from its deplorable political state, from the absence of large towns, manufactures, and trade, and from the barbarizing effect of the relations between rich and poor—the civilizing influences of Religion and a Church are those to which society would most naturally trust for the maintenance of order, and the progress of the people. These influences the State, neglectful of every duty towards that people, has refused to supply. But the great resources and potent machinery of the Church of Rome, have enabled it in some measure to supply the services of a clergy, adequate, in point of numbers, to the task of keeping the Irish nation within the fold of Catholicism. The Irish have not therefore been destitute of sufficient provision for their spiritual wants; but the whole burden of maintaining the expensive establishment which is required for the country, falls in the shape of a direct tax on the peasantry; and thus the poorest agricultural population in the empire, deprived of the benefit of the national funds originally set apart for their behoof, and insulted by seeing them squandered before their eyes on the maintenance of what they regard as an heretical usurpation, are compelled to protect themselves from absolute spiritual destitution, by submitting to a direct taxation

for their religious establishments, to which no other part of the empire is subjected.

But the worst result of this system is, that the Priesthood thus maintained without the aid of the State is necessarily free from its control. The Government has no voice in the appointment of the parochial or of the dignified clergy. It has no power to keep them up to their duty, or to restrain them from exceeding it. It has no means of discouraging turbulent conduct, dangerous doctrine, or fanatical practices; and none of holding out encouragements to unobtrusive zeal and moderation. The revenues, consideration, and power of the priesthood, depend on their keeping up the zeal of their flocks by constantly practising on their hopes and fears. They have undoubted merit in the discharge of their sacred offices, and of the civil duties thrown on them by their position, at once of inferiority and equality towards their flocks, who revere and yet confide in them. Nevertheless, they are accused of encouraging numerous superstitious observances, of enjoining penances and pilgrimages, and of asserting the most terrible dominion over the souls of the laity. From this cause, operating on a peculiarly excitable peasantry, possessing little knowledge of their own, and scarcely any aid from a higher or middle class willing to protect them, the Catholicism of Ireland is generally said to be defaced by superstitions exploded in more civilized Catholic countries; and to be degraded by a peculiarly abject submission to the priesthood. This is the certain result of the anomalous position of the Catholic church in Ireland; which combines all the alleged mischiefs of the voluntary system, with those to which men are exposed from the skilfully devised machinery of the Romish church. And all this is attributable to the absurd principle on which the Government has acted, in keeping aloof, with conscientious horror, from the real clergy of its Irish subjects; and so leaving that people exposed to the unchecked sway of a powerful and actively-worked system of Priestcraft.

To us it has always appeared, that the principle of Mr Gladstone and his friends is not merely erroneous, but is exactly the reverse of the true one. The State, they say, should connect itself with none but the true religion. The State, we say, should connect itself with whatever is the religion of the people. If that religion be true, the connexion is necessary and desirable; but if, unhappily, the religion be false and mischievous, the connexion is even more desirable and urgent. The more false the doctrines of a church, the more corrupt its practice, the more powerful for mischief its system of government—the more necessary that that church and its ministers should be brought under the control of some civil authority, which would thereby be

check their excesses, and guard their flocks from their
. The civil power is seldom required to interfere,
ure to the people that public benefit which must
oral teaching of the true religion; but in order
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false religion, the hands of its clergy often
igthened by extrinsic aid. The priests of a sound
iparatively little watching; as the elevating influence
ctrines would indispose them to have recourse to impos-
undue stimulants, in order to excite the zeal of their flocks.
ut the priests of false religions must be constantly and closely looked after, lest insensibly we find them encouraging a tendency to superstition, and degrading their faith in order to minister to the fancies and passions of an ignorant people. A clergy putting forth modest pretensions, and incapable by its organization of making sudden and serious encroachments on the people, need excite comparatively little of the jealousy of the civil power. It is where the clergy puts forth inordinate claims, is imagined to possess especial authority over the eternal welfare of its flock, and is so skilfully organized as to possess great power of carrying bad designs into effect, that the State is bound to be on the alert, and interpose to prevent the souls of its subjects being subjugated by priestcraft. Our very dread, therefore, of some of the doctrines, and of the organization of the Catholic Church, induces us, wherever its doctrines constitute the faith of a nation, to be peculiarly anxious that its Priesthood should be in connexion with the Government of that nation. Without meaning any disrespect to its tenets, or confounding the abuses grafted on them by popular ignorance or priestly fraud, with the real doctrine of the Church, we cannot but consider some of them as liable to more easy, more extensive, and more degrading perversion, than any of those of the Reformed Churches. Their ecclesiastical machinery is the most perfectly contrived of any in the world. Their Priests claim a more complete dominion over mens' souls, and move them by more irresistible influences, than any other Christian clergy. For these very reasons—on account of the greater facilities, and the more powerful effects of the abuse of doctrine and ecclesiastical influence in the Catholic, than in other churches—we feel far more anxiety where the people is Catholic, than in the case of Protestants, that the State should be in connexion with the Church. The generally higher intelligence and education of Protestant populations—the checks exercised on each other by the various sects into which Protest-

antism is sure to split—and the comparatively imperfect machinery of Protestant churches—furnish such a security with regard *to them*, that we feel no great alarm when we see them uncontrolled by the civil power. But the State must never lose sight of a priesthood which, while it wields the powers of the Keys and the Confessional, exercises them in subordination to a Foreign Dominion, existing independently of political arrangements and municipal laws, and asserting exclusive claims to spiritual allegiance, by the aid of which it is ever ready to encroach on the domain of the civil power. Such a priesthood it cannot too assiduously endeavour to wean from foreign influences, or be too careful in binding to itself by the bonds of pecuniary interest.

But our purpose is not merely that of neutralizing the influence of the Irish priesthood: we think that a wise government would endeavour to render it permanently available for its own purposes. It is not very consonant with our general views, to recommend ecclesiastical agency for the government of men. But there has been, in every country, some period at which the influence of the priesthood over the popular mind has been such, that no great political effects could be brought about without their co-operation. Though we are now near the middle of the nineteenth century, Ireland is, owing to English misgovernment, in a state in which the agency of the priesthood is the only permanent one through which we can at present hope to act effectually on the people; for the influence of the Irish priest is one derived not solely—perhaps not even in chief part—from his sacred character, but from his connexion by race with the oppressed mass of the people. 'There is,' as has been well observed, 'little amal-'gamation of race in Ireland. There is a ruling caste, and 'a nation of cultivators of the earth, steeped in poverty, to 'whom the possession of a piece of ground is necessary as a 'means of existence; and who, from their excessive numbers, 'and the competition to which it leads, are entirely at the mercy 'of the landlords. The priest is the natural leader of this un-'fortunate race. He is of the same blood, sympathizes with 'them in all their sufferings, learns their circumstances, and from 'his intelligence is able to counsel them in all their difficulties. 'The Protestant church and Protestant landlord are viewed as 'enemies by the Catholic priest and Catholic peasant. The 'sense of oppression is at the heart of both."* It is not merely

* We extract this from an article, showing great ability and knowledge of Ireland, in the *Morning Chronicle* of 4th December 1841.

the priest, therefore, with his sacred influence, but the *native leader* of the *native race* in every parish, that would be won over to the government by the conciliation of the clergy; and, by gaining possession of the clergy, the government would gain over to itself not merely one important portion of those by whom the confidence of the Irish people is at present enjoyed, but that portion of it which must necessarily possess the most permanent influence. One popular leader may die, and another may lose his power; and the alliance formed with a party now enjoying popular favour, may be rendered useless to-morrow by some change in the tide of opinion. But a priesthood swaying the minds of the population by the influence of religion, as well as those of race, kindred, neighbourhood, and community of feeling, wields the durable power that institutions surviving through successive generations continue to draw from sources of human feeling so universal and so lasting.

All these considerations induce us to lean with great favour to the plan of paying the Irish priests; and the wisdom of such a plan might be illustrated by the successful result of similar measures in Canada, in Belgium, and in Prussia. But we will not take up the time of our readers with any further speculations on the beneficial results of a plan which it appears to us perfectly chimerical to propose to carry into effect at the present time, and in the mode now suggested; and which, if adopted at the same time, and in such mode, would, we are persuaded, entirely fail of producing any of the results contemplated either by ourselves or any of its Conservative advocates. It is equally useless to think of getting the assent of the legislature given to it, in the present temper of the English mind; or of the experiment, if tried, being allowed to succeed, if carried contrary to the wishes of Mr O'Connell, and with the obvious purpose of diminishing the influence of the popular party.

We do not wish to taunt Lord Alvanley, or the other moderate Conservatives, with their past sins, in order to thwart them in a liberal purpose; but we must say, that the feeling which his friends have for the last six years been too successfully labouring to excite throughout the country, must be fatal to the chance of his getting the public assent to the scheme on which he seems to have set his heart. The great stalking-horse of the party during that period has been the fear of popery; and though we do not believe that the majority, or any thing approaching the majority, of the people of Great Britain, are animated by feelings of hostility to the Irish people and their religion, yet quite a sufficient portion of the party in power have been worked up to a pitch of

excitement on the subject, to render it impossible for a plan like the one in question to be carried, without a complete breaking up of existing parties. Lord Roden, and the Tory newspapers, have already given clear indications of the outcry, which a large section of the party would raise against the adoption of it by the government which they laboured so hard to bring in: the clamour of Exeter Hall would be such as peaceable men can hardly conceive; and its supporters, in canvassing at another general election, would hardly venture again to have the Bible carried at the head of a solemn procession of the freemen whom they had bribed. The politicians who thought it a great stroke of cunning to get up this fanatical folly throughout the country, did not intend it to last long enough to thwart them in the course which they might find it necessary to take, after they had obtained power. But the feelings which they have wantonly excited by their delusions, are not to be allayed as easily as they have been called into activity. Irrational as they are, they are deep and earnest: and the foolish but sincere people who are impelled by them, will not suppress them to suit the purposes of politicians. Without the cordial and unanimous support of the Liberal party, any proposal for the payment of the Irish priests would be easily defeated by the furious opposition with which the sincere bigots would meet it; and on grounds entirely contrary to theirs, we feel convinced, that very few of the Liberal party would think it right to support such a plan, under circumstances such as those in which it would be brought forward. Just as the retribution would be, if—in attempting to govern on those principles of liberality and justice, on which alone the affairs of the united kingdoms can now be safely and peacefully administered—a Tory Ministry should be thwarted, by the bigotry that its members called into action in order to obtain power; we should grieve if, through such cause, any scheme of practical good, proposed even by the worst of parties, should fail of being sanctioned by the legislature. But we should not now regret the interposition of this obstacle, because we feel fully assured, that the scheme, if brought forward, would be vehemently opposed by Mr O'Connell and the whole popular party in Ireland; and because we are convinced that, if carried into law in spite of their opposition, it would be frustrated by their influence—be productive of none of the good effects anticipated from it—and probably deeply impair the useful influence which to a certain degree the priesthood now exercise; and that its present failure would prevent its hereafter having a fairer trial under more favourable auspices.

For it seems to us to be quite an error to suppose that there is, in fact, any alternative between governing Ireland by means of Mr O'Connell, and governing it by means of the Priesthood. The establishment of a State provision for the latter, cannot be carried into effect without the consent of the former. With it, and under the most favourable circumstances imaginable, it would be a matter of much delicacy to effect the connexion aimed at, without shaking the confidence of the peasantry in the Priesthood, and consequently destroying the influence of the latter. The writer, from whom we have before quoted, seems to think that there is much more than religion in the matter; that the priest's influence springs, in far the largest proportion, from his being engaged in a common struggle with the peasantry against the same oppressors; that the very fact of his being found arrayed on the side of the aristocracy, would deprive him of the main hold which he now has on the minds of the people; and that, if the government should gain merely his clerical influence without that derived from his present social position, it would, at much expense and risk of failure, have got hold of a very powerless engine. Were the proposition, he says, 'to be acceded to by 'the Irish clergy, it is more than probable that they would lose 'the power which they now possess over their flocks. That 'power is founded on a conviction entertained by the Irish peo-'ple, that it is wielded for their protection. A priesthood paid 'by the Saxons would cease to be an Irish priesthood.'

We are inclined to think, that the difficulty is here stated somewhat too highly; and that, if the popular leaders were to approve of the payment—were to represent it to the people as a mark of respect to their religion and nation, and point out to the peasant the pecuniary saving of the priests' dues, as a benefit for which he should be thankful to the munificence of the government—the minds of the Irish would gradually become reconciled to the new state of things, and the priests retain much of their present influence after becoming connected with the State. The priesthood would thus, in course of time, become an independent and permanent institution, possessing great influence, and using it on the side of law and order. But it is one thing availing yourself of the power of an existing institution to help the State in grappling with difficulties as they may arise, and to counterbalance the influence of agitators that may hereafter raise their heads; and quite another thing to create an institution in the midst of difficulties, to cope with an agitation already powerful. At present, it is proposed to establish the connexion between the State and the Catholic Church in defiance of the agitators, and for the

avowed purpose of suppressing their power. They, of course, would do their utmost to prevent the hostile scheme from ever injuring them, by crushing it in its very commencement. From the first moment of its being broached, the plan would be denounced as the latest and craftiest of the plots of England against the liberties and religion of Ireland. The Protestant enemy, it would be said, is now endeavouring to deprive the Irish Catholics of their priesthood, by means of a wholesale system of bribery. A violent feeling of scorn and abhorrence would be raised against the false priest, who should sell his God and his country for the gold of the Saxon heretic; and those who should spurn the base temptation would be honoured by their countrymen, and not allowed to suffer for their pious refusal of the wages of apostacy. The result would be, that the priests paid by the Government would be as much loathed by the peasantry, as the Constitutional priests of the Revolution were by all the religious portion of the French people. Their ministrations would be shunned, their lives would hardly be safe, and their influence absolutely destroyed. These considerations would probably deter the greater portion from coming into the scheme at all, accepting the money, or having any communication with the Government. Some, who might be disposed to encounter even these dangers, if they could rely on the permanence of the provision, would reasonably dread that their individual adhesion would not prevent the failure of the plan; that, if it failed, the Government would not very long go on incurring the useless expense; and that they, after having broken with their own people, would be deserted by those who had seduced them. Those, whatever their number, who might, after all, be induced to connect themselves with the Government, would, we have no doubt, be immediately deserted by their flocks: in the excitement of the time, their places would easily be supplied by others; and the heated feelings of the peasantry would ensure the cheerful payment of the dues by which the priest is now supported. No good end would be answered; no tranquillizing influence would be established; another and fearful course of heart-burning, disaffection, and outrage, would be added to those which existed previously. The state of Ireland would instantly grow worse than before; and the scheme would speedily be followed by an outbreak of disgust in England, and its abrupt abandonment. The character of the priesthood would have been lowered—their useful influence impaired—their fanaticism and disaffection augmented; the power of their religion to restrain the Irish Catholics from crime, would have been somewhat weakened; the agitators would have gained a fresh

triumph, and have implanted in the minds of their countrymen another deep and lasting cause of hatred against England; and the plan of connexion between the State and the Priesthood having thus been rendered odious to the people, and discredited by failure, could never be tried again.

By those who have taken their notions of the unbounded power of the Irish priests from the absurd exaggerations which it has for many years suited the Anti-Catholic party to put forth, these anticipations, that victory could remain with the agitators in a contest with the priests, will doubtless appear very unfounded. But they are founded on experience of what has actually been the result of similar contests; and that result has invariably been, that the priest has been forced along by the agitators, and compelled to become their tool. When Mr O'Connell first commenced that agitation on a great scale, by which Emancipation was carried, the great body of the priests were opposed to him. He appealed to the people; the people followed him, and forced the priests to go along with them; and the priests, yielding to the stream, made a virtue of necessity, and became efficient agents of agitation. The same thing occurred immediately after the passing of Emancipation, on O'Connell's determining to continue agitation. And if, when his power was young, and his influence comparatively insecure, the priesthood were forced to bend to his will, there is little likelihood of their now successfully encountering him, with a cause of quarrel that would give them a discreditable air of interested servility, and subject them to the suspicion of a base treason to their religion and their country.

But do we, for these reasons, abandon our previously expressed opinion of the policy of attempting to establish a permanent State provision for the clergy of the Irish people? By no means: we still think it most *desirable*—properly set about, we trust it might be found *practicable*. But the attempt must not be made in a spirit of paltry hostility to Mr O'Connell: the first essential to the success of a scheme so bold, and so replete with unavoidable difficulties, is to secure to it the full assent of the leaders of the popular party in Ireland. This it would not be impossible to secure, if the attempt were made in the right way. In 1825, the Irish would readily have assented to the payment of their clergy, as a concomitant of Emancipation; Dr Doyle and others had publicly stated their approval of it, and Mr O'Connell, we believe, had pledged himself to its support. Again, if it had been taken up by the Government at the time of the publication of Mr Senior's excellent pamphlet on 'National Property,' in 1835, in which it was strongly and ably advocated, we believe it might

have been carried. But it pleased the party then and now in power, instead of so doing, to raise such a flame of bigotry throughout the country, as prevented not only themselves, but any others, from being able, with any tolerable chance of success, to propose any rational measures with regard to the Irish Catholics. If they would now revert to this most desirable scheme, they must co-operate with Mr O'Connell. But this they cannot do; and to their incompatibility with Mr O'Connell, Lord Alvanley must be content to see all chance of his views being acted upon, sacrificed.

The jealousy and hatred of Mr O'Connell that have actuated our public men since the Emancipation Bill, seem to us to be the main cause of the present difficulty of governing Ireland. The very hour of that great victory was chosen to affront him, by the unjust and purposeless annoyance of nullifying his election for Clare; and from that time down to Lord Normanby's administration, other administrations have appeared to consider it a point of honour to hold him at arm's length; to run counter to his recommendations; to provoke him to violence; to take advantage of his every rash act and coarse phrase, in order to denounce him to the people of England; and, instead of making his influence serviceable to the government, to endeavour, by systematic but fruitless efforts, to destroy it. And the manly and rational explanation which we always get of a line of conduct towards him, which gives a bad direction to the whole policy pursued in Ireland, is always, forsooth, that he has declared himself favourable to some wild scheme or another, which is never likely to come practically in question—has said something which is not true—or has called some great nobleman ugly names. We tell Lord Alvanley and his friends, that while the present policy of the government is dictated by motives so childish, it is in vain for them to devise schemes of permanent operation and utility. All will be frustrated by the opposition of the one person who now, and most naturally, wields alone the entire confidence of the people *whom he has elevated into a nation*. And we shall think such plans as the one now before us worthy of serious support, when we find the proposal of them preceded by the conciliation of the only man who can give them a chance of being carried into effect. Those who aspire to the character of wise statesmen, must bring themselves, at the outset, to make a sacrifice of their petty spites to the interests of the empire.

There is one portion of Lord Alvanley's recommendations, which might with safety and good result be carried into effect immediately. That is the proposal of entering into regular

diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome. By this means the government of the country would get a certain degree of influence in the nomination of the Catholic Bishops, and in the general arrangements of the Catholic church throughout the empire; for this is a matter affecting not merely Ireland, but every portion of the empire where the Catholics are sufficiently numerous to have an ecclesiastical organization. In Lower Canada especially, where the Catholic church is established and endowed by law, experience has shown how advantageous to the government it would be to get some indirect control over the clergy. The influence of the parochial priesthood has there been generally exerted to good purpose in behalf of the royal authority. But there have, nevertheless, sometimes been bad influences at work among the clergy; and our Government has felt how important, at critical junctures, it might have been to get a hint from Rome to a refractory Bishop. Still more important would it have been, in cases of vacant Bishoprics, had our relations with the Pope enabled us to suggest a proper appointment, or prevent a bad one. But there, a combination of ancient prejudices, with some modern gleams of common sense, presents a singular anomaly; for we recognise and pay the Catholic clergy of the province, but refuse to get the fair return for our liberality, in the shape of a control over clerical appointments; they being entirely in the hands of the Pope, and disposed of without reference to the wishes of our government, which never communicates with him. To allow the existence of a Catholic Priesthood in our empire, and refuse to communicate with its Head, is to allow the existence of that clerical power which most of all needs control, and to refuse ourselves all means of controlling it. Lord Alvanley's suggestion would remove this anomaly, and be taken as a proof of good-will by all our Catholic fellow-subjects.

ART. IX.—*Marriage—The Inheritance—Destiny; or the Chief's Daughter.* New Editions, Revised by the Author. 3 vols. 12mo. London: 1841. (Forming Vols. 83, 84, 85 of Bentley's 'Standard Novels.')

We gladly avail ourselves of the republication of these novels in a cheap and popular form, less to do an act of justice to their amiable and distinguished authoress, than to repair an omission to which our critical conscience pleads guilty. To one whose works have already taken an honourable place in the literature of the country, the approbation of a Critical Journal is of little moment; its disapprobation perhaps of still less; but we should regret on our own account, if another opportunity should be suffered to pass, without recording our feelings of gratitude and esteem for one who has added so much to our picture gallery of original character, and enlarged the boundaries of innocent enjoyment, without admitting an image or a sentiment which even a Christian moralist could disapprove. Yet these works are truly Novels, not 'dramatic sermons,' in the manner of Cœlebs;—they are pervaded not so much by the form as by the spirit of religion;—not paraded in the conventional language of a sect, but appearing as a natural spring of action in the characters—a source of consolation, endurance, or improvement.

These novels made their appearance while the public mind was fascinated by the brilliant fictions of Scott—succeeding each other with a rapidity which suggested the idea rather of creation than of composition—combining more of those higher qualities of mind which are seldom found in unison, and appealing to a more varied class of feelings than any works of fiction since the days of Shakspeare. To find patient audience, even after a well-graced actor leaves the stage, is proverbially not an easy task; but to tread the scene along with him, and divide some portion of the public attention with one who can scarcely be said to have ever left the stage vacant for any other actor—one who, if he disappeared for a moment,

> In our ears, . . .
> So charming left his voice, that we him deem'd
> Still speaking—

unequivocally showed that this authoress possessed independent and original powers of mind. True, her fictions were not stimulating or highly imaginative: the first of them, at least, had no pretensions to rouse curiosity by a dexterously-constructed plot. They dealt, in the outset, far more with the absurdities and the weaknesses of human life, than with scenes

of tenderness or passion; and yet they were at once felt to possess peculiar and sterling merits of their own, though of a more sober and homely order—a sagacity and power of observation with regard to the peculiarities of character, and of dexterous combination of these into a consistent whole; the rare gift of genuine humour as opposed to mere wit and smartness; and, latterly, also a command over the resources of the pathetic, which could scarcely have been anticipated from the shrewd and somewhat dry and caustic tone of 'Marriage,' the earliest production of the authoress. These qualities secured to the writings of Miss Ferrier, even during the ascendency of Scott, not indeed a noisy popularity, but yet an enviable place in the opinion of those whose opinion in such a question was most valuable; and now that the fascination produced by his genius has settled into a more sober, though not less deep feeling of admiration, and that the world has grown somewhat weary of the pomp and circumstance of chivalrous and historical pageants—repeated as they have been by so many inferior hands—the solid but unobtrusive excellences of her novels will appear more and more conspicuous, as the stars come out with an independent lustre when the sun retires.

It was fortunate for the authoress that the tastes and qualities of her mind were so essentially different from those of the great novelist with whom she was brought in contact, as probably to exclude the wish as well as the power of imitation. A mind so thoroughly cultivated as hers—so instinct with fine and excellent feeling—so alive both to natural and moral beauty—could never, of course, be destitute of poetical susceptibilities:—and indeed a love of poetry, and a delicate appreciation of its beauties, appear in many a brief allusion in the course of these volumes; but still the turn of her mind, as indicated in her works, appears the very reverse of *romantic*. Though not without a sympathy with the poetical character of the past, it is not there that she finds her home. She does not willingly enter on such a region of shadows, which the light of a stronger genius than hers is required to illuminate, but draws her materials from the present, and leans willingly on the support of realities.

The characters she paints, the objects she has in view, the incidents which she describes, are in general plain and practical, and of ordinary occurrence. Thus if, on the one hand, she subjects herself to this severe test—that we can all judge of the truth of her portraits; on the other, she never can experience, in real life, a want of individuals fitted to sit for their pictures, and whose tempting lineaments, impressed with the stamp of oddity or peculiarities of humour, appear to court the pencil. Without

meaning to say, that Miss Ferrier has done her friends and acquaintances the questionable honour of suspending these portraits in her exhibition-room, for the amusement of the public, it is difficult to resist the belief, that not a few of the personages who live, move, and have their being in these fictions, have actually haunted the streets of Edinburgh, or the country mansions in its neighbourhood, not unseen or unmarked by the ingenious authoress. We have the strongest persuasion, for instance, that we have frequently met Dr Redgill at dinner; have suffered under the infliction of more than one Miss Pratt; and been startled by the hideous laugh of a M'Dow—presenting his victims with a copy of his Summons of Augmentation, and delicately intimating the postponement of his proposals of marriage till he learns the fate of his Reclaiming Petition as to the Manse Byres.

Yet this power of literal delineation is not without its dangers. It is apt to fix the eye too much upon mere weaknesses and peculiarities of character. The tiresome, the vulgar, the selfish, and disagreeable, are found, in fact, to be more susceptible of delineation, by distinctive traits which insure recognition, than the possessors of good feeling and good sense; just as all distortion is sure to be more easily copied than the flowing outline of perfect grace; and hence there is often a tendency in such fictions to 'people the 'isle with Calibans,' and to make the personages in general mere bores, oddities, and exceptional characters, to the exclusion of those cast in a better and healthier mould—upon whose feelings and movements, after all, the interest of every well constructed story must depend. With this tendency to the grotesque —which few who have possessed the power of successful humourous delineations have ever been able to resist—which appears by glimpses in the Shallows and Dogberrys of Shakspeare—which Smollett so blindly yielded to—from which Sir Walter Scott himself could seldom long abstain—and which, by endless repetition, frets and tires us in the novels of Miss Burney, Miss Ferrier, in her first novel, was justly chargeable. It seemed as if with a reluctance, not unnatural in a female, to the display of those deeper sensibilities of which her later works have given undoubted proof, she thought it safer to approach the public from behind the comic mask of sarcastic and humorous delineation; to expose silliness, cunning, and selfishness, rather than to paint generous impulses, or strong passions—to postpone feeling to humour, and to rest the chief interest, or at least novelty and characteristic force of her work, on the creation of a group of anomalies nd eccentricities, arrayed in strong contrast to each other. That ese indicated close observation of nature, and that many of the

characters were drawn with a wonderful coherency and look of life, was indisputable. The sketches of the old aunts at Glenfern, Jacky, Nicky, and Grizzy—particularly the latter;—of Mrs Macshake, in her old-fashioned residence, looking like the incarnation of evil—but with a lurking vein of kind-heartedness—profuse of sarcasm against the modern fashions of the heroine, but yet winding up the diatribe by squeezing a pair of diamond ear-rings into the heroine's hand at parting; and, above all, that of the epicurean physician, Dr Redgill, with his quiet, steadfast selfishness—his contempt for Scotch scenery, balanced by his admiration of Scotch breakfasts, and his aversion to churches as 'highly prejudicial to health'—are equal to any that could be produced from the best of our English novel readers. But bores in real life must be bores also in fiction; we are at first amused by the odd company into which we have got; but when we have 'made perusal of their faces,' become acquainted with their peculiar tricks, and watched for a little how the master-feeling or master-weakness influences their conduct, till we have got the key to their character, we become weary of such an association—refuse to be shut up any longer in such 'a ship of fools,' and long, as we could do in real life, for the relief afforded by a return to good sense and right-mindedness. Add to this, that even where the individual delineations are not in themselves exposed to the objection of caricature, they are apt to produce the effect of caricature by their combination. Possibly within a range of some hundred miles in Scotland, such a trio of maiden aunts—a laird—a Sir Sampson, and Lady Maclauchlan, might be found; but the imagination refuses to believe that so strange a set of originals could ever be congregated in one Highland parlour, at Glenfern. But in truth, in the two creations last named, Miss Ferrier appears to us to have deviated into the regions of actual caricature; as well as in her exaggeration of the earlier miseries which the London fine-lady, and her lap-dogs, encounter in their desolate Highland residence; which remind us too forcibly of those accumulations of petty annoyances, and ridiculous *contretemps*, out of which the authoress of 'Cecilia' was too much disposed to compound the staple of her novels.

In truth, it must be admitted, that in 'Marriage' the incidents generally were little conducive to the interest of the novel. Of story, it had as little as the knife-grinder. The tale wandered up and down without advancing—passed from one generation to another—moved from Scotland to England, and back again, with no other principle of progress or development, but that of giving the widest scope for the exhibition and opposition of the strange beings to which it had lent a temporary existence. As

a mere tale it excited, in truth, no interest whatever. We remember, that when Mr Croftangry communicated to Mr Fairscribe the MS. of the 'Chronicles of the Canongate,' the man of the law assured him the work was far preferable to Schiller's 'Robbers,' as the former could be taken up and laid down at any time, while the perusal of the pestilent German drama had led to his forgetting one appointment, and breaking another. Mr Fairscribe might have ventured on the perusal of 'Marriage' without the least apprehension of such a catastrophe; for the desultory movement of the story, and the want of any strong interest in the individual scenes themselves, enabled the reader to resign or resume it, without risk of breach of engagement, or oblivion of the dinner bell. On re-perusing it recently, the sketches of London fashionable life seem to us to wear a superficial air. Even the love scenes—generally the stronghold of female composition—seem drawn with a certain reserve and timidity. Altogether, it may be doubted whether the appearance, for it was little more, of a connected narrative, did not rather impair than set off the effect of the characters; and whether an avowed gallery of Scottish originals *à la Bruyère*, without such an accompaniment, would not have impressed the public with a higher notion of the powers of the writer.

But in spite of the crudity of the tale in point of plot, and the predominance of scenes and personages calculated on the whole rather to weary than to please, it was not difficult to detect, in the vivacity and consistency of the sketches, the shrewdness and point of the dialogue, and even in some glimpses of more tender feeling which were allowed as if by stealth to appear—powers which a greater degree of self-reliance, and a more careful study of the arts of composition, could not fail to cultivate into excellence. To Sir Walter Scott—whose own attention had been particularly directed to the study of the manners of the last century, with a view to his first cyclus of novels founded on Scottish character—the truth of such a portrait as Mrs Macshake, as a last remnant of other days, must have had a peculiar charm; and he has shown his admiration of Miss Ferrier's powers, not only by one of those kindly notices in his Prefaces, by which he delighted to honour congenial talent, but by supplying the character with an elaborate and most appropriate *pendant*, in the more stately Mrs Bethune Baliol, of the 'Chronicles of the Canongate.'

But in Miss Ferrier's next novel, 'The Inheritance,' the advance made in artistic skill and dexterity was remarkable. She had learned in the interval to feel her own strength, and to confide in her command over the higher passions and more tender emotions, as well as over the ludicrous and the grotesque. In this novel, an

interesting story unrolls itself before us on an ample canvass; not, indeed, altogether without something of a theatrical development—for the visits of the intrusive American stranger, do a little remind the reader of the movements of those mysterious personages who hover, wrapped in cloaks, in the background of the stage, in the last act of melodramas—but still on the whole artfully arranged; exciting, and at last satisfying, the curiosity of the reader, by a striking, if not perfectly probable denouement. We are raised above the petty miseries and *tracasseries* of 'Marriage,' into a sphere where higher passions are felt to be at work for higher objects. Scenes of strong pathos, and stirring interest, alternate with the mere common places and conventionalities of Lord Rossville's drawing-room; and the reader forgets the impertinences of Miss Pratt, and the *niaiseries* of Mrs Major Waddell, in the intense curiosity with which he watches the plots of the selfish Delmour maturing before his eyes—the efforts of the generous Lyndsay to counterplot his machinations against the heiress—the acuteness of Gertrude's sufferings when the truth, long known to others, is made known to her, and the whole selfishness of her lover's character stands arrayed before her—and the many touching and beautiful traits which occur in the masterly portrait of old uncle Adam. This is a character which is obviously a favourite with Miss Ferrier, and which she has, in substance, repeated in the Inch Orran of 'Destiny.' At first he looks utterly repulsive and hopelessly heartless—a petrifaction as bleak and hard as the spot on which he seems to have become rooted for life. But as the barest spot, when looked into, is found to be not without some patches of verdure in its bosom, and springs that well forth to fertilize the apparently sterile soil, so in uncle Adam the cherished recollection of a boyish passion which has clung to him through life, infuses a vein of sympathetic feeling into his stern breast, and opens for him, through all the frosts of age and disappointment, a source of natural tears. Nothing can be better than the idea of supposing uncle Adam in his turret at Rossville so fascinated with 'Guy 'Mannering,' on which he has accidentally laid his hands—that he delays and at last postpones his departure indefinitely, that he may have the pleasure of seeing poetical justice done on Glossin. The tinge of romance which lingers in his character, gives an air of probability to the incident, and renders it at once a characteristic trait and a delicate compliment.

The family of the Blacks—the Major—his lady constantly asserting the privilege and dignity of the new-married woman—the pompous inanity of the Peer—the bustling impertinence of the impassive Miss Pratt—are sketched with equal skill

and care. But the authoress has really abused her power over the reader, by the unrelenting manner in which she has linked this tiresome busy-body with the whole course of the tale, and the most interesting of its scenes of passion and suspense—so that the reader is constantly wishing that the Hearse which brought her to Lord Rossville's might be permitted to take her back. The omnipresence of this tormentor, and the scenes with the American, Lewiston, we think the chief drawbacks of the tale. The idea of the American borrowing the name of his cousin, and passing himself off as the real father of the heroine, appears not a very likely one; and the success of the scheme with Mrs St Clair, who had seen the true Lewiston, less probable still.

The last of Miss Ferrier's novels, 'Destiny, or the Chief's 'Daughter,' appeared in 1831; and though few novelists can be expected to proceed in a regular course of improvement, such we think was in this instance the case. Its framework seems more compact and well ordered than even that of 'Inheri-'tance;' it has equal simplicity with more variety; the story works itself out in natural progression, without the aid of mysterious Americans and nocturnal *rencontres;* while over all is cast a hue of gentleness and tenderness, as if the whole aspect of life and nature had taken

> 'a sober colouring from the eye,
> That had kept watch o'er man's mortality,'

and had ceased to wear that motley garb with which it had at first been invested;—and the whole current of the author's mind had been insensibly turned into the channel of earnestness and mild forbearance. Not that we mean to say that in this novel, the tone is gloomy or oppressive. Far from it. There is abundance of cheerfulness—here, too, there is a sprinkling of the comic. The same power of inventing creatures at once extravagant and natural which had shadowed out the Macshakes, Redgills, Pratts, Uncle Adams, of 'Marriage' and 'Inheritance'—reappears; though fortunately more in snatches and passing glimpses, in the cockney Ribbles and the moderate minister M'Dow. But, as we have said, these eccentricities hang more loosely on the story, and interrupt but slightly its strong, natural, and pathetic interest. The whole picture of the establishments at Glenroy and Loch Dhu; the growth of the contrasted characters of the children of the Laird and his cousin; the blank produced in the mind of the old chief by the sudden death of his son—are conceived and executed with a skill which no female writer of the present day has surpassed. There are some passages in the description of the desolate father's distress, when the heir of his Halls and hopes is taken from him—such as his inability to con-

ceive that death could lay his hand on the son of the chief of Glenroy, except in the battle field; followed by the rapid transfer of the half-doting old man's affections and occupations to other objects, which it is difficult to peruse without tears. The hero, Ronald Malcolm, too, pleases us better than those of 'Marriage' or 'Inheritance'—Douglas, or Lyndsay. His mixture of high spirit, impetuosity, rashness, and generosity, are more interesting than the uniform self-possession and Grandisonlike propriety of his predecessors. But surely it was a mistake to make the whole course of the tale hinge on so ultra-romantic and sentimental a proceeding, as the voluntary disappearance of the hero from his family and his country. A shipwrecked youth returning to his home, some years after his supposed loss at sea, stands gazing through the window of his paternal mansion at his father, mother, brother, and sisters, assembled in the room where he had played when a boy; he sees his mother again looking cheerful; a lover hanging over the chair of his favourite sister, and preparations on foot for a dance among the younger children. The twilight walk to Inch Orran—the scene itself as witnessed from the window, is touchingly painted. But when Ronald is described as so deeply mortified and surprised to find his loss forgotten at the distance of years, that he flies from the spot in despair—binds himself by 'a rash vow' never to return, till he can bestow on his parents the estate of which his return would have deprived them—and for nine years afterwards disappears entirely from the eyes of the reader—we pause and ask ourselves whether we have not accidentally exchanged a novel of Miss Ferrier's for some production of the Minerva press.

We have spoken without reserve of the few defects which we think may be traced in her later novels; because we feel that no language but that of sincerity ought to be addressed to Miss Ferrier, and that to her it may be addressed with safety. On the whole, our admiration for her talents is only equalled by the respect we feel for the high principles which she has always advocated. Her novels, we believe, have taken their place in public opinion among the classical productions of their class—on a level with those of Miss Austen, and, unless we are much deceived, considerably above those of Miss Burney.

ART. X.—1. *Returns of the Net Revenue and Expenditure of the United Kingdom, for the Years ending the 5th day of April* 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, *and* 1841. Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons. 27th April 1841.

2. *The Revenue, or what should the Chancellor do?* By JAMES WILSON, Esq. London: 1841.

THE deficiency of the revenue in each of the last four years, if considered with reference only to Finance, is not perhaps to be regretted; in as much as it carries with it some redeeming considerations of importance. As to Taxation, it must lead to improvements in our system, and it ought to lead to a Reduction of the Expenditure. It has already had the effect, in respect to a portion of the taxes, of bringing matters to a crisis; and committing one of the great political parties to the abolition of all duties imposed for giving Protection, as a condition of its future tenure of office. A few years ago, no one could have foreseen that the time would come so soon, when the Ministers of the Crown would tell the West India interest, the Canada interest, the Shipping interest, the Landed interest, and all other Class interests, that the nation would no longer be taxed with *protecting duties* for their benefit. As to Trade and Manufactures, a great advance has been made towards their future extension, by the certainty of the too long-deferred revision of the Customs-duties being sooner or later carried into effect;—a measure which, for many years, had been proposed in vain, by all who are esteemed of the highest reputation and authority, as necessary not only for the extension of industry, but for the preservation of our manufactures from the ruin with which they are threatened by the hostile Tariffs of other nations.

As the subject of the Import duties has been already fully discussed in this Journal, we shall not dwell upon it at present; but proceed to examine how far there are grounds for the statements which have been so pertinaciously reiterated, as to the Financial misdeeds of the late Ministry, and the deteriorated and embarrassed condition in which they left the resources of the country.

The last four years, certainly, have been years of distress. The bad harvest of 1838 began the series. This was followed by the drain on the Bank for bullion to pay for foreign corn, and the derangement of the currency. Then came, as the necessary consequence of this derangement, a re-

vulsion of trade; the depressed state of the markets for manufactures; and finally, the reduction of wages, and the throwing out of employment of great numbers of the working classes. In such a state of things, it is no wonder that the country should have been greatly distressed; that the taxes should not have been productive of the usual amount of revenue; and that the finances generally should have fallen, in some degree, into embarrassment. This latter circumstance was a necessary consequence of the stagnant condition of manufacturing industry; for, with our system of taxation, exports and their corresponding imports are the measures of revenue. If the mass of the people had possessed, in the last four years, the same command of the necessaries and comforts of life that they enjoyed in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837, the revenue would have been sufficient for all the demands upon it.

The calamities which we have enumerated, necessarily made the situation of Ministers one of great difficulty; but they were in no degree to blame for these calamities, because no human power could have averted them. They met them with calmness, and had the great merit of doing nothing to aggravate them; and they carried on the business of the government amidst a degree of quiet and submission to the laws, which, perhaps, had never before been witnessed under such trying circumstances.

Notwithstanding, however, the prudent conduct of Ministers, they were doomed to be assailed on all hands. The distress of trade, and the deficiency of the revenue, touched public feeling so strongly, that they afforded an opportunity, too tempting to party rancour to be thrown away, for endeavouring to create an impression that every disaster was owing to the mismanagement of the Whig Ministers. The deficiency of the revenue was put forward as the great sin of their administration; and for this, their dismissal from office was loudly called for.

But to look at the question of deficiency in a proper light, it should not be confined merely to a question of change of Ministry; because the providing for it involves most important public interests, and great principles of finance. As long as a Sinking Fund existed, Ministers always had revenue enough; but since this fund was very properly abolished, whenever it has happened that the revenue has exceeded the expenditure, the public have been so clamorous for a reduction of taxes that the Government have been forced to give way, and to carry the repeal of them so far, as to leave 'no margin,' to use Lord Ashburton's expression—that is, no average supply in ordinary years, to come in aid of a year where

thedistress of trade, or some other circumstance, shall cause the revenue to fall off. The consequence is, that every Government must now be exposed, whenever trade declines, or any similar misfortune takes place, to have a deficient revenue to deal with. This is the first instance, since the abolition of the Sinking Fund in 1828, of any considerable and lasting deficiency; and therefore it is of great importance that a right judgment should be formed, upon the statements of conflicting parties, in regard to the best way by which it could have been provided for—whether by issuing Exchequer bills, and thus having recourse to temporary loans, or by laying on new taxes. We shall keep this constantly in view, in examining the charges against the late Government, for the manner in which they managed the finances of the country.

Although these charges have been uniformly accompanied with a seeming confident assurance of their being well founded, it will not be difficult to show that they have been made in utter defiance of all sound principles of finance, and without any due regard for what was best for the general interests of the community. The seconder of the amendment of the Address to the Throne, at the opening of the last short session, attributed the deficiency of the revenue to the wanton and profuse expenditure of the Whig Ministers. Every quarterly, monthly, weekly, and daily Tory Journal had been, for upwards of six months, telling the public, that this wanton and profuse expenditure was the sole cause of the embarrassed state of the finances; and they placed their main reliance upon the impression they might be able to make, by these means, on public opinion, for success in bringing their friends into office. It now, however, appears that the accusation was false; and that on the authority of declarations since made by the leaders of the Tory party. What the Whig Government might say in reply to the charge of extravagance, if there had been the least grounds for it, is, that they were urged incessantly by the Tory opposition to increase the expenses of the public service; and that, if any fault could be found with them by the Tory party, it would be for having been too tardy in augmenting the expenditure. The following extract from the speech of Mr Spring Rice, on bringing forward his Budget in 1839, places this in a clear point of view:—'I cannot approach this subject without first calling the attention of the House to the new position in which the House and the Government of late have been placed. The relative position of the two parties have been different—the Government have not gone into one Committee of Supply without being threatened with amendments—not of the

'old character, and with a view to the *reduction of the estimates*, 'but, on the contrary, for the *purpose of increasing them*. If we 'proposed to go into the Navy Estimates, we were told, in con- 'tradiction to the assertions of the authorities presiding over the 'Admiralty, that the Navy is unfit to represent the honour and 'maintain the rights of England, and that the Government will 'forget their duty if they do not largely add to the estimates, and 'greatly increase the Navy. In like manner, when discussing 'the estimates for the Marines, the Ordnance, or the half-pay 'establishment—no matter, in fact, in what branch of the service '—we are met at every turn, and under every circumstance, 'with complaints that we do not carry the *expenditure of the 'country far enough*; and intimations are given, nay more, a 'little compulsion is often resorted to, on the part of the House, 'to compel the Government to carry the expenditure, for the dif- 'ferent branches of the public service, much beyond the scale and 'limits of the estimates.'—(*Hansard's Debates*, vol. xlviii., 1839.)

In addition to this testimony, we may adduce that of Mr Wakley, a witness by no means prejudiced in favour of the Whig Ministry. On Mr Goulburn's motion for funding Exchequer bills, Mr Wakley is reported to have said, that 'Since he had been a member of the House, he had 'observed more recklessness on the part of members of it, in 'respect to the public expenditure, than he had ever witnessed 'in either a Tory or a Whig Government. What he contended 'against was, the wantonness of the House of Commons, not the 'wantonness of Government, in matters of public expenditure; 'only a very few members paid the slightest attention to the 'estimates.'* But the work of thoroughly exposing the false grounds on which the above charge was brought, by the Tory press, against the late Government, was left for the Duke of Wellington; and he did it in a manner to leave no doubt of his acquitting them of having contributed, by any improper increase of the expenditure, to produce the deficiency of the revenue; for he unequivocally declared, in his speech on the Address in the House of Lords, that he entirely approved of the operations which had led to that increase. Alluding to these operations, he said, 'nobody approves of them more than I do.' It would thus appear that the Tory press stirred up discontent against the late Government, by attacks unauthorized by the leaders of the Tory party; while they remained quiet till it suited their

* *Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 21, 1841.

purpose to rest their vote of a want of confidence—not upon extravagant expenditure—but on the failure to make, what was called, due provision for the deficiency.

But the Whig Government have a right to take higher ground than that of mere defence. They have a right to claim the thanks of the public for the economy with which they conducted the operations that the public service required; for when all they had to do is fairly examined, and the additional expense to which the country has been put, this expense will be found to be of very moderate amount. The Government had to establish a large army in Canada—to increase the fleet in the Mediterranean, for the double purpose of settling the Eastern question and keeping up a fleet of equal force with the recently increased fleet of France—to prepare and send a fleet to China—and, in addition to all this, to put the navy on a footing to be prepared for war, in case the transactions on the Canada frontier should have led to a rupture with America; or the rage in France for throwing Europe into conflict had run an uninterrupted course. With regard to the expense incurred for providing for all these objects—on referring to the official accounts, and examining the expenditure for the four years from April 1837 to April 1841—it will be found, that the expenditure for the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous services, (Canada and China included,) amounted, on an average of the four years, to £16,677,000 a-year; and that the expenditure for similar services in the year 1836, the last year of ordinary expenditure, was £14,421,000; so that the increased expenditure for all the new and extraordinary services was little more than two millions a-year—a sum that must be allowed to be moderate, considering the great and eminently successful efforts which the Whig Ministers made in securing the safety, and upholding the honour of the country. In good old Tory times, the same work would not have been done for twice the money.

The merit of the Whig Government, in economizing the public money, will more fully appear by contrasting the expenditure of these last four years, ending April 1841, with the expenditure of the last four years of Tory government, previous to Lord Grey's coming into office. The comparison will show, that while the Tory expenditure was £69,811,467, the Whig expenditure was £66,707,529—that is, less than the Tory expenditure by £3,103,938; although in the Tory years there was general peace, and no drains on the treasury, such as those in the Whig four years, for Canada, the Mediterranean, and the Chinese war. The account of the expenditure is as follows:—

TORY EXPENDITURE.*

Year ending 5th January	1828,	£19,069,060
Do.	1829,	17,211,100
Do.	1830,	17,666,522
Do.	1831,	15,864,785
		£69,811,467

WHIG EXPENDITURE.†

Year ending 5th April	1838,	£15,393,067
Do.	1839,	16,452,266
Do.	1840,	17,429,876
Do.	1841,	17,432,320
		£66,707,529

When we consider how it happened that the Government were able to be so sparing of the public money, we shall find that what mainly contributed to it was their management of Ireland. It was their success in tranquillizing that country, by giving full operation to the Act of Emancipation, which enabled them to spare the large military force required in Canada. Without the power of sending several thousand men from Ireland to Canada, it would have been impossible to have had a sufficient force in that colony without adding at least five thousand men to the standing army.

The accusation which the leaders of the Tory party, as distinguished from the Tory press, finally brought against the Whig Government, as expressed by the Duke of Wellington in the debate on the Address, was that of having failed to make due provision for the charges incurred for naval and military operations. This failure, he said, 'justifies the vote (of want of 'confidence) which your lordships are called upon to support.' This accusation puts to issue the principle of financial policy, according to which, such a deficiency as that which has taken place ought to be provided for. It would appear that what the new government consider to be the right principle, is the immediate resort to NEW TAXES, in order to keep the revenue equal to the expenditure; for this is the only construction that can be given to the language of the Duke of Wellington, and of the amendment of the address. After stating that

* Taken from the Annual Finance Accounts.

† Taken from the Return at the head of this article.

the public expenditure had, in each of several successive years, exceeded the annual revenue, it says—'we are convinced 'of the necessity of adopting measures for the purpose of remedy-'ing so great an evil.' Had the Duke of Wellington expressed himself more openly, he would have said,—'You ought not to 'have issued Exchequer bills, and increased the unfunded debt; 'you ought to have made provision for the deficiency by re-im-'posing some of the taxes recently repealed, or by imposing new 'ones: this was the only way the finances of the country could 'have been properly managed, and by which you could have 'deserved the confidence of Parliament.'

But this readiness to have recourse to additional taxation, shows a total disregard for all established principles of finance. The advocates of it are blind to the evil consequences of new taxes to the best interests of the country. They overlook the great waste that unavoidably accompanies all taxes;—how much the sum paid by the contributor is diminished by charges of collection and other drawbacks before it reaches the Treasury. They see no difference between leaving money in the people's pockets, to be employed in industry, and in augmenting the national wealth, and transferring it to the government to be spent on fleets and armies. It was well observed by the late Mr Ricardo, 'that there are no taxes which have not a tendency to lessen the 'power to accumulate. All taxes must either fall on capital or 'revenue. If they encroach on capital, they must proportionably 'diminish that fund, by whose extent the extent of the productive 'industry of the country must always be regulated; and if they 'fall on revenue, they must either lessen accumulation, or force 'the contributors to save the amount of the tax, by making a 'corresponding diminution of their former unproductive con-'sumption of the necessaries and luxuries of life. Some taxes 'will produce these effects in a much greater degree than others; 'but the great evil of taxation is to be found, not so much in any 'selection of its objects, as in the general amount of its effects 'taken collectively.'*

Having regard only to the principles of finance, and setting aside all party considerations, the right course to be taken, when there is a deficiency, is to examine the causes; and if it shall appear that it is a deficit which will not be *permanent*, but only *temporary*, then to decide on obtaining the funds wanted, by Exchequer bills; to be redeemed when the ordinary state of the finances is restored.

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* *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 164.

We shall now briefly trace the circumstances under which the deficiencies of the last four years arose; and show how far these circumstances did or did not justify the financial measures of the Whig Government.

With respect to the deficiencies of the years ending April 1838 and April 1839, all the circumstances led to a conclusion that the causes, so far as either the public expenditure or public income was in question, were of a temporary kind. As to the expenditure—taking the spring of 1839 as the time when the subject of the deficiency was under the consideration of Government, preparatory to arranging their Budget—the necessity of maintaining a large army in Canada was daily becoming less urgent; a million of money had been expended in 1838 in making good the supply of naval and ordnance stores; and the principal expense had been incurred in fitting out a large fleet for the Mediterranean; so that no ground existed for considering the increased and extraordinary expenditure, as an amount of expenditure that would be required for any prolonged period.

As to the public income, there can be no doubt that, if the harvest of 1838 had proved a good one, the revenue for the year ending April 1839 would have been greater than it was. The drain on the Bank of England for upwards of seven millions of bullion for foreign corn, by deranging the currency, produced a general depression of trade; and this led to diminished employment and reduced wages—just at the time when the price of food was greatly increased; so that the mass of the people were placed in a condition to render them incapable of purchasing, to the same extent as usual, those articles of consumption, for which upwards of seventy per cent of the revenue is raised by means of indirect taxation. In the pamphlet named at the head of this article, Mr Wilson, says—'In the year 1840, the total net income 'of the country was £47,567,566, of which was derived from the

'Customs and Excise, . .	£35,536,469
'Stamps, ...	7,168,625
'Taxes, ...	3,946,444

'by which it appears that the portion of the public income de-'pendent on the consumptive ability of the whole community, 'and particularly of the working classes, is about three-fourths 'of the whole.' For, as the author adds—'The customs 'and excise duties may be fairly considered as taxes on com-'merce and industry; and being chiefly derived from articles 'which have become necessaries of life, such as sugar, tea, 'coffee, tobacco, malt, spirits, soap, &c., may be said to be paid 'nearly rateably per head by the whole population, without any

'regard to income or property; or at least, considering the immense preponderance in numbers which the working and productive classes bear over all other classes, it must be admitted 'that the great bulk of consumption must exist among the lower 'and middle orders; and that, consequently, this branch of revenue must be productive or otherwise, in exact proportion to 'the ability of the great masses to consume these first necessaries 'and comforts of life.'

The want of proper attention to the great principle on which the revenue is raised, namely, the very large portion of it which is obtained from taxes on consumption, has frequently led to great mistakes in accounting for any deficiency, and in devising remedies for improving it. As to the effect of the seasons on the revenue, this is strikingly shown by the fact, that in the years 1834, 1835, and 1836, the revenue went on increasing, although in each of these years customs and excise duties were reduced—a circumstance that is explained by the favourable seasons of those years. Mr Wilson states, that the whole cost of wheat to the community, in the years 1834, 1835, and 1836, calculating the consumption at sixteen millions of quarters annually, at the average price of each year, was £107,133,333; while in the three following years of 1837, 1838, and 1839, by the same rule of calculation, the cost was £152,866,665—showing a difference in the cost of wheat alone, of upwards of forty-five millions during the latter three years, as compared with the former—'which sum,' he observes, 'must necessarily have been abstracted 'from the channels of expenditure in which it had previously 'flowed; and, by diminishing the demand for all other articles 'to the same amount, at once embarrassed and curtailed commerce and manufactures, and diminished the revenue derivable 'therefrom.' So far, therefore, as the falling off of the revenue was a cause of the deficiency of the year ending April 1839, the Government were perfectly justified in not considering the deficiency as establishing a case for imposing new taxes; the reason of the unproductiveness of the revenue being so evidently the occasion of but a single bad season.

That what has now been stated was, at the time, felt to be the case, even by the Tory Opposition, is evident from the fact, that when Mr Rice proposed, in his Budget for 1839, to provide for the deficiencies by issuing Exchequer bills, no opposition was made beyond a few verbal remarks. Now, as this Budget comprised the deficiency of the following year, it was a Budget for three out of the four years of deficiency; and the failure, as to principle, of making due provision for it, was as

complete in 1839 as in 1841; and therefore it is clear that the putting forward, in 1841, the failure of making such provision as the ground of the vote of want of confidence, would never have been heard of, had it not so happened that this plea relieved the Tory party from being forced into a discussion of the Corn-Laws and Commercial Reform.

In the year ending April 1840, a further deficiency having taken place, the Government acted on the Tory principle of management, and did what seemed to all parties to be amply sufficient to provide for the excess of expenditure over income;—by imposing additional duties of five per cent on all customs and excise duties; a duty of fourpence a gallon on spirits; and an addition of ten per cent on the assessed taxes. But the harvest of 1839 having been bad, trade having continued depressed, wages low, and bread high, the consumption of those articles on which indirect taxes fall, continued so limited, that the additional five per cent duties did not yield the revenue expected, while they crippled the produce of the old duties; and therefore the attempt to increase the revenue failed.

In the year ending April 1841, there was a further deficiency; and it became also evident that, in the year 1841–42, the deficiency would continue, and amount to at least two and a half millions. Although these circumstances gave a very serious aspect to the finances, still, the causes which had produced the seeming embarrassment were similar to those of the preceding deficiencies. Whatever change had occurred, afforded diminished reason for expecting that the expenditure would, for any lengthened period, exceed the revenue. The improved state of Canada, in consequence of the union of the provinces; the termination of the war in Syria; the change of Ministry in France; and, it may be added, the prospect of a good harvest, in consequence of the fine weather through the preceding winter and spring, were all circumstances to justify the conclusion, that the new deficiency would not be permanent. In regard to the prospect of a good harvest, it is material to notice, that, till the spring was far advanced, no serious belief was entertained that supplies of foreign corn would be required; and accordingly, when the average price of wheat fell in the months of April and May from 64s. to 61s. 6d., the duty of 22s. was paid on nearly 200,000 quarters of wheat, under the expectation that the price would be still lower. No case, therefore, was established to oblige the Government to expose the country to the evil of new taxes; and there can be no doubt that the opinion of the public was unanimously against such a

measure. Under these circumstances, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have been fully warranted in saying, 'There 'is nothing, in the excess of the expenditure beyond the income, 'to show that it will be permanent; on the contrary, there is 'every prospect of the expenditure being diminished, and of 'the revenue being increased; and as I find, in addition to these 'reasons against imposing new taxes, that public opinion is de-'cidedly hostile to such a proceeding, I have determined upon 'proposing to provide for the deficiency by a further issue of 'Exchequer bills.' But the Whig ministers were not satisfied with this course, and determined to make an effort to place the finances permanently in a course of improvement.

For several years every financial writer of reputation had earnestly pressed upon the attention of the public the expediency of revising the taxes; and had pointed out the extent to which their present high rates contributed to keep the revenue much less than it otherwise would be. In the early part of the year 1840, when the continued deficiency had led to a suspicion that the Government would have recourse to new taxes, the public were eagerly engaged in considering, whether other means might not be discovered for getting through the difficulty; and the consequence was, that an opinion soon became prevalent, that, if the Customs' duties were revised and reduced, a very large increase would be obtained. This opinion had its effect on the House of Commons, and produced the appointment of the Select Committee to enquire into the Import Duties. The witnesses examined laid before the Committee facts and calculations of a nature to place beyond all doubt the correctness of the conclusion to which several writers had previously come;—namely, that if the protecting Customs' duties were only modified, the revenue would be considerably increased—and the Committee made their Report upon this view of the subject.

The public were so unanimous in support of the recommendations of the Committee, that *not a syllable was uttered against them, from the time they were made public, in September* 1840, *until the subject was turned into a party one by the Tory Opposition, when Mr Baring brought forward his memorable Budget for the year* 1841. Scarcely a Newspaper, Review, or Pamphlet, had attempted to controvert the opinions of Mr J. D. Hume, Mr Macgregor, and Mr Porter, that the revenue might be increased nearly six millions a-year by an improved system of taxation. The merchants of London, with Mr Horsley Palmer at their head, presented a memorial to the Board of Trade, praying for a revision of the import duties. The Tory Town-Councils and

Chambers of Commerce presented similar memorials; in a word, all reasoning, all authority, and all experience, seemed to be combined in favour of the contemplated commercial reform.

Under these circumstances, when the Government had to settle their Budget for 1841, they found themselves called upon, as it were by the unanimous public voice, to propose a new system of Customs' duties; but this was only calling upon them to do what they had always been convinced ought to be done, and what they had always been ready to do, whenever there was a reasonable prospect of their being able to propose it with hopes of success. They saw that by this step the means would be secured for making provision for the past, and for any new deficiencies; for although the reduced duties would have required time to bring about their *full effect* in improving the revenue, this result was altogether certain to happen. The altered duties on Corn, Timber, and Sugar, if they had received the sanction of Parliament, would have produced, *in the course of the present year*, a large amount of revenue. The duty of eight shillings a quarter on wheat, would have yielded L.800,000 on the two millions of quarters entered for consumption in the beginning of September; and, from the state of the harvest, there can be no doubt that in the whole year a larger revenue would have been derived from corn, than Mr Baring calculated upon in his Budget. The duty of ten shillings a load on American timber was sure to realize a large sum; because it would have fallen on the stock in hand, as well as on the quantity which would have been imported to supply the regularly large demand for this species of timber. If it should have happened that the new duty on foreign sugar did not yield any revenue, still the revenue to be derived from sugar would have been obtained; because the only reason why the duty on foreign sugar did not yield revenue, would have been the great increase in the importation of West India sugar, and such a reduction in the price as would have excluded foreign sugar. The additional revenue which this increased quantity would have yielded, would have been so much revenue to be placed to the credit of Mr Baring's Budget.

We have now given an accurate description of the financial measures of 1841. It cannot, we believe, be shown to be incorrect in any one particular. It places the conduct of the Whig Government in its true light; and confutes those charges of neglect and mismanagement, which, for party purposes, were reiterated for many months by the Tory press. No motion probably was ever made in Parliament, so utterly destitute of any thing like a reason

to justify it, as the vote of want of confidence on the ground of the *mismanagement of the finances.*

But though the rejected measures were for the moment disposed of, they certainly will be the subject of further and frequent discussion in the next session of Parliament; and, therefore, it is of importance that various misrepresentations, which have been very generally circulated respecting them, should be noticed.

We beg, first of all, to observe, that to take the proposal as to the sugar, corn, and timber duties, as all that was intended by the Government, is to confine their project within much too narrow limits; and to suppress what is most material to be brought under the consideration of the public. The project was, in fact, not merely a selection of particular duties for reduction, but one of principle;—a principle of general policy, to be acted upon in all future legislation on trade and finance. This was declared by Lord John Russell to be the meaning of the Government, in his celebrated speech on opening their case in the House of Commons. This principle was to make the Customs' duties, duties for *Revenue* only; and in this way to abolish all *protections* and *monopolies.* It was, therefore, the extensive and valuable consequences which would be produced on trade and finance by the principle of their Budget, that the Whig Government offered to the country; and they wisely selected only a few articles, and proposed only moderate changes, on introducing this great measure; well knowing that it is next to impossible to obtain, at once, the general consent of the British public to any extensive alterations, although their utility and expediency may be generally seen and acknowledged.

But although the Government did not succeed in carrying their measures, the proposal has been productive of infinite good; for correct opinions have been more generally spread by the discussion which has taken place, as to the removal of restraints on the importation of foreign productions. Notwithstanding, however, this progress, it must be allowed, that the evils of the protective system are still too little understood; and that there remains a sluggishness in the public mind on the subject, which can only be accounted for by extreme ignorance. In the class of uninformed persons may be fairly reckoned those electors of the manufacturing counties and towns, who, although free from the control of landlords, voted at the last election against, and defeated the candidates who were advocates for extending the markets for the produce of the industry of these very electors! But this is not the only class of persons that still stand in need of instruction. There are many of higher station,

who, having made some progress in Political Economy, have yet a great deal to learn respecting the *full extent* of the evil which is produced by protecting duties. Such persons say, we are, on principle, advocates of free trade—we only desire reasonable protection—not excessive protection. We do not care how much the protecting duties are reduced, provided only they are kept high enough to prevent the ruin of trade. They further say, we are pupils of Mr Huskisson—all we require is to have the system acted upon which he introduced in 1825. But Mr Huskisson's system of 1825 was not, as it has sometimes been called, a system of free trade. What he did was no more than to change a number of *prohibitions* into very high *protecting duties*—so high as to be themselves *nearly* prohibitory duties. It is impossible that free trade in any commodity can exist, when the duty on it exceeds that rate which is proper to be levied for revenue only; but Mr Huskisson's new duties, in every case, greatly transgressed this rule; and thus what he did, had no title to be described as part of a system of free trade. He never called it so himself; and in his speeches in 1825, he very wisely abstained from laying down and enforcing the great principle of free trade, with reference to its bearings on domestic industry and national wealth, as such a course would certainly have prevented him from carrying the measures he proposed. With those of his friends who had opportunities of accurately knowing his opinions in his latter years, it is no question that, if he was now living, and called upon to declare his sentiments upon the protective system, he would go the whole length of adopting the conclusion come to by Dr Adam Smith—that no protection, however small, can be given without injury to the public interests. Lord Ripon and Lord Stanley, and all other imperfectly-educated political economists, who are friends of what is termed moderate protection, would do well to read the first four pages of Dr Smith's chapter 'on restraints on 'the importation of foreign productions.' They will there see that he sums up his argument against regulations for restraining importation, in a short passage, in which he says, 'the exchange-'able value of the annual produce of a country, instead of being 'increased, must necessarily be diminished by every such regula-'tion.' That is as much as to say, that no protection of any kind, even of the most moderate degree, can be given by the legislature without producing injury; and he fully establishes this principle in the reasonings which precede the passage we have just quoted; therefore it is clear, that the middle line of policy between high protection and no protection, is what no one can justify by referring to his authority.

Among other misrepresentations regarding the measures proposed by the Whig Government, the following particularly deserves notice. Lord Ripon, in his speech in the House of Lords on moving the Amendment to the Address in August last, taunted the Whig Ministers with having recommended a change in the duty on foreign sugar, of so paltry a nature, that the community at large could have derived no greater benefit from it than a reduction of half a farthing in the price of a pound of sugar. The utter groundlessness of this statement is conclusively exposed, by a reference to figures, in the following passage of a Weekly Paper:—'In the month of May last, when the Government project 'was first announced, the average price of every description of 'raw sugar admissible by duty to home consumption was 41s. 5d. 'per cwt., exclusive of duty, and the average price of every de-'scription of raw sugar not admissible was 24s. in bond, or 'without duty. This made the difference between colonial 'and foreign sugar 17s. 5d., and showed pretty plainly that 'we are subjected to a monopoly charge of about 76 per 'cent.

'The existing colonial duty is 24s a cwt., which the Govern-'ment proposed to reduce to 20s., while they proposed to re-'duce the prohibitory duty of 63s. on foreign sugar to 30s. The 'price of the colonial sugar, with the duty, is 65s. 5d., and that 'of the foreign 54s., and the difference, or 11s. 5d., expresses 'the reduction of price, or gain to the consumer, which the 'Government scheme would have produced. This is not the '"fraction of a farthing" a pound, but very near one penny 'and one farthing per pound, or five times as many integers as 'Ripon was disposed to reckon of fractions.*

Lord Ripon, in fact, showed that he was but little qualified to form a correct and enlarged opinion on the proposed reduction; because, evidently, he never contemplated the effect which the exposing of the home market to foreign competition would necessarily have, in lowering the price of our colonial sugar. Every one who possesses any acquaintance with the circumstances under which sugar is made in our colonies, must admit that there is great room for reducing the expense, now habitually incurred in making it, and thereby, for reducing the price of it, without such reduced price being accompanied with any diminution of profit; for as to profit it is clear, that if the lowering the price is wholly owing to the lowering the cost of the production of sugar, the rate of profit will

* *Examiner*, September 4, 1841.

not be changed. The custom of the proprietors of estates being makers of sugar, is as much at variance as possible with economy; and would soon cease, if the necessity of contending against foreign competition was once established, by a reduction of the duty on foreign sugar. In addition to this, the processes for making sugar in our colonies are inferior to those employed in Cuba, and other foreign sugar-making countries. But the mere apprehension of profits being lowered by foreign competition, which would have arisen if the Government measure had been carried, would have roused our sugar-makers from their monopoly sluggishness; and induced them to introduce new machinery, better modes of fabrication, greater economy, and many improvements which they have the power of introducing. All experience seems to show the correctness of what has just been stated; for the never-varying result of protection has been to check invention and improvement. At the time Mr Huskisson took off the prohibitions upon the importation of silk goods, the same machinery was in use that had been employed when the silk manufacture was first introduced, more than a hundred and fifty years before; but after the law for repealing the prohibition was passed, although extremely high protecting duties were laid on silk goods, the dread of foreign competition immediately led our manufacturers to throw aside their old machinery, and substitute in its stead that of France, Switzerland, and Germany.

But there is another circumstance which Lord Ripon overlooked, and which places beyond all doubt the beneficial effect which the proposed reduction of duty on foreign sugar would have had, in lowering the price of sugar in the home market. Owing to the great unfairness of those who attacked the measures of Government, no notice was taken of the Bill introduced by Mr Labouchere, for lowering the duties on the importation of foreign productions into the colonies;—a bill brought forward as a chief ingredient of the proposal for reducing the duty on foreign sugar, and forming a substantial part of that measure. This point is satisfactorily treated in the following extract from a speech by Sir Henry Parnell, in the debate on Lord Sandon's motion:—

'The proper way of discussing and considering the question of what ought to be the duty on foreign sugar, should be with reference to the means of our colonies to carry on competition with foreign sugar. It seems to be supposed that foreigners have advantages which afford no hope of a successful competition with them; but this is not the case, for the means of carrying on competition may be greatly extended. Honourable members had wholly lost sight, in the course of the debate, of the bill that has been introduced by the President of the Board of Trade, and

is now before the House, for reducing the duties on imports into the colonies. This reduction of duties will afford great benefits to the manufacturers of sugar—it will diminish the prices of flour and provisions of all descriptions, and the price of timber, and various other articles which are necessary for making sugar; and in this way the cost of making sugar will be greatly reduced, and the power of carrying on competition increased. This measure is, in fact, a full compensation to the colonies for the proposed reduction of the duty on foreign sugar. About fourteen or fifteen years ago, those members of the House who were connected with the West Indies, were very loud in complaining of the injury which the sugar-makers sustained, and other interests, from the high duties on imports into the colonies, and from the system of restrictions under which the trade of the colonies was placed. Returns were called for, by which it was attempted to be made to appear, by showing the prices of food, timber, and other articles, in foreign countries, that these duties and restrictions added 70 per cent to the cost of making sugar; and persons of the highest authority in West Indian affairs went so far as to say, that they would willingly give up the monopoly of the English market if all these restrictions were removed. As to the importance which about that time the planters attached to these restrictions, the evidence given before the Committee of Finance of 1828, by the noble lord the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, may be referred to. At that time the noble lord filled the office of Secretary at War, and, when under examination by the Committee regarding the expense incurred by the army kept up in the colonies, stated that he had frequently applied to the various Governments of the colonies to contribute towards the expense of paying the army, but that the answer he received from them was—We would very readily contribute a large portion of the expense provided the restrictions on our trade were taken off, but that so long as those restrictions are continued, we are not able to give the least assistance. It may be said the bill of the President of the Board of Trade does not go far enough in the way of reducing duties on imports into the colonies. This may be true; but if the colonies will, on their part, meet further reductions as they ought to do, by giving up their monopoly, there can be no good reason for not taking off all the restrictions on the trade of the colonies. They should be allowed to send their productions direct to foreign countries, to purchase all kinds of foreign productions free of duty, and even to employ foreign ships—the trade of the colonies should be rendered perfectly free; and, if that were so, no British interests would suffer; for the colonies would find it to their advantage to use British productions and to employ British ships.' *

The correctness of the above statements is fully established by tables of the prices of articles subject to import duties in the colonies, inserted in a late Number of this Journal; †

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* *Hansard's Debates*, vol. lviii., p. 441.

† No. 148, p. 532.

and by the references therein made to the evidence of the witnesses examined in 1832 before a Committee of the House of Commons; which went to show that the restrictions on imports added 5s. 6d. a cwt. to the cost of the production of sugar. Looking, therefore, to the proposed measure for reducing the duty on foreign sugar from 63s. to 30s. a cwt., in the way it ought to be considered; that is, as comprehending the contemporaneous reduction of the duties on imports into the colonies, it is almost certain that the result of the reduction alone, would have been a diminution of the price of sugar, in the English market, of at least *ten half farthings*, instead of *one half farthing* a pound, as Lord Ripon asserted.

But, to give a still more just and accurate view of the true character of the proposed admission of foreign sugar, it should be represented as a measure, not merely for reducing the price of sugar, but for bringing about, in a gradual and safe way, the entire abolition of the West India monopoly. In point of fact, the removal of the restrictions on the importation of foreign productions into the colonies, is nothing short of the removal of the whole of the grounds on which the monopoly of the British market was originally given to them.

When the West India monopoly was first established, England imposed prohibitory duties on the importation into the colonies of all foreign productions, for the purpose of securing to herself the monopoly of the colonial market; and gave the colonies in return the privilege of supplying her markets with their productions; and therefore it has always been admitted by the highest West India authorities, that if the mother country should abandon its monopoly of the colonial market, the colonies would no longer have any right to enjoy the monopoly of the British market. That this is the proper construction of the conditions on which the two monopolies were instituted, is explicitly stated by Lord Sheffield, one of the most able supporters of the rights of the colonies, in a publication written in defence of those rights:—'The British dominions,' says he, 'are as much entitled to 'the monopoly of the market of the British West Indies, as 'the West Indies are entitled to the monopoly of the British 'market; and whenever the former (that is, the monopoly of the 'market of the West Indies) is given up, it will be the highest 'absurdity not to open all the British ports to foreign sugar.'* Mr Burnley, whose authority has of late been so often referred to, as one of the largest proprietors in Trinidad, fully assents to this doctrine; for he says, 'the removal of these restrictions (on

* *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, p. 260.

'imports into the colonies) once effected, I shall hail with plea-
'sure the day when every monopoly is done away.'

One of the most mischievous misrepresentations of the measures of the late Government, is that relating to the probable effects of the proposed alteration of the duties on Corn. It has been asserted, that the fixed duty of eight shillings would have *no* advantage over the present sliding scale of duties; and to illustrate this, reference is made to the entry for home consumption of two millions of quarters of corn in the month of September last, at the one shilling duty; as showing that so great a quantity of corn would not have been imported if the duty had been eight shillings, as proposed. But it will be easy to show, that the difference between a duty of one shilling, and a duty of eight shillings, could have no other effect than that of diminishing the profits of the importers; and moreover, that the nation would have had cheaper corn with the fixed duty of eight shillings than it has had with the duty of one shilling. When the demand for corn in the British market is much greater than the supply, and the price very high, a duty on foreign wheat of eight shillings a quarter cannot possibly have any effect on the price of it; because the price is regulated wholly according to the demand and supply of British corn in the British market; and not by what wheat costs abroad, or by the duty that is paid on importing it. Hence it is evident that the duty will not be paid by the consumer as an addition made to the price, but by the importer, and *in diminution* of his profits. With the duty of one shilling, he will put into his pocket a larger part of the price he receives, than he can put into it with a duty of eight shillings; and this is the only practical difference that can exist between a sliding scale duty of one shilling, and the fixed duty of eight shillings.

With regard to whether more corn has of late been imported under the sliding scale duty, than would have been imported under the fixed duty, the best way of determining the point will be by tracing what has happened as to importation under that scale. In the month of May the weekly average price of wheat had fallen from 64s. 1d. to 61s. 6d.; and the prospect of a good harvest having led to a belief that it would still be lower, nearly 200,000 quarters of wheat, as has before been stated, were entered for consumption at a duty of 22s. 1d. The weather, however, having changed in the latter end of June, and continued wet and cold, it seemed to be certain that foreign supplies would be required, before the new crop would be wholly got in, and the price began to rise. In June and July nearly half a million quarters of wheat were imported; but none of it was entered for home consumption, in consequence of its being probable that the duty would be reduced to one shilling. In August, the imports

tion of wheat was much greater, but none was entered for consumption; and the price advanced, on the 27th August, to the weekly average of 76s. 1d. This had the effect of raising the six weeks' average to 73s., and of reducing the duty to one shilling, when two millions of foreign wheat were entered for consumption. Now, if the fixed duty of 8s. had been adopted, and an act of Parliament passed early in May, for changing the duties, it is clear, from the fact of 200,000 quarters of wheat having been entered for consumption in that month, at a duty of 22s. 1d., that wheat would have been imported, and brought to market, as fast as it could have been imported, in the months of May, June, July, and August, at the 8s. duty—and to an extent far beyond the two millions of quarters that were brought to market. The trade in corn would have been taken out of the hands of the limited number of persons who now carry it on, subject to the vicissitudes of the averages; and many new importers would have come forward, and much additional capital would have been employed; and, in addition to this, from the ports being always open, much more corn would have been imported from the distant corn-growing countries, in consequence of the danger being done away of the ports being suddenly closed. So that, on the whole, it is quite certain, that if the 8s. duty had been adopted, the quantity imported in the four months preceding September, would have been much greater than it was; and it is equally certain, that the effect of the 8s. duty would have been to keep the price of wheat below what it was in these four months. The price in all probability would not have exceeded 64s. a quarter, from April to September; instead of rising, and continuing much above that price, till it reached 76s. The loss to the public, in consequence of having had to pay this additional price, on all the wheat consumed in the United Kingdom during four months, must have amounted to millions; while the loss of revenue in the year may be set down as not far short of a million: for the loss, on the two million quarters that paid the 1s. duty, was L.700,000.

With regard to the Corn Question generally, a Document of great importance was presented to both Houses of Parliament in the late session. It appears that in June 1840, Lord Palmerston wrote a circular letter to the Consuls at the foreign ports where corn is shipped for this country, requiring answers to certain queries. These answers expose two of the chief errors of those persons who advocate the Corn-Laws; namely, the standard opinions respecting the price of corn abroad, and respecting the quantities of it that would be imported, if the ports were always open at a fixed duty. The following are the queries which were transmitted to the Consuls:—

QUERIES RESPECTING CORN AND GRAIN.

1. What quantity of grain, of each kind, could be exported to England, from the country or district in which you reside, if the trade in corn in England was made constantly open, at a moderate duty?
2. What would probably be the average prices free on board?
3. What would probably be the freight per quarter to England?
4. Would the exportation be subject to any other charges?
5. Whether, if there were a regular and steady demand in England for foreign corn, the quantity of corn produced in the said country or district would, without much difficulty, and in a short space of time, be materially increased?

A summary of the answers to these queries is given in this Document, and the following have been extracted from it:—

	QUERY 5. What quantity of Wheat could be exported to England, from the Country or District in which you reside, if the Trade in Corn in England were made constantly open, at a moderate Duty?	QUERY 2. What would be the Average Price of Wheat free on Board per Quarter?	QUERY 3. What would probably be the Freight per Quarter to England?
	Qrs.	*s.* *d.* *s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.* *s.* *d.*
St Petersburg, . .	192,500	39 1	4 5 to 5 0
Riga, ...	Quantity not stated	49 7	4 9
Liebau, ...	30,000	43 7	4 9 – 5 0
Odessa, ...	150,000	26 6	10 0
Warsaw, ...	300,000	36 0	... ...
Stockholm, . . .	1,000	30 0 to 35 0	3 6 – 6 0
Dantzig, ...	315,000	40 0	3 6 – 4 0
Königsberg, . . .	65,000	40 0 – 45 0	4 0 – 6 0
Stettin, ...	250,000	40 0	4 0 – 5 0
Memel, ...	5,964	35 0	4 0 – 5 0
Elsinore, ...	175,000	30 0 – 36 0	3 6 – 5 0
Hamburg, . . .	538,000	35 0 – 46 0	2 6 – 5 0
Rotterdam, . . .	Quantity not stated	55 0	2 0 – 2 6
Antwerp, . . .	Quantity not stated	56 5	2 0 – 2 6
Palermo, ...	200,000	38 0	8 3
Total, . . .	2,222,464	...	...
General average,	...	40*s.* 6*d.*	4*s.* 9¾*d.*

Now, in order to prove how groundless is the fear, that the agricultural interest would be ruined if the ports were always open at a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter for wheat, we have made the following calculation upon the fairest possible data;—beginning, not with the price stated by the Consuls of 40s. 6d. a quarter, but, to avoid all cavil, with the price of 35s. a quarter—as the price of foreign wheat free on board, of the same quality as that of the average quality of British wheat, on which the Gazette prices are made up. To this price of 35s. there is to be added 4s. 9d. for freight; at least 3s. 9d. for charges for landing, storing, turning, cartage to market or to purchasers, insurance, commission, and other charges; also 1s. 6d. a quarter for profit; and, finally, 8s. for duty;—making in the whole 53s. a quarter. We have the benefit of ample experience to prove what would be the state of agriculture at such a price as this; because the average price of wheat for the six years preceding the year 1838 was no more than 50s. 3d.; and the agriculture of the United Kingdom was at no period in a more flourishing condition than during these six years. What Mr Tooke says on this point is of considerable importance; because Sir Robert Peel has placed the authority of his testimony as high as possible, by having frequently, in his speeches, quoted his statements respecting the Corn-Laws. The following extract is from Mr Tooke's late work:—

'The averages of the six years following, when there was no foreign wheat, or no proportion worth mentioning, in the market, were—

		s.	d.
1832,	. . .	58	8
1833,	. . .	52	11
1834,	. . .	46	2
1835,	. . .	39	4
1836,	. . .	48	6
1837,	. . .	55	10
		6)301	5
	Average, .	50	3

But, if it be considered, that by far the largest quantities sold were in the three years of the lowest prices, viz.

		s.	d.
1834,	. . .	46	2
1835,	. . .	39	4
1836,	. . .	48	6
		3)134	0
		44	8

the average of which was 44s. 8d.; and that during that period, although, as usual upon the occurrence of low prices, there were loud complaints

of agricultural distress, the country never exhibited a greater extent, nor a higher degree of cultivation; it is perfectly fair to presume, that, at a price of 45s., there would be no reason to apprehend that much, if any, land would be thrown out of cultivation. The general fact is, in proof, by results beyond controversy, that the agricultural productions of the kingdom were never, as far as the seasons permitted, on a larger scale than in 1836 and 1837, notwithstanding the alleged discouragement of the low prices of 1834–5.' *

As to the quantity of corn that could be imported with a moderate fixed duty, the following extracts from the answers to the *fifth* query, place the question in a point of view which leaves no doubt that the quantity would not be so great as to be attended with any injury to British agriculture:—

'*Riga, August* 15, 1840.

'A decidedly bad harvest in England might, with the certainty of a moderate import duty, tend to turn their attention to wheat, barley, and oats, in preference to rye, were not the principal corn districts too remote from the ports to enable the farmer to get his crop to market sufficiently early for exportation in the same year.

'Secondly, The rapid increase of manufactures in this country has withdrawn many hands from tillage, which, in a thinly-populated country like Russia, must operate against any increase of agriculture. In fact, it is considered by many to have contributed to the deficient production of corn in this country for some years past, although this deficiency may be principally attributed to the seasons.

'Thirdly, Flax is being yearly more and more cultivated in Russia, and especially in this province, and the neighbouring ones of Esthonia, Courland, Lithuania, and in White Russia; being an article that always finds a ready sale in the Riga market at remunerating prices; which also tends to counteract any great increase in the production of corn: to which may also be added the yearly extending establishments of beet-root sugar refineries, and cultivation of beet-root, more particularly in the internal provinces of the empire.'

'*Odessa, October* 8, 1840.

'There would be no material increase, and certainly not in a short space of time. 1st, Because in Podolia and Kievy, whence Odessa derives its principal supplies, the greatest quantity possible of grain is at all times produced without regard to price and demand, in consequence of capital being vested in slave labour, which is not otherwise to be employed. 2dly, Because the plains, called steppes, adjacent to the Black Sea and Azoph, are thinly peopled, so that in years when crops are abundant they are seen suffering on the ground for want of reapers. 3dly, Because on these steppes crops are exceedingly precarious, by

* *History of Prices in* 1838 *and* 1839, by Thomas Tooke, Esq., p. 41.

reason of drought, the common calamity of this climate; of the high winds, which carry off the seed from the dusty soil; of the early thaws and subsequent frosts, without snow. 4thly, Because tillage is defective, and improvement difficult under the present circumstances of the country. 5thly, Because distances are great, and communications unaided by art, there being no roads, and the rivers being unnavigable. 6thly, Because the landholders are impoverished, and most of them indebted to the crown, and the working classes are degraded by their condition of slavery. 7thly, Because no progressive improvements are to be expected in Russia, until great organic changes are brought about; or so long as the real interests of the country are sacrificed to an anti-commercial policy. Very high prices may indeed cause at times a greater exportation, not by increase of production, but by extending the circle of supply.'

'*Warsaw, September* 15, 1840.

'The quantity of wheat grown in Poland has considerably increased in the last six years; and the production might no doubt be further gradually increased, if there were a steady demand for foreign corn in England; but the deficiency of manure, the scarcity of hands, and the want of skill in the cultivation of the land, would operate against any large immediate increase.'

'*Hamburg, August* 21, 1840.

'Probably not, (answer as to the increase of the quantity of corn grown;) because as much land is already appropriated in this district to the growth of corn, as the system of husbandry established in these Duchies, and the encouragement given to grazing in them, will admit of. Wool, butter, and potatoes for distillation, having for many years been profitable produce to the farmer, he will not easily be induced to give up the cultivation of the latter, or to sell off his sheep and cattle, which, moreover, afford manure positively necessary for the cultivation of grain. But although the quantity of corn may not be materially increased in a short space of time, the kind of corn may be changed, and more wheat, but less of other grain, under such a change of circumstances, may be grown than at present. Still, however, this will occur only to a limited extent, and at times when high prices in other countries may encourage the export of wheat; for the habits of the people in this district causing a demand for rye for home use, the demand for it in other countries, and the nature of the soil being generally fitter for cultivation of rye, will always have a tendency to prevent any great extension of the growth of wheat in these countries. But should any increased cultivation take place in the interior of Germany, an increased exportation from Hamburg and Bremen, &c., may follow.'

In truth, it is impossible that the continent could greatly increase the present produce of corn, without such a change of circumstances in regard to the tenure of land and cultivation, as is by no means likely to happen. Unproductiveness of soil, and a low state of agriculture, characterize the provinces of Poland, Prussia, and Russia, that are contiguous to the sea; and it is

only from the provinces of Volhynia and Sandomir in Poland, that a large supply of wheat can be obtained. But, in these provinces, the system of land management is of the most wretched description;—not better than that of England two hundred years ago. A large portion of the land is cultivated by servants for the proprietors; the farming work is done by half-fed peasants; the fields are not enclosed; there are no farm buildings but of the meanest kind; the roads are no better than tracks; there is not a sufficient number of cattle to yield even as much manure as is required to keep the land, now in cultivation, up to its low standard of production; and the proprietors and cultivators have little or no capital to place matters on a better footing.*

Another gross misrepresentation of the Tory press, (which, as Lord John Russell truly said in one of his excellent speeches at the close of last Session, did much more than the Tory Parliamentary leaders towards turning out the Whig Ministers,) consisted in accusing the latter as having added, in the six years of their government, from April 1835 to April 1841, seven millions and a half to the public debt. This charge was blazoned forth in every possible way, while those circumstances which produced the deficiency, and which no human power could have averted, were altogether suppressed.

But the unfairness and inaccuracy of this charge may be refuted, simply by reference to the public accounts; which show, that taking the state of the finances as it was in April 1835, and as it was in April 1841, the amount of debt actually incurred fell very far short of seven and a half millions. The following statement has been made up from the Parliamentary Paper prefixed to this article.

Year ending 5th April 1838.	Expenditure,	£47,519,077	
	Income,	46,090,543	
Deficiency in the year 1837-8,			£1,428,534
Year ending 5th April 1839.	Expenditure,	48,263,443	
	Income,	47,833,118	
Deficiency in the year 1838-9,			430,325
Year ending 5th April 1840.	Expenditure,	49,300,425	
	Income,	47,843,202	
Deficiency in the year 1839-40,			1,457,223
Year ending 5th April 1841.	Expenditure,	49,285,396	
	Income,	47,433,399	
Deficiency in the year 1840-41,			1,851,997
		Total deficiency,	£5,168,079

* See an article on foreign tillage in the *British and Foreign Quarterly Review.*

The deficiency for the four years is thus shown to have been little more than *five millions*, instead of *seven and a half millions*. But this is not all. As the charge of mismanagement comprises the whole of the six years of Lord Melbourne's administration, the receipts and payments of all these years must be taken into view, in order to make up a perfectly fair account of the situation of the finances in 1835, and in 1841. What took place, therefore, as to income and expenditure in 1836 and 1837, must be added to make out a complete statement.

Year ending 5th April 1836.	Income,	£46,380,246	
	Expenditure,	45,003,940	
	Surplus in 1835-6,		£1,376,306
Year ending 5th April 1837.	Income,	48,453,068	
	Expenditure,	46,590,245	
	Surplus in 1836-7,		1,862,823
		Total surplus,	3,239,129
		Total deficiency,	5,168,079
		Debt incurred,	£1,928,950

The foregoing account, the accuracy of which cannot be disputed, establishes the fact, that the nation has incurred, during the time its affairs were under the management of the Whig Government—notwithstanding the expenditure on account of Canada, Syria, and China—no larger an amount of debt than two millions; and shows how much the public have been deceived by the pains taken to exaggerate the financial difficulties which unavoidably occurred.

With regard to the accusation that the Whigs handed over the Treasury to their Tory successors in a condition of great embarrassment, this, like other accusations, was wholly unfounded. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his place in the House of Commons, drew from his successor an explanation, which showed beyond all question that it was so. The following extract from a speech of Lord Melbourne's on the same subject, is deserving of consideration:—

'His noble friend opposite (Lord Ripon) had taken several opportunities of stating that the late Government had embarked on a ruinous course; and that some vigorous, certain, and efficient scheme ought to be brought forward for extricating the finances of the country from the immense difficulties in which they were involved. The noble lord had dwelt upon this phrase, "immense difficulties," and the phrase was repeated with interest in the House of Commons, by those who had since attained the highest stations in office. Now he (Viscount Melbourne) would assert that it was altogether an exaggeration to say that the finances

of the country were immensely involved: he would readily admit that difficulties existed; he would admit that the expenses exceeded the income; that the question of the finances of the country demanded serious enquiry, and that energetic measures were required; but he would repeat, that they were not involved in the immense difficulties which were spoken of; and he would add his strong conviction, that, looking to the general state of the country, the nature of its power, its strength, and its revenue, it was not wise and prudent, any more than it was correct in point of fact, to hold desponding language such as this, necessarily calculated to have the effect of weakening its resources and of diminishing its strength. He would admit that there were difficulties; but, distinctly and emphatically, and in a form which, being short, was the more easy to be understood, he would not admit that he had handed over to his successors in office the affairs of the country in the dangerous or enormously difficult state which was suggested, either in a financial or any other point of view.'

Lord Melbourne most truly said, that, looking to the general state of the country, 'it was not correct in point of fact to hold 'desponding language,' for the wealth which constitutes its power and strength never was greater. The augmentation of capital by the annual accumulation of profits, has of late years made rapid progress. With respect to the amount of the income of the community at large, the means exist of approaching to something like a tolerably correct opinion, in consequence of the subject having engaged the researches of persons well qualified for the task; and also in consequence of the knowledge to be acquired by Custom-House returns, of the quantities of materials imported for manufacture. A reference to the information that may be collected in this way, regarding the accumulation of national wealth, will serve to expose much gross misrepresentation, and to dispel all apprehensions as to the financial condition of the country, and its power to provide a sufficient revenue. In his work on Political Economy, published in 1819, Mr Ricardo says—'Notwithstanding the immense expenditure 'of the English government during the last twenty years, there 'can be little doubt but that the increased production on the 'part of the people has more than compensated for it. The 'national capital has not merely been unimpaired, it has been 'greatly increased; and the annual income of the people, even 'after the payment of their taxes, is probably greater at the present time than at any former period of our history. For the proof 'of this, we might refer to the increase of population—to the extension of agriculture—to the increase of shipping and manufactures—to the building of docks—to the opening of numerous 'canals, as well as to many other expensive undertakings, all

'denoting an immense increase both of capital and of annual 'production.'

As twenty-two years have elapsed since Mr Ricardo made these remarks, and as similar circumstances to those which he mentioned as proofs of increased wealth have been constantly in operation, and on a greater scale than formerly, the national income, it is clear, must now be considerably greater in amount than it ever was before. This conclusion is borne out by the Custom-House returns of raw materials imported, as will be seen by the following table:—

An Account of the Quantities of the following Articles imported for Home Consumption, in Great Britain, on an average of three years, to the 5th of January 1781, 1793, 1813, 1830, *and* 1841.

		1781.	1793.	1813.	1830.	1841.
Cotton Wool,	lbs.	6,816 692	30,789,572	78,811,283	218,484,094	445,059,923
Sheep's Wool,	„	958,090	3,204,342	7,430,477	27,182,904	52,829,738
Raw Silk,	„	426,958	1 27,812	919,162	3,503,289	3,600,013
Indigo,	„	560,590	884,738	. . .	2,522,311	2,901,447
Tallow,	cwts.	99,437	181,887	347,775	1,005,237	1,146,624
Fir Timber,	loads	84,668	222,760	251,690	426,630	648,709

In addition to the evidence of increased wealth supplied by this table, the fact, now well established, may be referred to, that the incomes of landlords from rent have been doubled in the last forty years. This view of the great increase of the national wealth shows, that all that is wanted to increase the revenue is to remove, by improved taxation, the restrictions that prevent expenditure on taxed commodities.

On turning our attention from what has passed to what is likely to happen, the prospect certainly presents no encouragement from the change of government. The funding of Exchequer bills has added, already, five millions to the national debt;—without any reason whatever to show the necessity of such a proceeding; for the amount of the unfunded debt was by no means so great, as to make it in any respect inexpedient to raise the money wanted to meet the present deficiency by a new issue of Exchequer bills. This was the plan which the Government ought to have adopted, to obtain a trial of one year more, to ascertain whether such changes might not take place in the amount of the revenue, and in the extent of the expenditure, as to produce a surplus; and, in this way, the means of redeeming the portion of the unfunded debt which the deficiency had occasioned. In point of fact, nothing has as yet come to pass, to prove that the revenue and expenditure may not be restored, without any special legislative measures, to the condition in which they were so recently as in 1836, when there was

a surplus of L.1,800,000; and as to any injury to the public, by adding a few millions to the unfunded debt, that may serve the purposes of a party debate, but is wholly worthless as a matter of financial consideration.

With regard to other measures likely to be brought forward by the Government, although they have abstained from going into details, they have not refrained from committing themselves—by their speeches in the debate on the Address, in the late short session, and by the Amendment which they carried—to produce a Budget, by which the expenditure shall no longer be allowed to be in excess above the revenue;—in other words, from committing themselves to impose NEW TAXES; for in consequence of their having condemned the mode of raising money by Exchequer bills, and rejected the grand plan of the late Government *for increasing the revenue by reducing taxation*, no other mode is left except that of having recourse to new taxes.

That the new Government have made up their minds to impose new taxes, is a circumstance placed beyond all doubt by a speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—'Right hon-'ourable gentlemen complained,' said he, 'that he had not 'been sufficiently explicit with regard to his future intentions. 'What he said was this, that before he undertook to lay 'down any plan of finance or taxation, he must carefully exa-'mine, not only the revenue but the expenditure of the coun-'try; that by imposing taxes upon the people, he should 'take care not to come to such a proceeding without being 'enabled to say, that he had examined the expenditure and 'revenue—that he had looked into details—and that he was con-'vinced the expenditure they were called upon to pay was es-'sential to the welfare of the country; and he would *then put it* '*to the good sense of the people, whether they would not bear* '*some additional burdens in order to meet the emergencies of the* '*country*'—'He did not refrain,' he added, 'from proposing a per-'manent plan of finance, because he anticipated the possibility of 'avoiding having recourse to taxation, *for that he believed to be* '*inevitable.*' Now, as the deficiency for the current year has been estimated by common consent at nearly three millions, what we have to expect is, that Government will come forward about the middle of next March with a Budget of NEW TAXES for raising this sum; so that, whatever may be the blessings which the accession of the Tory party to power shall confer on the country, they will be dearly purchased.

Let us briefly consider the kind of taxes which, in all probability, will be chosen. Taxes on consumption, or indirect taxes,

cannot be thought of; in consequence of the failure of Mr Baring's additional five per cent customs and excise duties; and also in consequence of the state of trade, and the price of food keeping the consumers in a condition to render them incapable of purchasing the commodities on which indirect taxes fall. All the stamp duties are so high as to make it nearly certain that additional rates of duty would not produce additional revenue. There are, however, two new duties which might be imposed, with a certainty of producing a considerable amount—namely, a duty on the succession to landed and real property, and a duty on transfers of stocks; but as these two duties have been often proposed and rejected, there is little likelihood of their being now selected. We can hardly imagine that the new Ministry will venture upon a change of the great and highly popular Postage Act. What, then, remains as the means of acquiring an augmentation of revenue? The only direct taxes we have, produce very nearly four millions a-year; so that, if three millions were to be raised by adding to the present rates, an increase of no less than 75 per cent would be necessary. As, however, such an increase cannot be considered advisable, it is clearly come to this, that no new tax can be selected that will yield much revenue, except such a one as will reach landed property. This is, in fact, the right sort of tax to be selected, according to sound principles;—in consequence of so large a portion of the revenue as three-fourths of the whole being now derived from taxes on trade and industry; while of the remaining one-fourth, only about eight millions can be said to fall on property not connected with trade and industry. 'The direct taxes,' says Mr Wilson, 'in 'this country are so small, that it has been calculated that on an 'average a person whose expenditure is L.500 per annum does 'not pay more than L.12 at the outside; that he who spends 'L.1000 per annum does not pay more than L.20; that he who 'spends L.3000 does not pay more than L.50 in direct taxes; 'and so on in a proportion rather less than the increase of total 'expenditure.'

But although there is no difficulty in pointing out the principle on which new taxes ought to be selected, it is far from easy to say what those taxes should be; for as all indirect taxes must be excluded, the choice is limited to a very few. However much a new Land-tax might be objected to, because it would not fall equally on property; yet, considering how much the property on which it would not fall, namely, property derived from trade and industry, is now disproportionately taxed, the very objection forms a good reason for imposing such a tax; because it would contribute to equalize the pressure of general taxation. It may

also be urged in favour of this tax, that it might be very fairly allotted and easily collected, in consequence of the aid which might be derived from the recent valuations made under the new Tithe and Poor-Law acts. Besides this tax, it is scarcely possible to find any other than a Property tax that would yield much revenue. No doubt, many very strong objections may be made to such a tax; but as the new Government have decided upon new taxes, their supporters, having no excuse for not having foreseen that this would be the case, after the plan for increasng the revenue by improved taxation had been rejected, cannot quarrel with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if, under the circumstances in which they have placed him, he shall have recourse to one or other of these two expedients.

A really strange state of things will have come to pass, at the time when the new Chancellor of the Exchequer shall produce his plan; for, while he will be 'putting it to the good sense of 'the public, whether they would not bear additional burdens in 'order to meet the emergencies of the country,' the fact will be staring the public in the face, of the unquestionable certainty, that a much larger sum than the exigencies require, could be raised without any additional burdens; but, on the contrary, by diminishing existing burdens. For let it be remembered, and it is a matter of grave consideration, that no denial has ever been made in Parliament, or out of it, of the practicability of increasing the revenue by means of reduced taxation. Notwithstanding the objections to the manner in which the Import Duties Committee was appointed, and to the management of the enquiry, not a single word has been said to throw doubt on the correctness of the statements and calculations by which the witnesses examined proved, that, by a judicious reduction of the Customs duties, some millions might be added to the revenue. With the certainty, therefore, so fully established, of the practicability of obtaining an increase of revenue by lowering duties, it is scarcely credible that the public will not yet be disposed to reconsider this vital question. If, by the operation of lowering the price of sugar threepence a pound—of lowering the price of coffee sixpence a pound—of lowering the price of timber twenty shillings a load—and of lowering the prices of almost all other foreign productions one-fourth, the revenue would be greatly increased, the measure by which this might be effected, will, it is still to be hoped, be preferred to new taxes; by which alone, according to the financial notions of the Government, the object can be attained, of not allowing the expenditure to continue in excess above the revenue.

What, then, has the country gained, as to finance and trade,

by the change of administration? We answer, in the first place, an addition of five millions to the national debt; in the next place, the probable imposition of additional taxes to the amount of three millions a-year; and, in the third place, the continuance of monopolies and protections, by which commerce will remain crippled, manufactures will be exposed to new obstructions from hostile Tariffs, and the consequent want of sufficient employment will cause distress to prevail with increased pressure among the industrious classes.

What, again, has the country lost, in regard to the great concerns in question, by the Whig Ministers having been dismissed? In the first place, the advantage of providing for deficiencies, and greatly augmenting the revenue, by reduced taxation. In the next place, the advantage of having a system of policy established, by which monopolies and protections would have been gradually abolished. By adopting this policy, the commerce of the kingdom would have been augmented by additional imports—exports would have increased in a corresponding degree—the shipping of the country would have increased with these augmentations—manufactures of all kinds would have advanced to a point, far beyond that to which they have yet reached; and, by their progress, employment would have been provided for the industrious classes; and, the price of necessaries being at the same time diminished, the condition of the labouring poor would have been changed from great privation to unprecedented prosperity.

No. CLI. will be Published in April.

NOTE.

Article on Warren Hastings, in the preceding Number, (No. CXLIX. p. 160.)

paragraph of the above article, Goldsmith is of those men of genius who have published it would not be fair to judge of their talents; some surprize, and not without reason, to find 'Vicar of Wakefield' specified as a production of that de-ption. 'It would be unjust,' it was said, 'to estimate Gold-mith by the Vicar of Wakefield,'—or Scott by his "Life of Na-poleon." These, as regards the former, are certainly startling words; but what the writer intended to say, and really imagined he had said, was, that Goldsmith was not to be estimated by his 'History of Greece'—a mere compilation, as all the world knows—any more than Scott by his 'History of Napoleon.' To instance one of the most delightful and popular Tales in the language, as a production by which it would be unjust to judge of its author's genius, was, in fact, to make the illustration ridiculous. Having said this, it would be useless to endeavour to explain how the title of one of the best of Goldsmith's publications should have slipped from the writer's pen, when his purpose obviously required the mention of one of a different character; or how the editor did not immediately perceive that a mistake must have been committed. That discovery was speedily made by both, but yet too late (the Article being the last of the Number) for either an alteration or acknowledgment of the blunder.

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